JCT

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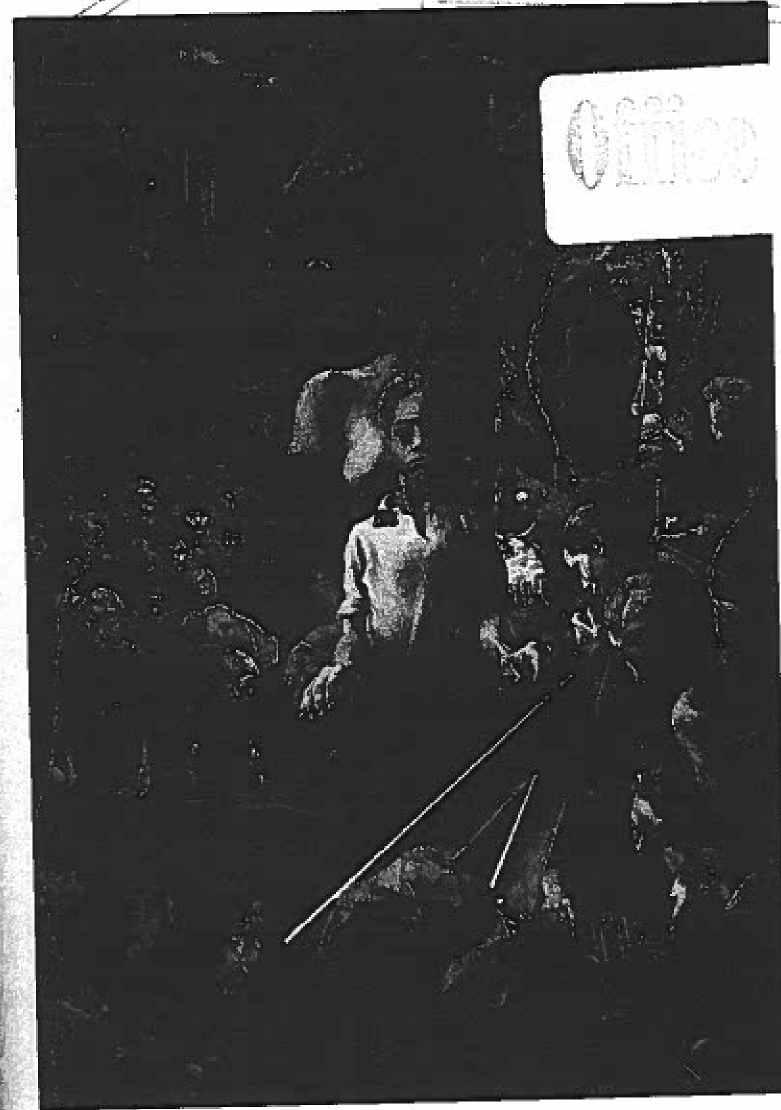

For if you could see for yourselves reproductions of the murals which are now found in public buildings from Maine to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, you would see that the paintings combine the values of the arts which nourish the human spirit with the accomplishments of our past history which strengthen that legitimate pride which enables one to say,"I am an American citizen." Secretary Morgenthau, Mr. Bruce, may your work go forward to even greater triumphs.

John Dewey, radio address for NBC Blue Network, broadcast April 25, 1940.

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JCT Fund: an endowment to ensure regular publication of the Journal of Curriculum Theorizing during periods of subscription fluctuation.

Research Fund: an endowment from which research and study grants will be made to elementary and secondary teachers, curriculum administrators, and university scholars. First awards to be made for Spring 1987.

Fund for the Institute for Advanced Curriculum Studies: an endowment for non-teaching Research Institute to be inaugurated at the turn of the century.

James B. Macdonald Fund: an endowment for the Macdonald Prize, a cash Prize to be given each year at the Conference, in honor of the late curriculum theorist's important work.

T. Aoki Fund: an endowment for the Aoki Award, a cash Award to be given each year at the Conference in honor of the distinguished Canadian educator's work.

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Editor's Note

This issue of the *JCT* opens with Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux's thought provoking account of the nature of educational reform. This essay—an excerpt from their important book, *Education Under Seige*—analyzes current reform programs and suggests some insightful ideas concerning schools as democratic spheres.

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I want to thank you all for the confidence and support that you expressed at Bergamo.

W. R.

Essays

Ideologies About Schooling: Rethinking the Nature of Educational Reform*

Stanley Aronowitz
Columbia University

Henry Giroux
Miami University of Ohio

After nearly two decades of benign neglect, schools are once more the subject of an intense national debate. In the recent past, discussion has centered on whether schools can be the central institution for achieving racial and sexual equality; or in higher education whether the traditional liberal arts curricula are still "relevant" to a changing labor market; or whether the authoritarian classroom stifles the creativity of young children; or, conversely how permissiveness has resulted in a general lowering of educational achievement. All of these issues are still with us, but they have been subsumed under a much larger question: how to make schools adequate to a changing economic, political and ideological environment?

As has been the case with most public issues in American society, the conservatives have seized the initiative and put liberals and progressives on the defensive. Their arguments have force not only because conservatism has become dominant in the ideological realm, but because their critique seems to correspond to the actual situation. In the first place conservatives have joined radical critics in announcing that the schools have failed to educate, a perception shared by most parents, teachers and administrators. And, secondly, they have coupled their point with a clear analysis of the causes and

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As has been the case with most public issues in American society, the conservatives have seized the initiative and put liberals and progressives on the defensive. Their arguments have force not only because conservatism has become dominant in the ideological realm, but because their critique seems to correspond to the actual situation. In the first place conservatives have joined radical critics in announcing that the schools have failed to educate, a perception shared by most parents, teachers and administrators. And, secondly, they have coupled their point with a clear analysis of the causes and

a program for curing the affliction. To be sure their analysis is by no means original or intellectually challenging. They have taken their cue from radical critics who claim that schooling is merely an adjunct to the labor market. But, unlike the left, conservatives criticize the schools for failing to fulfill this function. With some exceptions, they are happy to jettison the traditional liberal vision that schools must be responsible for transmitting western cultural and intellectual traditions. Instead, they have repeated the 1960s radical attack that schools are not relevant to students' lives, but in a time period when nearly everyone is anxious about their place in a rapidly shifting job market, relevance has come to mean little else than job preparation. While many jobs require applicants to know how to read and write and to possess skills for specialized employment, few employers require mastery or even familiarity with literary canon, the arts, and music much less a secure command of history and the social sciences. Conservatives demand "excellence" by which they usually mean that schools should offer more rigorous science and math curriculum because they have accepted, uncritically, the idea that the mastery of techniques is equivalent to progress. Their language of "achievement", "excellence", "discipline" and "goal orientation" really means vocational education or in their most traditional mode, a return to the authoritatian classroom armed with the 3 Rs curriculum.

The ascendancy of this critique and program was prepared unintentionally by the successes of the educational movements of the 1960s. These movements were aimed at both preparing black and other minority students for the job market, and changing the relations of power within the schools by transferring curriculum determination and administrative authority, in part, from teachers and administrators, to parents and students. In the 60s the traditional liberal arts curriculum was attacked for being culturally biased; since intelligence and achievement tests were based on knowledges that presupposed "middle class" culture, grades and testing were scrapped by some elementary and secondary schools, but more importantly, their status was severely reduced as a measure of achievement, even when these practices survived the reform onslaught.

In the halcyon days of apparently unlimited expansion, the fundamental impulse motivating education reform was how to help the excluded get a piece of the economic action. The widespread assumption among school critics was that their "levelling" function remained unfulfilled as long as minorities and women were excluded from the mobility routes that seemed to be available to single white men. The "levellers" tried to change union and corporation restrictive policies as well as transform schools, but their focus on education was based on the largely correct perception that social welfare institutions were somewhat less intractable than the economic behemoth because they were public rather than private in nature. Those who concentrated on unions were interested in bringing minorities and women into the working class. Those who fought to make schools instruments of social and class mobility were fighting a different battle: they wanted the opportunity to become professionals and managers and believed that credentials were the most appropriate weapon. In neither case, except for the criticism of the school curricula as class, gender and race oriented, did most reformers ask the question about the external and internal orientation of school knowledge because they assumed that curriculum should be articulated with the labor market. Thus, the task was accurate forecasting. For the minority who cared about political power in schools, the main issue was who could hire and fire administrators and teachers. In 1968, the conflict between radical nationalists, school authorities, the unions and liberal politicos came to a head in a teachers strike over whether and to what extent the "community" (read blacks and Puerto Ricans) should exercise power within the system. Community control advocates assumed that if they had power over employment in the schools, the rest would follow. They

made no profound critique of the existing curriculum, just who would implement it.

Among the most dramatic victories of the 1960s was "open admissions" for minorities to colleges and universities. The right of any high school graduate to attend post secondary schools regardless of his/her grades or test scores did not signify full democratization of higher education because reformers did not demand integration at all levels of the academic system, but it did signify a sharp rise in college enrollments in vocational programs, particularly community colleges and the wholesale creation of an entirely new level of higher education i.e., the second tier public liberal arts colleges. But the Carnegie Foundation and other major institutional leaders in higher education made sure that open admissions did not jeopardize the elite schools. New York's City University Chancellor, William Bowker, later president of the University of California at Berkeley took care that open admissions would not mean weakening academic standards at Queens, Hunter, and other top level city colleges, but, instead, would require organizing new campuses as "open enrollment" institutions. Open admissions meant a new era for those historically left out of college, but also reinforced the hierarchical character of higher education.

The new education debate has little to do with fulfilling the American dream of social equality; justice is quite beside the point for the new conservative reformers. Their major concern is the changing world economy and the new international division of labor. Schools, appropriately, are considered producers of human capital, because, consistent with some tenets of recent neo-conservative wisdom, after a century of an underground existence in economic doctrine labor has been rediscovered by the supply siders. Supply side economics blames the relative decline of US manufacturing on lowered productivity in the new, more competitive environment. In turn, part of the productivity picture is ascribed to declining school effectiveness. Industry has rediscovered education because it has lost its once secure markets. Supply side economics argues that government should get out of the way of investment by reducing taxes and thereby increasing business incentives to enlarge and modernize our decrepit productive plant. On the other side, education conservatives advocate reducing federal aid to education in the form of categorical programs, but have intensified their ideological intervention by insisting that schools upgrade themselves through changed curriculum and new management systems rather than massive financial inputs. "Human capital" theorists articulate "back to the basics", increased salaries for math and science teachers, and reducing the cultural and recreational curricula to a bare minimum, as responses to the leaner economic environment. School conservatives have attributed to the multiple sins of the schools to the education reforms of the 60s. If students have failed to perform at the workplace as well as the classroom, this condition is due to the loss of power over curriculum and discipline by teachers and administrators. Chester Finn, has succinctly stated the case:

> The sad fact is that for close to two decades now we have neglected educational quality in the name of equality. Trying to insure that every child would have access to as much education as every other child, we have failed to attend to the content of that education. Seeking to mediate conflict and forestall controversy over the substance of education, we begin to find ourselves with very little substance indeed. Striving to avoid invidious comparisons among youngsters we have stopped gauging individual progress by testing. . . . Hesitant to pass judgment on lifestyles, cultures and forms of behavior we have invited relativism into the curriculum and pedagogy.[1]

Although Finn does not explicitly reject the goal of equality, his emphasis on "quality" is framed in the discourse of absolute standards that can constitute some kind of objective measure of individual and group progress.

These measures are needed to insure "the kind of society we want to inhabit, the kinds of people we want our children to become, the productivity and competitiveness of our national economy" and "our sense of national security and national purpose."[2] What follows from these objectives are a dozen prescriptions which combine the neo-conservative slogan to "get the federal government off the backs of the schools" to the demand that we "throw the special interests out of the schoolhouse" by which he means any "greedy/singleminded group" such as the handicapped and linguistic minorities whose demands, however abstractly valid, prevent schools from marshalling "enough resources to pay for solid instruction in the basics."[3]

Finn's no frills educational program does indeed signify the kind of society and people the neo-conservatives want: workers who can *willingly* perform the specialized tasks required by an economy facing increased competition from abroad. Of course, Finn enters the obligatory caveat for pluralism in education which means, among other things, the free choice of even poor students to attend non-public schools if they could receive vouchers from the government to pay for it. And, of course, "basics" signify student subordination to school authority. Finn wants no more of this "student centered" curriculum in which courses are designed collaboratively by students and teachers rather than being left to administrators and teachers. After all, teenagers cannot be expected to know what's good for them.

To those trained in the varieties of progressive education movements the platonism inherent in this program will seem arcane and even ridiculous. Finn's rejection of educational relativism and his assertion (nowhere argued) that "standards" exist and are, moreover, knowable, have the ring of falsehood for anyone aware of the chaotic state of our moral life. However, to dismiss neo-conservatives as reactionary utopians or to discount their program as, in any case, a measure of the degree to which they are wedded to the past, would be a grievous error.

The neo-conservative's strength lies in their bold invocation of morality in education, their hubris that declares they know what truth and the good really are, and their ability to speak the language of possibility even as they appropriate the left's critique of contemporary schooling.

In contrast, radical critics remain mired in the language of critique even as its own constituency, much less the majority of teachers, parents and students have, at least for now, tired of this discourse. The impressive corpus of radical and marxist analysis of American, Canadian and British education has accumulated evidence, from many angles against the liberal vision of schooling as a broad preparation for life, as an effective means to reproduce the kind of society and individual consistent with the western humanist traditions. In what amounts to almost a theoretical overkill, left discourse demonstrates that schools are something other than transmitters of humanist values. Instead as Bowles and Gintis, Paul Willis, Martin Carnoy, Michael Apple and others have argued, school knowledge is instrumental for the reproduction of capitalist social relations, which are not confined to preparation for a hierarchically arranged occupational and class structures, but also transmit the discourse of domination. According to left theory, tests serve to blame the victim for school failure. Students are prepared for subordination because they view themselves as possessors of "free will". As Willis shows, school leavers march out in rebellion against middle class cultural capital and knowledge forms and thereby "condemn" themselves to working class existence.[4] However positive such resistance may be it generally contributes in the long run to a form of school failure that is the mechanism through which the working class reproduces itself culturally.

The agony of marxist and radical social theory, including education, is that its anti-reformist ethos prevents programmatic discourse *within* institutions. According to left education theory, schools cannot truly serve workers and other subordinate groups because they

are, in the last instance (and increasingly in the first as well) reproducers of the dominant relations of production. Consequently, marxism has found its critique and even its language appropriated by the right which, as we have argued, is entirely sympathetic to an economic interpretation of the function of schools, including their role as reproducers of prevailing social relations. Further, since left morality prevents a serious consideration of alternatives under non-revolutionary circumstances, it appears to be devoid of possibility and often presents itself in scientific garb that, by definition, even disguises its ethical foundation. For marxism claims that history replaces ethics, that class analysis precludes reform and that the language of possibility must address only the project of global social transformation. Lacking an immediate prospect for the latter, marxist education theorists are constrained, at a certain point, to shut up.

A second, and equally debilitating problem is the orthodox marxist conception of ideology, which it shares with many radical populists. According to this view, ideology is a kind of false consciousness, a set of ideas and beliefs that distort social reality. Marxists take seriously Marx's statement that the ruling ideas of any society are the ideas of the ruling class and that the task of the left is to de-mystify them through relentless critique. In turn, the left regards school knowledge as an instance of bourgeois ideology. Ideas such as freedom and equality are far from the objectives of school authorities who are, perhaps unwittingly clerks not only of the state, but also of the class that dominates it. Thus school knowledge within capitalist society is an instrument of ruling class power because it reproduces the ideology that in this society individuals possess, not only rights, such as school attendance, but also equal opportunity to advance on the social ladder. School knowledge is viewed negatively as an instrument of domination; therefore, given the structural limits imposed by bourgeois hegemony, the chance for genuine education through schooling is virtually nil. Almost

nowhere in marxist educational theory and critique can one find a discussion of *counterhegemony* as a category for enabling students, parents, and teachers to wage political struggle within schools. Marxist education theorists have spent little time discovering the internal contradictions within prevailing school knowledge, disruptions that could provide a basis for a real educational movement. The discourse of demystification prevents the question of internal, counterhegemonic moments within school knowledge from being asked. Further the power/knowledge antinomy is rarely, if ever explored as *possibility*. That is, the left ignores the degree to which popular forces might appropriate the democratic ideology of schools, elements of existing school knowledges, and on the basis of these find the possiblitiy of accumulating power within the schools. Instead, the left has worked itself into a theoretical cul de sac. For if school knowledge, governance and finances are, for all practical purposes, subsumed under the capitalist state and the state is, in any case, an instrument for ruling class domination, what possible perspectives for political struggle are there within the education sector? What are the points of intervention of a putative social movement aimed at countering neo-conservative hegemony? Unless we posit the existence of internal contradictions and a positive relation of knowledge and power rather than posing them as antinomies, theory remains abstract and critique sterile.

Before suggesting some paths out of the dead end that currently afflicts left educational theory, we must return to the original culprit against which both radicals and conservatives have inveighed--liberal humanism. We will argue that far from constituting a linchpin of bourgeois mystification, progressive education, the core American doctrine of liberal educational humanism, contains a language of possibility for fruitful intervention into contemporary educational battles because it has posed the relation of power and knowledge in a positive as well as critical way. To begin with, we want to make a distinction

between the progressive education movement as it evolved in the early decades of the century, reemerged later in the 60s, and the ideas of its leading theorists, John Dewey and the Columbia school (Kirkpatrick, Rugg, Hook and Mike Hohn). The movement never achieved hegemony within school ideology but was appropriated, piecemeal, into a hybrid discourse of liberal reform which dominated our schools since the turn of the century. Moreover, in its latter incarnation, radical school reform of the 1960s adopted an anti-intellectual stance that helped prepare the victory of the right. By surrendering the concept of systematic knowledge acquisition and uncritical privileging of student experience, which constituted merely the mirror image of the cognitive orientation of school officials which prescribed a set of learnings prior to any possible experience, the radical reformers were prey to the charge that they had betrayed the interests of the poor and minorities who desperately needed to learn how to read, write and calculate. We want to make clear that while recognizing the achievement of radical school movements, particularly their program to empower students, parents and the community in schools, we distance ourselves from their refusal to grapple with the specific intellectual and political issues entailed by the reproduction and dissemination of school knowledge and social practices.

It is hard to imagine how far we have come from the philosophy and program of early progressive education theorists. The movement is now eighty years old and has had several incarnations. Each successive resuscitation of radical school reform has added new dimensions to the ideology, but lost some too. We may see in the 60s demand for relevance in school curriculum an appropriation of John Dewey's philosophy of experience, one that manages to misunderstand and even discredit his arguments. When Dewey places experience at the center of the educational process, his thought was far from adjusting school knowledge to the vicissitudes of the labor market:

> Gardening, for example, need not be taught for the sake of preparing future gardeners, or as an agreeable way of passing time. It affords an avenue of approach to knowledge of the place farming and horticulture have had in the history of the race and which they occupy in present social organization. Carried on in an environmental educationally controlled, they are means for making a study of the facts of growth, the chemistry of soil, the role of light, air and moisture. . . [5]

For Dewey, the point of occupationally and recreationally based education was not only to prepare students for jobs, but for the broad requirements of citizenship in a democratic society. He held to Jefferson's belief that an informed citizenry was the best assurance that democracy would not degenerate into dictatorship or authoritarian regimes. Contrary to many of his followers, "learning by doing" did not signify a devaluation of theoretical knowledge in favor of the practical. Dewey's claim was that transmitting theory apart from practice reduced the student to that side of experience he called "undergoing," that is, a passive object of education. Instead, he wanted to stress the active side. Experience was not merely the undergoing of a particular event such as when a child puts her hand in a flame. The child must *understand* the consequences of what has been undergone for experience to come into play. For Dewey, the aim of education is to help the student gain conscious direction and control of the learning process. Work and play are understood as means by which control may be achieved because they make concrete the social and cognitive function of theoretical knowledge.

Here Dewey makes a distinction between habit and knowledge:

> Habit means that an individual undergoes a modification through an experience, which forms a predisposition to easier and more effective action in a

> like direction in the future. Thus, it also has the function of making one experience available to subsequent experiences. . . . But habit apart from knowledge does not make allowance for change of conditions, for novelty. Prevision of change is not part of its scope, for habit assumes the likeness of the new situation with the old. Consequently, it often leads astray, or comes between a person and the successful performance of his task, just as skill based on habit alone, of the mechanic will desert him when something unexpected occurs in the running of the machine. But a man who understands the machine is the man who knows what he is about. . . . In other words, knowledge is a perception of those connections of an object which determine its applicability in a given situation. [6]

The important point to be stressed here is that the program of neo-conservative school theorists is to introduce habit into the curriculum, to program students in a certain direction so that they will behave in set ways, responding to predetermined situations. Since they have renounced critical intent of education which begins, according to Dewey, with "knowing" what we are about and being able to make connections between our formal knowledge and the changed conditions under which activity takes place. Thus, Dewey's philosophy of education is to direct schools to devise curricula that orient around critical thinking--to know ourselves as the key to our knowledge of the world. Specifically, to make the connections between contemporary experience and the received information that others have gained through their generalized experience which he calls theory.

The object of theoretical knowledge so defined as making available to the individual "former experiences for subsequent ones is: (1) increased power of control, and (2) it also increases the meaning, the experienced significance attached to an experience." Here Dewey wants to avoid "merely reacting physically to new circumstances. There is no mental reward in such responses."[7] Rather, knowledge is prospective if it permits us to "experience a meaning" in situations, even if we have not succeeded in enlarging our control over it.

We may fault Dewey for not bringing his theory of education into the context of problems of state and institutional life. Although he has a clear idea of what schools *ought to be*, he carefully avoids making a social and political analysis of what schools actually *are*. He argues that schools should be a community, in effect a small society in which "intercourse, communication and cooperation" take place all extending the perception of connections. He wants to break down the conventional separation of theory and practice, schooling and education so that learning can take place both within and outside the school walls. Yet he does not come to grips with the concrete obstacles to his objective of linking knowledge and power, by which he means enlarging the student's capacity to control his own social destiny by consciously shaping experience. Thus, implicit in Dewey's philosophy is the notion of schools as vessels waiting to be filled by those who pour enlightened, democractic and critical learning modes into them.

Radical theorists have generally ignored Dewey for his lack of sociological and political insight and because they have concluded that, under capitalism, schools could never fulfill the goal of social empowerment. As a result, Dewey's best ideas are all but lost to American educational practice in proportion as humanists and progressives have been discursively defeated by orthodox left and conservative critics who have labelled these ideas either as bad *ideology* or destructive *utopian fantasies*. The left argues that schools habituate individuals to the real world of domination and the right argues that the ideology of student-centered education has destroyed the ability of schools to help the economy as well as its workers to survive and perform in an everchanging market economy.

The failure of the progressive humanist project was not the inadequacy of its ideas. It can be shown that Dewey's educational thought closely approximates the best marxist and radical education theory, little of which stems from contemporary western sources. For example, we may compare Dewey's work with the education writings of the Italian marxist Antonio Gramsci. "Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship," writes Gramsci. In order to receive the active or passive assent of the general population, nations, dominant classes and ruling groups must generate a "common sense" that is broadly disseminated in what Gramsci calls "civil society," by which he means everyday or private life as distinct from either economic life or the state and politics. Gramsci, like Dewey, distinguishes between specific school knowledge and knowledge acquired in the ensemble of social life and thereby broadens the concept of education from its narrow bureaucratic construction as merely instruction. Nevertheless, his prescriptive discussion of school knowledge draws strikingly similar conclusions with those of Dewey. In the first place, he separates habitual and critical knowledge and relegates the former to the early years of the common school because of the need to inculcate the routines of study discipline among children. However, although he favors vocational and specialized education that is directed to specific career goals, Gramsci's idea of the secondary school corresponds to an institution in which not only instructs pupils in "dead" knowledge (although he makes an eloquent case for this kind of learning), but also participates in the formation of individuals who are not only prepared for the world of work but "contribute to developing the element of independent responsibility" in them. Gramsci's concept of the two stages of schooling culminates in the "creative" school where "learning takes place especially through a spontaneous and autonomous effort of the pupil, with the teacher only exercising a function of friendly guide. . . . To discover a truth oneself, without external suggestions or assistance, is to create--even if the truth is an old one."[8]

Gramsci's marxism did not prevent him from undertaking prescriptive work even under conditions of fascist Italy and while in prison. The originality of his marxism consists in this--that he was capable of speaking the language of possibility even under the most objectively onerous circumstances. The reason Gramsci entered into the discourse of institutional reform was based on his theory of hegemony as education. Unlike orthodox marxists, the revolution did not consist, for Gramsci, in some kind of a big bang theory, e.g. the insurrectionary seizure of state power by a radicalized working class and peasantry. Having experienced both the abortive radicalization of the Italian workers immediately following the first world war and the painful course of the Bolshevik revolution, he came to understand the crucial importance of those aspects of the social sphere called civil society--the ideological, cultural, religious sphere (the so-called superstructural relations) where humans live by ingrained concepts of justice, morality and truth. Gramsci believed that the left could not merely contest the political and state sphere or remain locked in factory struggles as it had previously. His program was tantamount to what became known in the 60s as the long march through institutions--to contest moral and intellectual leadership of society, by entering the public sphere of institutional as well as political life where people debated their "truths" about education, morality and law as well as struggled over their immediate and antagonistic interests. Put another way, Gramsci understood the necessity of making the political more pedagogical.

Since Gramsci's concept of education presupposes the reality of Italian capitalism in the 1930s, industrially incomplete, a weak professional and technical cadre, gaping regions of underdevelopment within a relatively weak national identity, we may expect a different idea of the need for vocational education than his counterparts in more developed societies. Yet, for him, the task before left educators was to appropriate critically those best features

of traditional educational practice, which constituted the pedagogy of the ruling and "mandarin" classes. Although Gramsci was pessimistic about the chances of maintaining Latin and Greek centerpieces of the elementary and secondary school curricula, he was concerned to find the moral and intellectual equivalent provided to elites' children: "to understand the historical movement of the whole language,"[9] the entire philosophical and logical basis of western thought and civilization and to inculcate the habit of scholarship among ordinary people.

Gramsci wanted to find a school form that would enable children of the "subaltern" classes to achieve not only what ruling class students learned in earlier times, but also to critically appropriate the best dimensions of their own histories, experiences, and culture. For him that form is an institution that breaks down the wall between vocational and academic education and brings students to the threshold of the world of work with a broadly based education in both aspects of school knowledge. He rejects the traditional vocational school because it "tends to perpetuate traditional social differences" just as Dewey was opposed to schools that "try to educate individuals with an eye to only one line of activity." Dewey was fairly blind to class analysis, but his concern for the free development of independent and critical individuals, able to gain meaning from their experience, including educational experiences, forced him to oppose the dominant tendency of his time.

Working under radically different circumstances, Paulo Freire[10] drew conclusions that are by no means far from the educational philosophies of Dewey and Gramsci. His overriding goal of empowerment for oppressed Brasilian peasants entailed distinct but closely related steps: the validation of the "voices" of the people who are traditionally deprived of legitimate participation in political as well as civil society. Thus, Freire's pedagogy is dialogic: learning occurs within conversation, and not as top to down instruction between the teacher and student.

Dewey's still unrefined idea of communication and cooperation in schools is made into a detailed method, but the foundation is the history, experience, and culture of the learner herself. Freire's reflexive concept of knowledge is compatible with Dewey's notion that experience is not reactive but a creative and meaningful relationship between the individual and her historical and contemporary situation where changed circumstances produce new and transformed knowledges. Similarly, Freire inserts education directly into the political sphere by arguing that education represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. Thus, education becomes a central terrain where power and politics operate out of a dialectical relation between individuals and groups who live out their lives within specific historical conditions and structural constraints as well as within cultural forms and ideologies that are the basis for contradictions and struggles.

Of course, Gramsci and Freire formed their educational theory in the framework of a historical and social understanding of the collective fates of classes within modern society. Their objective is not to empower the individual to take a secure place within democratic society as Dewey seems to hold, but to transform society itself to meet the collective needs of individuals. Education becomes a radical project for economic, political and cultural change in which relations of power are transformed. Yet, what unites these writers is their understanding that the core of popular democratic power resides in the appropriation, by the vast majority, of past knowledge as well as knowledge of one's own creative powers. Similarly, the dialectic between education as the transmission of cultural values and knowledge and the new knowledge produced by the creative acts of the people themselves is the guiding educational principle in all three positions.

We are not claiming that Dewey is a revolutionary thinker in the socialist or marxist sense. But the penchant of radical and humanist thinkers to ignore his contribution

or, worse, to dismiss his work as idealist, utopian, reactionary, etc., is informed by the profound pessimism to which critical educational scholarship has descended. We invent a language of possibility that proposes extensive philosophic and programmatic changes in education only if we can imagine a public sphere within which alternatives are seriously considered. Epistemologically, the language of critique turns in on itself and loses its emancipatory character when political imagination has disappeared. The theorist becomes overwhelmed by the immediate circumstances which, admittedly, since the early 1970s have become unfavorable to such proposals. On the other hand, the failure of the theorist to find a field of practical contestation to "test" such proposals simply strengthens the hegemony of conservatives who today have the field to themselves. Part of the job is to establish links with parents, students and progressive teachers who are obliged, by necessity as well as their ideological proclivities, to engage in the debate.

Here we might draw a contrast between the Frankfurt School whose fate in prewar Germany was sealed by the rise of Nazism, on the one had, and Gramsci and Freire on the other. The leading figures of the Frankfurt School draw the rational conclusion that all "positive" discourse had been foreclosed by fascism, and went further to assert that the language of possibility within the framework of repressive societies was a kind of crackpot positivism which could do nothing but strengthen the existing regimes. Thus, in their view, the task of theory was to deconstruct the link between liberalism and fascism. The Frankfurt School justly objected to the tendency of nearly all other marxists to make a radical break between fascism and liberal capitalism. They insisted that the absolutist state, the command economy and cultural "barbarism" characteristic of fascist regimes were all prepared by the one dimensional thought modes of advanced industrial societies in which technological domination prevailed. Their critique, which stemmed from a close reading of the

darker side of the enlightenment, particularly the elevation of the domination of nature and of humans to the status of a new quasi religious creed, constituted the heart of theory.[11] Lacking a practice with which to oppose this development, the Frankfurt School gloried in its marginality and tended to elevate intellectual work and art to the status of subsersive activity. The Frankfurt School was always too realistic to imagine that its theoretical and critical works were engaged in some kind of struggle for hegemony: to them such illusions were immature at best, dangerous at worst. They were upholding that rare commodity, *reason*, whose existence became more precarious with each passing consumerist fad.

History played a cruel trick on the Frankfurt self image of towering loneliness. For a brief instant the famous society of total administration disaggregated in the 1960s and Marcuse and Adorno, if not the others, became instant organic intellectuals to a youth and student movement that became visible and sometimes powerful in all western democracies. Along with Henri Lefevbre, C. Wright Mills and a few others, the Frankfurt School's knowledge was linked with oppositional power.[12] Although its weight in the political institutions was always problematic, the new left succeeded in exerting considerable influence among intellectuals, even if something short of hegemony in the Gramscian sense. Its work in all countries might well be described as pedagogical and sometimes its critique of the cultural forms of capitalism reached deeply into other social classes and strata. Ideas such as grassroots democracy to replace the oppressive structures of representative government, the critique of consumer society, the demands for community control and individual freedom in major institutions such as schools became commonplace public issues. While no set of ideas can be traced to the work of intellectuals exclusively, insofar as they played an important role in transforming the experience and the power of an entire generation of youth, the Frankfurt School's sway proved exactly the opposite of

what their critical theory had suggested. Technological domination was not complete; in some places resistance and imagination were still possible and, in limited spheres, it had come to power.

Horkheimer and Adorno never acknowledged that their own critique contained a hidden discourse of possibility. When they attacked the domination of nature as a mask for human domination, some of their readers began to question the efficacy of scientific rationality that subordinated all environmental consequences of technology to profit and consumption; others interpreted the normal processes of bureaucratic institutions as assaults on individuality and freedom and proceeded to organize popular movements for civil rights and against the apparently unstoppable war machine. In short, while Dewey, Gramsci and Freire are intellectuals who made the political more pedagogical, the Frankfurt School denied the possiblity of genuine politics in technological societies, yet each has contributed to engendering the language of possiblity in the late 20th century.

Still, Marcuse's darkest prognostications cannot be so easily dismissed. For, even though feminism, ecological movements and the peace and black movements serve to remind us of the ineluctability of oppositional politics, the post-sixties years have been marked by a resurgence of the technological rationality that Marcuse feared. Its most ubiquitous current form is the so-called computer revolution. Since the energy crisis reminded Americans of their economic vulnerability, a perception strengthened by the economic decline of the early 1980s, the computer has been touted as the solution to (almost) all of our economic problems. This wonderous machine once used exclusively for payrolls and as a tool for storing information, has now been elevated to a savior, the embodiment of technologically based culture, a way of life for millions of Americans. For us, the rise of scientific culture finds its most ambiguous expression in the rise of computer technology. Our call for the pedagogical to become more

political gaines reactionary expression in the almost strident call of liberals, conservatives and others to establish technocratic rationality as the basis for all learning. This is not meant to dismiss scientific culture and technocratic rationality as much as to subject it to the dialectical interrogation it deserves.

The computer's functions have been dramatically expanded to include industrial design, manufacturing and, important for our discussion, computer-aided education. Writers, researchers and kids who play games with them have taken computers into the home. For some, they have replaced television as the constant companion that has been missing since personal interaction went the way of the horse and buggy. Computers have mediated work, leisure and virtually all communications. And this is the sense in which they have become a form of culture.

The pervasiveness of computer technology has evoked two distinct and contradictory responses. Critics such as David Noble regard the computerization of the workplace as a political as well as economic arm of capitalism.[13] Drawing on the results of the industrial revolution, Noble sees computers as merely the latest stage of capital's offensive against labor, a means to subordinate workers by degrading their labor and eliminating them from the workplace. Nobles's new luddism despairs that workers could gain a measure of freedom from onerous, boring labor through the technology of the computer. Further, the computer facilitates centralization of control over the workplace. The warp and woof of computerization is that information has become the foundation of production and administration. But information, although it can aid in the production of things, also replaces corporeal objects and makes many industrial functions, once anchored in geographic space and a large quanitity of living labor, subject to radical decentralization of execution while facilitating centralized control. Machine operators, designers as well as data processors can work from their own homes, or in rural communities, or in suburbs far from control centers

which may, or may not be located in large cities. The traditional basis of workers' power, the factory and the industrial center of which it was a part, seem destined to follow the typewriter and the belt driven lathe into the museum.

For Noble as well as his progenitor, Harry Braverman[14], technology embodies social relations. Far from being a "tool" of a neutral production process, the computer is value-laden. It embodies, for Noble, elements of economic and social domination because, like Marcuse, Braverman and Noble regard rationalization, that is, the division of labor according to productivity norms, as ideological. There is no question of resituating the computer in a democratic workplace where workers participate in decision-making. They view the machine as the reified form of social relations of domination. And, following Marcuse's critique of technological thought, the computer represents the apogee of this development because it reduces things to processes, the concrete to the abstract, and quality to quantity.

The most sophisticated critics of contemporary technology are merely extending Marx and Weber's critique of capitalist rationality to processes of production and administration. Like George Lukacs,[15] they find the key to understanding the modern world in Marx's analysis of the transformation of value into exchange values through the permutations of the commodity form; and concomitantly, Weber's argument that our epoch is marked by the disenchantment of the world through administration, especially the formation of industrial and state bureaucracies.

The underlying presupposition of the computer's fervent advocates is that science and technology, one of the crucial moments in disenchantment, and its accompanying rationality, constitue the basis of unshackling humans from the religious world view. Although mostly unstated, the computer is viewed as the latest step in our progressive domination of nature which follows from the unleashing of rational thought from mystical constraints.

Thus, even when celebrants declare the computer to be nothing more than a tool wielded for human purposes and subject only to the constraints of manmade social context, this neutralization of technology reveals complete support for the scientific ideology of objectivity through experimental method and value-free research. Consequently computer scientist Seymour Papert[16] wants to harness this tool to help solve the education crisis.

Papert has invented a new computer language called logos in order to assist students learn mathematics and science. Students could master a new language, learn elementary logical processes, and most important of all acquire a sense of mastery of the external world, especially a significant machine of our industrial and commercial system. Unlike those like Herbert Simon[17] for whom humans are merely ants with information processing apparati, Papert is a humanist for whom education is a way to empowerment through knowledge. He sees the computer as an instrument for these ends precisely because it embodies nothing other than the intentions of its user.

But Edmund Sullivan's critique of this perspective is worth reviewing because he regards Papert as an advocate but his objection is not made from the standpoint of those for whom computers are inimical to social freedom.[18] Sullivan believes the computer has both positive and negative features, but its value depends on the "human intentions" that guide their use. Papert's book is interesting not only because it tries to devise a program for computer-aided instruction, but also because it adopts the view that the child programs the computer and consequently acquires a sense of mastery as well as intellectual adventure. Sullivan praises this goal and other aspects of Papert's viewpoint. Far from "programming the child to work with computers" his position is to place the child at the center of the process. Moreoever, he sees the computer as a part of culture, not merely as a tool. It is, of course, consistent with scientific culture of which we are the heirs.

But Sullivan faults Papert's conception that the computer enables education to become a "private act," removing the child from the competitive environment of schools that have suppressed learning because they have subordinated the child to grades and the approval of elders, particularly teachers. Papert's vision of private interaction between the learner and her machine may be attractive to those who are repelled by the authoritarianism of the classroom, but for Sullivan this view suffers from an essential flaw. Learning is neither a purely cognitive act, nor a private one. Sullivan insists that machines cannot truly replicate the I-Thou interactive relation between two or more persons since it is not genuinely *other* by Papert's own admission (the machine, for Papert, is subordinate to human mastery). Hence it cannot provide the moral side of sociability but does not even satisfy the cognitive requirements because human interaction is really a two-way communication and person-machine interaction is not. At the same time, Sullivan approves of the use of computer-based learning for the limited purposes of helping the child to understand that "knowledge is a system" which is ordered according to abstract logical principles and is "not arbitrary." Second, Sullivan agrees that Papert's "systematic use of error" to enhance education "has revolutionary import for contemporary education" since most school's discourage error within its walls.

Sullivan's and Papert's return to experimentalism is a breath of fresh air in an educational environment suffused with conformity, fear and hierarchy. At the same time Sullivan is justly critical of Papert's reliance on Piagetian psychology and epistemology because he places this perspective within the framework of artificial intelligence. As Joseph Weizensbaum has argued, artificial intelligence does not give us the opportunity to transfer mental processes, particularly activities such as judgment and value, to machines.[19] Sullivan concludes that Papert's mind/body split--his reliance on a purely cognitive model of learning--results in distorting the education objectives

he so fervently desires. Sullivan goes on to review the split-brain literature with a view to correcting Papert's rationalism by pointing out that the affective side (the left side of the brain) remains underdeveloped in all computer-aided educational models.

Sullivan argues for a dialectical approach to the learning process in which the cognitive and the creative sides are accorded equal weight. But by using split-brain research he has succeeded in reproducing the dichotomous existence of the two models of learning. Now for Sullivan the split-brain is a heurism, a device for showing that the brain is not a computer but is also endowed with artistic features that should not be subject to rationalization, particularly quantitative abstraction.

While it may be that the creative and analytic aspects of the brain can be located physically in different sides, we object to the use of a biological metaphor to refute the abstract--cognitive orientation of artificial intelligence and other computer-mediated theories of human interaction and intelligence. One need not resort to theories of human nature to argue that the brain is not a machine. Rather we approach this question in a historical framework: the doctrine of "man the machine" is deeply rooted in pre-Freudian psychology and French materialism of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It corresponded to the fallacy of all analogical thinking of the period that derived its world view from Newtonian physics and Cartesian metaphysics. According to this doctrine, humans were endowed biologically with cognitive capacities that were abetted or retarded by the socialization process. In effect, biologism was the other side of environmentalism. In the 20th century, these views have been echoed in the behaviorisms of B. F. Skinner and organizational and information theorists from Shannon to Simon.[20]

We do not need "scientific" support to see that these mechanistic views of the world ignored the "active" side of human understanding--production, social interaction, intentionality, interpretation. For it is not only that we make the world according to the limits placed on our

action by prior conditions (Marx), but education as opposed to training is the process by which we assimilate our environment in relation to our desires. We are not only needy organisms, but desiring ones as well. And desire cannot be limited to goal-oriented behavior directed at achieving ends that are dictated by our social-biological "needs." We learn as much by assimilating the world to the dictates of the sphere of what we call our "imaginary" (which cannot always be adjusted to practical tasks) as we do in the so-called "socialization" process, one that is increasingly technologically directed. By imaginary we mean the proclivities towards creating an alternative world, not representing that which is. The imaginary is the foundation of play; it is the way we make a new world as well as achieve selfhood. Play can be understood as the interaction of two imaginaries, especially among children where the activity itself is directed both to creating the social self, but also creating a self that "goes beyond" the givens of existing social structures. The relationship between education as socialization which is directed towards suppressing the imaginary and learning as a means by which the imaginary takes command over the ego is inevitable in any society that wishes to insure the adaptation of its young to prevailing norms, but retains the democratic aspiration for progressive culture. The point of technological domination is to make the imaginary into an instrument of the prevailing order. This struggle has been theorized in various ways; Reich[21] posited liberated sexuality as the subversive element in repressive society; Deleuze and Guattari[22] have called this "desire" which is constituted by its transformation into a machine (the desiring machine) along with the surplus that remains unharnessed by the environment; Habermas[23] speaks the utopian language of undistorted communication, but retains a rationalistic framework within which more perfect interaction may take place.

This is not the place to enter the important debate about alternative theoretical formulations to the instrumentalization of everyday life, the repressive character of social

relations, and the loss of civic courage that accompanies it. Suffice to remark here that we firmly reject the notion that computers or any other machine address the crisis in education. We do not hold that machines are, themselves, responsible either for historical progress (whatever that may be) or our present malaise. On the other hand, they do embody social relations; science and technology, far from being saviors of our distressed public sphere, have been subordinated to the interests of domination. We agree with the critics of scientific and technological culture insofar as we are persuaded that it is by no means separate from ideology. Social relations constitute the invisible content of many things including science. Yet, with Sullivan only the most backward looking position could maintain that scientific and technological developments are unmixed evils. Here we only wish to emphasize the point that education alternatives require more than tools of administration. Schools as a *democratic public sphere*, a concept that corresponds to the way many advocates of public schools at the turn of the century understood them, cannot be created unless learning itself is a democratic process. While we do not offer here an algorithm for achieving this end, some of what follows suggests a different way to think about schooling and education.

Among the first steps is to specify what we as a community want education to be. This means acknowledging both the importance as well as the limits of the language of critique. It means moving beyond analyses of the ideological and material conditions of public schooling to the language of possibility. In this case, we move to the terrain of hope and agency, to the sphere of struggle and action, one steeped in a vision which chooses life and offers constructive alternatives.

Secondly, rethinking the purpose of education also means reformulating the social and ideological role of educators. We believe that educators at all levels of schooling have to be seen as intellectuals, who as mediators, legitimators, and producers of ideas and social practices perform a pedagogical function that is eminently

political in nature. By viewing educators as intellectuals, we want to expand the theoretical insights provided by Freire and Gramsci on the role of the intellectual in modern society and, specifically, of the role of educators in public schools and in higher education. In effect, we are offering a set of categories that allow for a better understanding of the nature of intellectual work, the conditions under which it operates, and the social functions it legitimates. The categories around which we want to analyze the social function of educators as intellectuals are: 1)hegemonic intellectuals, 2)accommodating intellectuals, 3)critical intellectuals, and 4)resisting intellectuals. We want to delineate briefly what each of these categories suggest as a mode of inquiry into the nature of intellectual work and the interests that inform it, and will begin with those intellectuals who represent a small minority.

Resisting intellectuals[24] is a category that draws from the insights of both Gramsci and Freire. On the one hand, it is indebted to Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual. That is, to the notion of individuals who as intellectuals provide the moral and directive leadership to raise political awareness and simultaneously promote collective forms of struggle within the working class. Such intellectuals develop an organic political relationship to the working class and give it a sense of theoretical coherence and ideological unity. Our notion of resisting intellectual differs from Gramsci's notion of organic intellectual in that we believe that such intellectuals can emerge from and work with any number of oppositional groups advancing emancipatory traditions and cultures within alternative public spheres. Central to the category of resisting intellectuals is the interplay of the languages of critique and possibility. Utilizing the language of self critque, resisting intellectuals employ the discourse of self criticism as well as forms of critical analysis that interrogate the ideological and material practices of domination. More specifically, resisting intellectuals take their cue from Freire and develop a critical vernacular that is attentive to the problems people experience at the level of every day life. The language of critique couples with the language of possibility when it points to the conditions for new forms of culture, alternative social practices, new modes of communication, and a practical vision for the future.

Critical intellectuals, on the other hand, are ideologically subversive but do not see themselves as connected either to a specific social formation or performing a general social function that is expressively political in nature. Their protests constitute a critical function which they see as part of their professional status or obligation as intellectuals. In most cases, the posture of critical intellectuals is self-consciously apolitical, and their relationship to the rest of society is best defined as free-floating.[25] As individuals they are critical of inequality and injustice, but they refuse to move beyond their isolated posture to the terrain of collective solidarity and struggle. Often this retreat from politics is justified on the basis of arguments that posit the impossibility of politics for reasons as ideologically diverse as the claim that we live in a totally administered society, or that history is in the hands of a technology out of control, or the simple refusal to believe that human agency matters.

Accommodating intellectuals operate squarely within an ideological posture and material culture that supports and benefits the dominant society and attendant ruling groups. Such intellectuals also define themselves in terms that suggest a privileged free-floating relationship to the worlds of power and political interests. But in spite of such rationalizations, such intellectuals function primarily as clerks of the empire by producing ideas and social practices that mainly legitimate their social priviliges as well as reproduce the society that protects them. These are the intellectuals who decry politics while simultaneously refusing to take risks. Another more subtle variation is the intellectual who disdains politics by proclaiming professionalism as a value system, one which often entails the spurious concepts of scientific objectivity.

Hegemonic intellectuals do more than surrender to forms of academic and political incorporation, or hide behind spurious claims to scientific objectivism, they self-consciously define themselves through the forms of moral and intellectual leadership they provide for dominant groups and classes. This stratum of intellectuals provides various factions of the dominant classes with a homogeneity and awareness of their economic, political, and ethical functions. The interests that define the conditions as well as the nature of their work are tied to the preservation of the existing order. Such intellectuals are to be found on the consulting lists of major foundations, on the faculties of major universities, as managers of the culture industry, and so forth.

If we are to fight for schools as democratic spheres, it is imperative to understand the contradictory roles that educators occupy within the various levels of schooling. It is also important to understand who resisting intellectuals are to build alliances with and whom we have to attack and oppose on all fronts. Clearly, if we are going to face the task of developing the ideological and material conditions from which radical educators can rethink the project of schooling and human emancipation then surely we cannot accept the near hysterical description of education as providing human capital to commerce or socialization models that speak to the limited task of transmitting dominant culture to succeeding generations. If we want a creative citizenry that is capable of constituting itself as a democratic public sphere, then curriculum, and school organizations must address the imaginary, and refrain from finding techniques to displace it by fear to the prevailing order. Of course, we do not expect this hope to become a majority movement in the near future. There are political and cultural limits to such aspirations. But this essay may stimulate some who would organize a social movement in schools and outside them to restore education to an honorable and autonomous place in our culture. To these educators, parents, students and citizens we address ourselves.

Footnotes

[1]Chester Finn, "A Call for Quality Education," **American Education** (January-February, 1982), p. 32.

[2]**Ibid.**, p. 33.

[3]**Ibid.**, pp. 33-36.

[4]Paul Willis, **Learning to Labour** (Lexington: D. C. Heath, 1977).

[5]John Dewey, **Democracy and Education** (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 200.

[6]**Ibid.**, pp. 339-340.

[7]**Ibid.**, pp. 340-341

[8]Antonio Gramsci, **Selections From Prison Notebooks**, ed. and trans. Quinten Hoare and Geoffrey Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p.

[9]**Ibid.**, p. 37.

[10]Paulo Friere, **Pedagogy of the Oppressed** (New York: Seabury Press, 1973); also see **The Politics of Education** (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1984).

[11]Theodor Adorno and Max Horkeimer, **Dialectic of the Enlightenment** (New York: Seabury Press, 1972); Herbert Marcuse, **One Dimensional Man** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

[12]Henri Levevbre, **Everyday Life in the Modern World** (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968); C. Wright Mills **The Sociological Imagination** (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

[13]David Noble, **America By Design** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

[14]Harry Braverman, **Labor and Monopoly Capital** (New York: Monthly Review, 1974).

[15]Georg Lukacs, **History and Class Consciousness** (Mass.: MIT Press, 1968).

[16]Seymour Papert, **Mind Storms** (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

[17]H. A. Simon, **The Science of the Artificial** (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969).

[18]Edmund Sullivan, "Computers, Culture and Educational Futures," Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, unpublished paper, 1984.

[19]Joseph Weizenbaum, **Computers and Human Reason** (New York: W. H. Freeman Co., 1976).

[20]B. F. Skinner, **About Behaviorism** New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, 1974); C. Shannon, **Mathematical Theory of Communication** (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1975); Simon, op.cit.

[21]W. Reich, **Sex-Pol Essays**, ed. Lee Baxandall (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).
[22]Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattare, **Anti Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophenia** (New York: Viking Press, 1977).
[23]Jurgen Habermas, **Communication and the Evolution of Society**, trans. by Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979).
[24]I am indebted to Jim Sosnoski for the term resisting intellectual. The term appears in a different context in the following paper. H. Giroux, D. Shumway, P. Smith, J. Sosnoski, "The Need for Cultural Studies: Resisting Intellectuals and Oppositional Public Spheres," **Cultural Critique** (in press).
[25]The Concept of free floating intellectual is taken from Karl Mannheim, **Ideology and Utopia** (New York: Harvest Book, 1936).

*This article is partly abstracted from **Education Under Siege** (Bergin & Garvey, 1985) by S. Aronowitz and H. Giroux.

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The Self-Determined Educator and the Expansion of the "Labor-Education Thesis"

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I. INTRODUCTION

This article examines some of the aspirations for free, public education in the United States. Although the most important of such hopes were expressed from the "bottom up," we begin with an outline of Thomas Jefferson's "top down" position on education. His thought, while not emanating from among the ranks of the "mechanics," small farmers, free Blacks and Indians of his period, was nevertheless exemplary of the most enlightened and democratic views on education, circa 1779.

This presentation of some of Jefferson's educational conceptions helps set the stage for our discussion of the still more advanced visions of the workingmen's parties, David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet and Emma Willard.

II. JEFFERSON, THE AMERICAN ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE CONCEPT OF FREE, PUBLIC EDUCATION

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[21]W. Reich, **Sex-Pol Essays**, ed. Lee Baxandall (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).
[22]Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattare, **Anti Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophenia** (New York: Viking Press, 1977).
[23]Jurgen Habermas, **Communication and the Evolution of Society**, trans. by Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979).
[24]I am indebted to Jim Sosnoski for the term resisting intellectual. The term appears in a different context in the following paper. H. Giroux, D. Shumway, P. Smith, J. Sosnoski, "The Need for Cultural Studies: Resisting Intellectuals and Oppositional Public Spheres," **Cultural Critique** (in press).
[25]The Concept of free floating intellectual is taken from Karl Mannheim, **Ideology and Utopia** (New York: Harvest Book, 1936).

*This article is partly abstracted from **Education Under Siege** (Bergin & Garvey, 1985) by S. Aronowitz and H. Giroux.

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The Self-Determined Educator and the Expansion of the "Labor-Education Thesis"

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I. INTRODUCTION

This article examines some of the aspirations for free, public education in the United States. Although the most important of such hopes were expressed from the "bottom up," we begin with an outline of Thomas Jefferson's "top down" position on education. His thought, while not emanating from among the ranks of the "mechanics," small farmers, free Blacks and Indians of his period, was nevertheless exemplary of the most enlightened and democratic views on education, circa 1779.

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II. JEFFERSON, THE AMERICAN ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE CONCEPT OF FREE, PUBLIC EDUCATION

In 1779, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and a major figure behind the creation of the Bill of Rights, attempted to get a "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" passed in the Virginia Legislature. His bill was defeated. However, it remains important because of its two-sided character. On the one hand, it required free, state-supported, public education. On the other hand, such education was not intended to be fully egalitarian. White women were to be pupils only up to a low level of development and unfree Blacks and Indians

were altogether excluded. Furthermore, after the first three years of instruction, only a few male children of laboring whites were to have access to these schools. Thus, Jefferson's bill had both a strong democratic thrust in that public educational claims were made on the State, but it was simultaneously limited by the contradiction of racism, sexism and classism.

Jefferson argued for a three-tiered system of education. The first level was to be comprised of elementary schools offering three years of schooling at State expense.

> At every of these schools shall be taught reading, writing and common arithmetic, and the books which shall be used therein for instructing the children to read shall be such as will at the same time make them acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English and American History. At these schools, all the free children, male and female, resident within the respective hundred shall be entitled to receive tuition at gratis, for the term of three years and as much longer, at their private expense, as their parents, guardians, or friends shall think proper.[1]

He also urged the creation of secondary or "grammar" schools. These were not to be free, although some scholarships were to be given to those *"boys* who shall have been two years at least at some one of the elementary schools in the ward and whose parents are too poor to give them further education."[2] Therefore, Jefferson wanted the State to make provision for "some of the best and most promising genius and disposition, to proceed to the grammar school of his district."[3] Furthermore, he hoped that one of the seniors in each grammar school would be chosen to proceed to the third level, William and Mary College, there to be "educated, boarded, and clothed, three years; the expense of which annually shall be paid by the Treasurer on warrant from the Auditors."[4]

It can be seen from Jefferson's failed piece of legislation, that some few male children of poor but free folk were to be educated at State expense through the higher levels right alongside the children of those who could afford to pay.

Thus, though limited, this proposal acknowledged the importance of one segment of the "masses," namely, the male children of the overwhelmingly white, working-class and small farmers. But why was it necessary to include them?

The widening of educational opportunity for these people was part of a larger set of events. The Northern bourgeois power and the Southern slave-holding power had allied with what James Madison referred to as certain "other social forces." These were, in fact, the working-class ("mechanics") and small farmers. In the American Revolution, these groups had defeated the possibility of a threatened English feudalism or feudalization. Having won the Revolution, however, the task of setting up a government remained. It was a period of unqestionable instability, one expression of which was Shays' Rebellion. There, in opposition to certain ruling social forces the American "mechanics" and small farmers found their voice. The immediate result was that the *central power guaranteed a republican form of government to the states.*[5] James Madison presented the argument for this position in *Federalist*, No. 43. He cryptically referred to Shays' Rebellion as a "recent and well-known event among ourselves (which) has warned us to be prepared for emergencies of a like nature,"[6] prevention of which was to be accomplished by the centrally-guaranteed republican form of government. Additionally, Madison saw another social group as comprising potential "social dynamite." These were the slaves.[7] He was quick to pose the question of what may happen when:

> in fine, the minority of *citizens* may become a majority of *persons*, by the accession of. . .those whom the constitution of the State has not admitted to the rights of suffrage? I take no notice of an unhappy species of population abounding in some of the States, who,

> during the calm of regular government, are sunk below the level of man; but who, in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence, may emerge into the human character and give superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate themselves.[8]

Though mainstream scholarship has long suppressed, denied, or ignored such reality, it is now well recognized that slaves played a significant role in the period from 1775 to 1783. Herbert Aptheker observes that "when possible, Negroes joined the American rebels, only fleeing to the British when the former alternative was not available. When neither of these was possible, they often simply ran away into the swamps, forests and mountains."[9]

None of this was wasted on James Madison. Indeed, Shays' Rebellion had occured the year before the Constitutional Convention. And, Jefferson, who was in France at the time of the Convention, was concerned about the possibility of an Indian attack as well. Of course, slave unrest was, likewise, soon to become common. Indeed, in 1791, two years after the American Bill of Rights, or "Second Constitution,"[10] was secured, "there was the great slave insurrection on Saint-Dominique under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture."[11] Thus it can readily be seen that there was much movement from those at the "bottom". These social forces (at least the white mechanics and small farmers) had sufficient strength to secure democratic concessions in the founding documents of the new nation, (i.e., the Bill of Rights). And, as will be shown in the next section, the aspirations of these social forces included the demand for free, public, and self-determined education, not only as envisioned by Jefferson, but greatly expanded.

Although Jefferson's bill represented a major thrust toward general public education, he did acknowledge divisions between the "laboring and the learned."[12] According to his bill, some of the laboring classes could become learned since scholarship would allow "those

persons whom nature hath endowed with reason and virture" to be rendered by liberal education, "worthy to receive and able to guard the sacred deposit of rights and liberties of their fellow citizens."[13] From Jefferson's perspective, such a system of public education would succeed in "raking a few geniuses from the rubbish."[14]

Here, in his search for these "few geniuses" may be seen the connection between Jefferson's notions of civil liberties and his educational philosophy. From his perspective, free public education had to be such in order to complete the revolutionary process, defeat feudalism, and bring about a true social transformation. These ideas, in turn, must be understood as part of the thought, revolutionary requirements, and methods of Encyclopédisme in the French and American Enlightenments.

III. CONTRIBUTIONS OF ENCYCLOPÉDISME

The problem of education and social transformation as initially posed by encyclopédiste thinkers was this:

> The developed thought of the enlightenment was that human life was irrational because of the feudal or irrational social circumstances or social customs or social traditions or social environment of human life. It was necessary therefore, to change these irrational social circumstances through the force of rational social education. The feudal alienation must be swept away through social education. This explains the importance of theory of education to the Enlightenment.[15]

But how could this be accomplished? Encyclopédisme's first, irrational "solution" was based upon the assumption that there would somehow appear a rational, enlightened educator who could stand apart from social circumstance. Then, through legislation, he would create new social circumstances in which rationality would be the basis of

education, and this in turn would deal the final blow to feudal irrationality.[16] Professor Mitchell Franklin terms this enlightened educator, the "unhistorical prince," unhistorical because *this* enlightenment conception "forgot that the educator himself must be educated, and because it divided society into two parts, the educator towering over and directing those to be educated."[17]

This difficulty was conceptually overcome by Condorcet in confronting the question of whether "republican, state-controlled, public education does not involve the risk of a new alienation in which the republican state would appropriate or alienate the consciousness of the student and citizen."[18] Professor Franklin tells us that Condorcet solves this problem by advancing the concept of the independence of the teacher, once the republic is established.

> [O]ne would both submit voluntarily to the laws, and at the same time engage in the pedagogy necessary for correcting their defects, or rectifying their errors.[19]

This would then preserve public order without mystifying education into a form of respect that would only result in "shackeling the intelligence or arresting the progress of enlightenment and sanctioning errors."[20]

Essentially the same solution appears in Jefferson's thought concerning pedagogy at the University of Virginia:

> [T]his institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, not to tolerate any error *so long as reason is left free* to combat it. (emphasis added)[21]

Likewise, in his Inaugural Speech of 1801, he said, "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error

of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it."[22]

Of course, these solutions were not the only possibilities. Indeed, there have since been others that were manifested as horrifying reality. For example, a reactionary or revanchist class might resolve the problem of the unhistorical prince by achieving and maintaining domination of the State and then using that State as a power over and against the people. Thus, as Professor Franklin points out:

> If the Encyclopédists advanced the idea that the public opinion of the people enlightened and ruled the State, the Nazis advanced the idea that the State enlightened and ruled the people through the Ministry of Public Enlightenment of Minister Goebbels.[23]

Of course, an anti-fascist approach to the solution of this problem is to be found in the Bill of Rights, particularly in the First Amendment.

> The First Amendment was designed to surpass the unhistorical solution by which an unhistorical educator educates the historically alienated for fettered or limited people. It is the theory of the First Amendment that the determination to educate or to create public opinion is a self-determination of a self-determined *rational* person. Hence the Congress is forbidden to "abridge" the freedom of speech and of the press.[24]

The key here is that it is the "self-determined *rational* person" who creates public opinion and engages in education. The test of rationality and science (as opposed to scientism) is the determinant of public opinion accomplished through free speech.

Thus, it must be argued that behind Jefferson's "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," was both a

practical and philosophical expression of the demand for self-determined education. In both its democratic and limiting aspects may be seen the class struggle which has continued long after the bill itself was defeated and largely forgotten.

IV. EDUCATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

A. Education as Ruling-Class Control

In the United States the two social forces of wage-labor and capital have been and continue to be arrayed against one another. With respect to education, on the one side were those advanced elements of the "popular" forces represented by the workingmen's parties and various Black and women educators. These groups and individuals demanded self-determined education. On the other hand, there were (and are) those who sought (and seek) to use public education as a tool for ruling-class social control. Our further analysis begins with the latter group.

These ruling-class theorists of the role of public education actually narrowed Jefferson's conceptions and excluded their democratic content. Instead of at least lighting the lamp of learning for a few, white, mostly male, poor but"bright" students as Jefferson sought to do, these commentators wished to extinguish even that small flame. The words of Reverend George Washington Hosmer illustrate this development. Free common schooling was not to be for general enlightenment, but for control.

> Thousands among us have not dreamed of the effects of popular education; they have complained of its expensiveness, not forseeing that it will diminish vagrancy, pauperism and crime; that it will be an antidote to mobs, and prevent the necessity to keep our own people in order; every people may make their own choice 'to pay teachers or recruiting sergeants,' to support schools or constables and watchmen.[25]

At this point, it must be asked, whose interests this "order" was to serve. Homer Bartlett, an agent of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills, writing a year after Hosmer, said that:

> From my observations and experience, I am perfectly satisfied that the owners of manufacturing property have a deep pecuniary interest in the education and morals of their help; other things being equal, that which has the best educated and most moral help will give the greatest production at the least cost per pound.[26]

George Boutwell, Horace Mann's successor on the Massachusetts State School Board, clearly articulated the desires of those seeking to maintain the governance and curricular content of the common schools from the "top down":

> The owners of factories are more concerned than other classes and interests in the intelligence of their laborers. When the latter are well-educated the former are disposed to deal justly, controversies and *strikes* can never occur, nor can the minds of the masses be prejudiced by demagogues and controlled by temporary and factious considerations.[27]

B. The "Labor-Education Thesis": Organized Labor

Euphemistically then, a "well-educated" population was one that had learned "never" to strike. But as William Russell indicates in a paper entitled, "Labor's Contributions to the Establishment of Public Schooling in the United States (19th Century),"[28] these were not the educational aspirations of the members of the workingmen's parties. Russell, and a few others[29] who have studied this movement extensively, have advanced the notion of a "labor-education thesis." This perspective holds that there existed an autonomous movement of

workers in opposition to the public-education-for-control interests of the American bourgeoisie. Furthermore, this autonomous movement had its own ideas about education and attempted to mobilize State power throught its public leverage to secure these goals.

Russell's data indicate that between 1827 and 1840, there was a significant organized labor movement in the United States, and a substantial portion of its concern was centered around the education question.[30] Between 1828 and 1834, "Mechanics and workingmen established independent political parties in over 60 towns and cities."[31] They began in Pennsylvania and New York and spread to Delaware, Ohio, New Jersey and to all of New England.

The New York Workingmen's Party, founded in 1829, was the first of these groups. On October 19, 1829, the party adopted the Report of its Committee of Fifty which included, among such demands as, a "redivision of landed property, and end to transmission of property by inheritance, and a guarantee of equal property to all citizens" upon maturing, a call for "equal food, clothing and instruction at the public expense" for all children.[32] Only two months later at the December 1829 meeting, public education had become a central plank in the Party's program. The major thrust of their first report was that; 1) education was claimed as a right, not a privilege, 2) public funds were to be appropriated for the equal education of all children and, 3) the same education should be provided for all children. This was to:

> enable all before the age of twenty-one, to acquire a competent knowledge of the language of their country, arithmetic, geography, history, natural philosophy, geometry, and chemistry, as applied to the arts.[33]

These demands represented the crystallization of such working people's sentiments as the following, which appeared in the *Working Man's Advocate*, a labor paper of the working peoples' movement in New York City:

> Can the working people expect that *they* who know that 'knowledge is power,' and who know that the only way to keep the poor in subjection is to keep them in ignorance, and that the only way to keep them out of their rights is to put it out of their power to obtain a true knowledge of them; can they expect these men to advocate a system of education which, while it enlightens the people, at the same time takes from *their* pockets a portion of their often-times illgotten gain?[34]

Free Common Schools were secured in the New York State Legislature in 1832. The Pennsylvania Workingmen's Party had similar success in 1836.[35]

In both states, however, the workingmen's parties secured only the form of a victory. All white children did not receive an equal education in those states. And, until a system of African schools was opened in New York State, few, if any, Black youngsters attended Common School at all. Furthermore, the curriculum content, as finally materialized, was not the same as that called for in the 1829 Report of the New York party, labor received "education-*for*-workers" as articulated by Hosmer, et al. Whether there was potential for a broader movement, perhaps in conjunction with abolitionist forces and those groups which founded the African schools, remains an area in which further research must be done.

Meanwhile, as the self-determined educators of the working-men's parties were achieving partial success, what was happening among that "unhappy species of population" whom Madison so worried might "give superiority of strength to any party with which they associate themselves" in periods of civil turmoil? What was happening among Black Americans in this period?

V. EXPANSION OF THE "LABOR-EDUCATION THESIS": UNORGANIZED LABOR

A. Afro-Americans' Struggles for Education

As stated earlier, Jeffersons' 1779 "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" did not, of course, make provision for the education of Afro-American slaves. In the northern United States, and prior to the upsurge of the workingmen's parties, some segregated Afro-American schools did exist. A few white schools even accepted Black pupils. But, in the main, what formal education that existed was segregated. Even Northern, white abolitionists supported segregation. For example, in 1804, William Griffith, President of the New Jersey Society for Promoting Abolition, suggested that since white schools would not accept Black pupils, there should be Black schools staffed by Black teachers. By 1810, a law was passed in New York State requiring that Afro-American youngsters be taught to read.[36]

Meanwhile, there were some whites who desired integrated education and who were genuinely concerned to overcome racism. For example, in 1795, James Sullivan, a prominent Boston lawyer and founding member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, suggested that upon attainment of legal emancipation, the:

> children of the slaves must, at the public expense, be educated in the same manner as the children of their masters; being at the same schools, etc., with the rising generation, that prejudice, which has been so long inveterate against them on account of their situation and color, will be lessened within thirty or forty years.[37]

B. Pioneers in Self-Determined Education

1. *David Walker* - In the same year that the New York Workingmen's Party was founded, another Bostonian, David Walker, born to a free Black woman in North Carolina in 1785, published a pamphlet comprised of an

Appeal in four articles. It called for, if necessary, the armed, militant and revolutionary liberation of the Afro-American people. Subsequently, Walker, who had already contributed articles to *Freedom's Journal*, the United States' first Black newspaper (founded in New York in 1827), had a price placed on his head by some residents of the State of Georgia for the publication of his *Appeal*.[38] Furthermore, the Mayor of Savannah and the Governor of Georgia both asked the Mayor of Boston to arrest Walker and suppress publication of his *Appeal*. Harrison Grey Otis, the Mayor of Boston, refused to "hinder Mr. Walker from pursuing a lawful course in the utterance of his thoughts."[39] Thus, it cannot be denied that the *Appeal* was taken seriously or that it was an important social document in its own time.

In the *Appeal*, Walker not only called for the liberation of Blacks, but also presented an example of the Afro-American people's participation in other aspects of the class struggle, particularly around the education question. After the discussion of African contributions to humanity in general, and contrasting the treatment of Israel by pagan Pharoah as gentler by far than that of Black Americans by white Christian Americans, Walker noted that:

> Ignorance and treachery one against the other--a servile and object submission to the lash of tyrants, we see plainly, my brethren, are not the natural elements of the Blacks, as the Americans try to make us believe.[40]

Here, in claiming that ignorance is not a natural condition of Afro-Americans, Walker's thought paralleled some aspects of Encyclopédisme.

As a self-determined rational person who sought to educate or create public opinion, David Walker aimed to surmount the disunity of Afro-Americans typified by a situation where some Blacks could make a living catching runaway slaves and returning them, or where some Black

men might beat their wives and mothers "all to pacify the passions of unrelenting tyrants."[41] Hence Walker urged Afro-Americans to "let the aim of your labors be among your brethren, and particularly the youths, be the dissemination of education."[42] Only under conditions of education will people become fully aware of what real alternatives exist to the reality of their miserable and oppressive life conditions. However, he inveighed against the shallow appearance or semblance of education.

> An ignorant father, who knows no more than what nature has taught him, together with what little he acquires by the senses of hearing and seeing, finding his son able to write a neat hand, sets it down for granted that he has as good learning as anybody; the young ignorant gump, hearing his father or mother, who perhaps may be ten times more ignorant, in point of literature, than himself, extolling his learning, struts about in the full assurance, that his attainments in literature are sufficient to take him through the world, when, in fact, he has scarcely any learning at all!!![43]

Furthermore, Walker opposed those who had some formal education and used this knowledge to hustle their more ignorant fellows rather than to learn more and "go to work and enlighten [their] brethren."[44]

While recognizing that many Afro-Americans were engaged in servile occupations and "not wishing to speak against the occupations by which we acquire enough and sometimes scarcely that, to render ourselves and families comfortable through life," David Walker called for education which would ensure "higher attainments than *wielding the razor* and *cleaning boots and shoes*." [45] He pointed out that:

> For the Africans to acquire learning in this country makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundations. Why, what is the matter? Why, they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world. Do you suppose one man of good sense and learning would submit himself, his father, mother, wife and children to be slaves to a wretched man like himself, who, instead of compensating him for his labors, chains, handcuffs and beats him and his family almost to death, leaving life enough in them, however, to work for, and call him master? No! No! He would cut his devilish throat from ear to ear, and well do slaveholders know it.[46]

And, as in the education of colonized people, the enslaved (and free) Afro-American people, when they had some education, were given a worse than second class one at that. For example, David Walker noted that he had spoken with

> a young colored man, who has been to school in this state (Massachusetts) nearly nine years, and who knows grammar this day, *nearly* as well as he did the first day he first enter the schoolhouse, under a white master. This young man says, 'My master,would never allow me to study grammar.'--I asked him why? 'The school committee,' said he, 'forbid the colored children learning grammar--they would not allow any but the white children to study grammar.' It is a notorious fact that the major part of white Americans have, ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant and make us believe that God made us and our children to be salves to them and theirs. Oh! my God, have mercy on Christian Americans!!![47]

David Walker's *Appeal* closed with a quotation from the Declaration of Independence, a quotation referring to an oppressed people's *right* to infame an alien sovereign, a sovereign standing outside and over and against themselves. This right is the claim to make revolution in order for the people to emancipate themselves. It is a claim for self-determination. As Ruchell Magee has said: "It is right for a slave to rebel."

David Walker was not the only vanguard, self-determined educator of the time. Two others will be noted as further illustration of the demand for education coming from within the ranks of the oppressed; Henry Highland Garnet and Emma Willard.

2. *Henry Highland Garnet* - Garnet was another Black American who was willing to fight forcefully for education for himself and other Blacks. Moreover, his practical demands for education included poor whites as well.

In 1843, he addressed the National Negro Convention in Buffalo, New York. The address, however, was directed at his enslaved people in the South. In it, Garnet claimed that it was the responsibility of the slaves to refuse to work under their conditions and to demand renumeration. While noting that a general uprising was impossible, not because it would be wrong, but rather because it would be doomed, Garnet urged slaves to strike, to refuse to work without payment and freedom. They had suffered so much, he reasoned, that even death would be superior to a life of slavery. And significantly for an understanding of his educational philosophy, he claimed that:

> Your intellect has been destroyed as much as possible, and every ray of light they have attempted to shut out from your minds.[48]

Continuing, Garnet argued dialectically that slavery had destroyed not only the Blacks but their captors as well:

> The oppressors themselves have become involved in the ruin. They have become weak, sensual, and rapacious. They have cursed you--they have cursed themselves--they have cursed the earth which they have trod.[49]

Thus, it may be said that Garnet's vision of education for Blacks, the rebuilding of their intellect, was not only necessary for the Blacks themselves, but also for all inhabitants of the South. The reclamation of Blacks' social being could be seen as also the possibility of whites regaining their social being.

His address was not endorsed by the convention, being defeated by a vote of 19 to 18. In succeeding years, however, even some of those who had argued against it, notably Frederick Douglass, who had cast the deciding vote, came to see its merit. In any case, Garnet's call for "RESISTANCE! RESISTANCE! RESISTANCE!"[50] could not be discounted. Clearly it represented a significant and recognized position.

Garnet sought his own education with characteristic determination. It is noteworthy that at a post-secondary level the educational enterprise in which he was involved included both Blacks and whites. In 1831, he had entered a Black high school in New York City, there studying Greek and Latin. Four years later though:

> when he and several other Negro youths were admitted to a school in Canaan, New Hampshire, the townsfolk rebelled. On the Fourth of July the local farmers organized to halt this affront to their community and a month later used oxen to drag the school building into a swamp. Under Garnet's leadership, the Black and white students prepared for the assault on their residence by securing guns and molding bullets. When the night-raiders appeared, Garnet opened fire with a double-barrelled shotgun. The raiders fled. Recalled classmate Alexander Brummell: "That musket shot by Garnet doubtlessly saved our lives." Finally, Garnet, Brummell and the other Black students were force to leave Canaan.

B. Women's Struggles for Education: Emma Willard

Although no militant, Emma Willard sought education for herself and for other (white) women. Willard was fortunate in that both her father, and later her husband,

encouraged her to develop her intellect--a rare phenomenon for the women of the times (circa 1800). Since educational institutions for girls were more finishing schools than houses of learning and since the family needed money, Willard opened a school in her home in 1812. This school became a success with Willard teaching mathematics and other "higher subjects" to young women.

Next, Mrs. Willard sought not only to educate but to train women as teachers and to establish a publicly financed school for women as well. After several years of tireless effort, Mrs. Willard succeeded in getting the Troy Female Seminary established and financed by the Troy (New York) Common Council. The school opened in 1821 with 90 girls, some of whom came from as far away as North Carolina and Georgia.

> The cost was $200 a year for board, bed and bedding, furniture and room rent, fuel, light, washing, and tuition. The girls were asked only to furnish a tablespoon, a teaspoon, and towels. Certain courses, music and French, for example, cost an extra $10 annually. For the times these charges were considerable. But for the scholarships provided by Mrs. Willard herself to deserving girls, enrollment would have been limited to daughters of the prosperous.[52]

Indeed, Mrs. Willard estimated that by 1844 her institution had educated:

> 5,000 pupils, of whom as many as one in ten. . .have been teachers; and of these teachers, I think more than half have been those whom I have educated without present pay. . .[53]

Mrs. Willard's was the first school for the "rational education" of women in the United States. As such, it served as a model for others, not only in the United States, but also in Europe. Her methods reflected the fact that she

was a "well-bred" woman of her time. That is, she sought education for women via the genteel and persuasive language at her disposal. Nevertheless, she was a pioneer, a true self-determined educator, refusing to relegate women to lives of ignorance and servility. She wrote that women, like men, are "primary existences. . .the companions, not the satellite of men. . . ."[54] Consequently, education:

> should seek to bring its subjects to the perfection of their moral, intellectual, and physical nature. . . in order that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy and what they communicate.[55]

VI. CONCLUSION

In this article, we have illuminated some important aspects of the relationship between the American Constitution and the struggle for education. We have argued that self-determined education as materialized in the New York Workingmen's Party, and the words and deeds of David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet and Emma Willard was consistent with the Enlightenment-rooted, democratic thrust of the Constitution.

It is important to recognize that education from the "bottom up," *self-determined education*, is the form of education demanded by the American Constitution, whereas education directed by unhistorical princes is not only inadequate in practice, but unconstitutional as well. In America, the latter has taken its most vicious form in segregated education, which is ultimately aimed as the destruction of the people's intellect. Segregated education is unconstitutional because it denies self-determination to both minorities and to whites. It limits democracy and diminishes civil liberties. And the fact that both racist and sexist education continue is a reflection of the persisting and antagonistic class character of this society.

[1]Jefferson, Thomas. "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," quoted in Henry J. Perkinson, ed., **Two Hundred Years of American Educational Thought**, (New York: McKay, 1976), pp. 51-52.

[2]**Ibid.**

[3]**Ibid.**

[4]**Ibid.**, pp. 57-58.

[5]Franklin, Mitchell. "Brutus, The American Praetor," 15 **Tulane Law Review**, 16 (1940).

[6]Madison, James. "Federalist No. 43," **The Federalist Papers**, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), p.222.

[7]Franklin, Mitchel. "Interposition Interposed," II, **Law in Transition**, Vol. 21, No. 2, 77 (1961), p. 107.

[8]Op. Cit., Madison, p. 277.

[9]Aptheker, Herbert. **Essays in the History of the American Negro**, New York: International, 1968), p.68.

[10]Op. Cit., Franklin, "The Relation of the Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments. . . ."

[11]Op. Cit., Franklin, "Interposition Interposed," II, p. 102.

[12]Tyack, David. **Turning Points in American Educational History**, (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell, 1967), p.89.

[13]**Ibid.**, p. 109.

[14]**Ibid.**, p. 89. Such a conception of natural law is not to be confused with earlier theological notions, since it is obvious here that "natural endowment" may only unfold through social development (i.e., liberal education). This Jeffersonian or Enlightenment concept of "natural law" must be distinguished from Pope John Paul's recent and false claim of Jefferson as a proponent of antidemocratic, theological natural law ideas.

[15]Op. Cit., Franklin, "Interposition Interposed," II, p. 80.

[16]**Ibid.**, pp. 81-82.

[17]**Ibid.**

[18]**Ibid.**, pp. 83-84.

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[43]**Ibid.**

[44]**Ibid.**, p. 40.

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[51]**Ibid.**, p. viii.

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Eitaro Ishigaki with Chikenichi Yamasaki and Wolf Ubegi (Mural in Harlem Courthouse)

Arguments for Using Qualitative Approaches In Understanding Teacher Thinking: The Case For Biography

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Introduction

The teacher is the major arbitrator within the influences on the classroom's curriculum and pedagogy. Teacher thinking, then, is of vital importance in the endeavor to understand how classrooms come to be the way they are and how they might become otherwise. In pursuing the understanding of teacher thinking and its relationship to classroom activity, the question arises as to how to proceed: what methodologies might be fruitful. This paper attempts to expose the epistemological potential of biography for understanding how teachers feel, think, and act.

A BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION OF BIOGRAPHY

"A Biography is the formative history of an individual's life experience" (Berk, 1980, p.90). It not only focuses on what has happened in someone's life but also addresses how that individual responded to or initiated various events. It not only addresses attitudes, feelings, thoughts and actions but also examines the relation between earlier and later events. It attempts to infer how a person came to be the way he/she is. A biography is a story of a life or part thereof. It is a construct, an artifact assembled from the record of someone's activity..."a selection of incidents from a life arranged and linked with respect to an outcome so as to render an intelligible account of how that outcome came to pass" (pp.94,95)..."Biographic study is a disciplined way of interpreting a person's thought and action in light of his or her past" (p.94). Berk also makes the important point that a biography *is not*, as some might think, the chronological record of tapes, field notes and the like. Rarely does the record contain the events that constitute the biographer's story. The events are inferred from the transcribed record. The record is testimony to the inferred events and interpretations construed from the events. It is a deliberate critical procedure that aims to make educational sense of thoughts, actions, feelings, attitudes and experiences (pp.97,98).

Types of biography

Until recent years biographic studies were conducted in disciplines other than education. These studies have been narrative, analytic, psychological, psychoanalytic, and existential in character. As well as focusing on one individual, they also have taken the form of collective biography.

The narrative form is based on an integrated life history, whereby all experiences in every aspect of the subject's life are candidates for inclusion in the narrative story. If they are considered important to the understanding of that life, they are included.

Analytic, psychoanalytic, or psychological biographics emphasize understanding individual case histories in psychology, through the lenses peculiar to that discipline. They are quite different in appearance and style, therefore, from a narrative life history. The existential form can be biographical or autobiographical. They go beyond a description of events in one's life in the narrative sense to a deeper examination of patterns underlying one's history of living, to reflection, to psycho-analysis. Psychological principles of explanation have also enjoyed a long tradition in biographies within the discipline of history (p.94).

Again in history there is another long tradition of research called collective biography, whereby the focus is a group. Various particular principles of explanation might be utilized whether economic, sociological, demographic. The main aim is that these principles tap what commonalities do exist across many life histories. This particular approach to biography is intriguing because it appears to violate the notion that since life histories are unique, they are not generalizable. Collective biography, prosopography or ethnobiography have developed into valuable tools of modern research historians, sociologists, and anthropologists (Stone, 1972; Clapier-Valadon, 1980). It is "the investigation of actors in history (or currently living) by means of a collective study of their lives" (Stone, 1972, p.107). One initially establishes a universe to be studied then asks a series of uniform biographical questions deemed particularly important for deriving an understanding of this particular set of actors or events in history. The various data about the individuals are then juxtaposed, combined and examined for "significant variables". They are also examined for internal relationships and relationships with other forms of behavior or action. Collective biography has been used to understand the thinking behind events:

> to make sense of political action, to help explain ideological or cultural change, to identify social reality and to describe and analyze, with precision, the structure of society and the degree and nature of movements within it. (p.108)

Prosopography, though it has been heavily qualitative since it emerges from a biographical tradition, has increasingly become quantitative with the advent of statistics and the computer. One can see signs of the sometimes debilitating struggle between those who favor either side beginning to emerge. The irony, from my vantage point in education, is that collective biography, in its moderate form, illuminates the synergy and the complementarity of using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This consists in thorough investigation of the quality of individual experience which undergirds warranted quantitative analysis of evident commonalities across individuals' lives.

Stories of lives have been with us since antiquity, but biography in its modern form, Berk (p.90) notes, dates from the late eighteenth century. Written by both scholars and lay people, biographies about famous persons were written and read in great numbers at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Berk claims that they were prevalent, despite the time and effort that pursuing biography required, because for social scientists and others, who were concerned with formative experience, biography was unavoidable because it defined what they wished to study (p.92). We hope to illuminate in this paper that biography, suitably adapted for education, defines, in an integrative way, what educators wish to study, particularly in regards to teacher thinking.

A METATHEORETICAL CONTEXT FOR THE USE OF BIOGRAPHY

General Arguments

In approaching the task of presenting arguments for the use of biography, it is important to consider the metatheoretical context pertinent to such questions as to why and how one should use biographic inquiry in education.

The Crisis in Scholarly Inquiry:

Inquiry in the social sciences, in general, and education in particular, especially in North America, have suffered from an overreliance on the empirical-analytic paradigm. Furthermore, aberrations of the scientific approach which abuse the basic tenets of science, such as logical positivism and behaviorism have taken educational

research and inquiry into blind alleys which have paid minimal attention to the phenomena they were supposed to address. These efforts lacked in direct observation and also focused on isolated fragments of reality which lost the dynamic complex interrelatedness of active classrooms (Bernstein, 1976).

We are not arguing for the abandonment of the empirical-analytic approach (see Butt, 1980) but for the complementarity of multiple paradigms such as critical theory, phenomenology, and appropriate scientific approaches (Bernstein, 1976; Smith, 1978, Denton, 1979, p.1). All are legitimate epistemologies that can illuminate various similar and different aspects of problems in education. When these approaches are combined they can provide a rich understanding of educational phenomena. At the moment education is enjoying a renaissance and creation of many qualitative approaches to inquiry and research. This is parallelled by the return of the empirical-analytic paradigm to its roots of naturalistic observation and inference combined with well grounded quantification. After a hiatus of several decades where research findings in education did not contribute significantly to improvement in the field, we are now, through both qualitative and quantitative efforts, encountering a new understanding of teaching and how it relates to pupil learning.

The Crisis in Professional Knowledge: Towards Theories-in-Action

Problems in scholarly inquiry and knowledge are closely related to the crisis in professional knowledge that has become more evident in recent years. This phenomenon, although noticed and documented by many others, has been given comprehensive treatment by Schon in his most recent book *The Reflective Practitioner (1983)*. He provides ample illumination of the way research in the professions has been preoccupied with the invention and discovery of sure-fired prescriptive models and which would lead to easily generalizable problem

solutions in each area. Much research has been diverted from understanding the phenomena concerned to detecting the presence, absence and outcomes of naive prescriptive models.

Eisner (1979, 1983) has been instrumental in providing compelling arguments which enable educational scholars and practitioners to understand the limits of logical positivism, behaviorism, and technological paradigms of inquiry and practice. Through his work he has revealed the nature of teaching as being a uniquely personal and intuitive activity that requires us to focus on its *qualitative* rather than quantitative nature.

He makes the case that due to the changing uniqueness of practical situations, only a portion of professional practice can be usefully treated in the manner of prescriptive science. The gap between general prescriptive frameworks and successful practice is dependent more on the reflective intuition, the craft, and the art of the professional practitioner than on any particular prescriptive theory, model or method.

Within education, over ten years ago Schwab (1969, 1971) urged us to focus more on the practical than the theoretic. Though we have concurred with much of his analysis and the need to focus on the practical, we disagree with his blaming of the *inherent weaknesses of theory* as the major cause of the lack of progress in educational research but rather argue in terms of the abuse and inappropriate use of empirical analytic approaches and the use and production of theories which are not grounded in the phenomena of education (Butt, 1980).

Refocusing on the practical, however, has become problematic. The imposition of a prescriptive science of education into the school and classroom during the last several decades has left us with what might be called an *ersatz* reality. The form of educational materials, software, hardware, new curricula, the legislation of minimum competencies, management by objectives, and other forms of "educational technology", the effects of some forms of teacher training, together with the dysfunctional effect of

the "prescriptive science" of school administration in its attempt to bureaucratize, systematize, technologize and control education (Henchey, 1983) have all contributed to creating what Pinar (1978) has called a technical reality. The problem has become one of getting beyond both the useful *and* useless forms of technical paraphernalia of education into the unique human realities of the teaching-learning situation. Qualitative approaches of inquiry in general, biography in particular, enable us to move through the technological periphery of schooling to the central thoughts and actions of teachers and teaching.

Philip Jackson (1968) and others in recent times have devised ways of getting beyond education's technical reality into classrooms. This work reveals the unique, dynamic, and stressful nature of classrooms which demands a practical and situation-specific response on the part of the teacher, rather than any direct application of prescribed models. The realization of the limits of our present prescriptive science of teaching together with the centrality of the individual teacher to the art and craft of pedagogy has led scholars of curriculum to examine how *individual* teachers, rather than teachers in general, think and act.

The Crisis of Reform: Towards Collaboration

There is mounting evidence to support Schon's claim that few professionals, especially outstanding practitioners, utilize prescriptive models, theories, or techniques as they are found in many professional texts or innovative projects. Within education, this crisis has had its worst manifestation with failure of reform based on prescriptive science and technology. Good teachers do not utilize this type of knowledge behind their classroom doors (Goodlad, 1974, Jackson, 1968, Elbaz, 1981) but use their own theories-in-action that bear intricate relationships with the successful practice of their profession, as they see it, rather than to current formal prescriptive knowledge (Doyle and Ponder, 1977).

Inquiry into the failure of reform has revealed a two-fold error in attempts at change, firstly the substance relied on prescriptive science and, secondly the relationship of those outside the classroom (reformers) to those inside the classrooms (teachers) was unequal (Connelly, 1980; Butt, Olson, and Daignault, 1983; Butt, 1982). In most cases, teachers were not able to participate in determining the changes which were foisted upon them. In general, reformers did not participate with teachers in understanding classroom reality and they were ignorant of the culture of schools (Sarason, 1971). In the few cases where insiders and outsiders participated with each other in negotiating mutually acceptable changes that took account of both reformers' dreams and teachers' realities, reform was more successful (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978).

The problem of reform, then, is intricately related to the crisis in scholarly inquiry and professional knowledge. The separation of research inquiry, and reform from teachers has been a dysfunctional reduction and implicitly critical of teachers (Connelly and Ben-Peretz, 1980). The major faulty assumption underlying the failed attempt at reform has been that the outsiders and reformers are ignorant of classroom reality and the forms that successful practical pedagogy might take. It is evident, that, as far as possible, research, inquiry, reform and professional development, (of both insiders and outsiders) should be *collaborative* effort. A biographical approach to the understanding of teacher's thoughts and actions provides for and requires both close and continuous collaboration between the teacher and biographer.

The Teachers' Perspective

Until recently educational inquiry or prescriptions were seldom based on classroom reality especially as experienced by its participants. There has been minimal dialogue between teachers (as they perceive their professional lives) and scholars of curriculum not only

because of the nature of the relationship of outsiders to insiders, but also because of the lack of an approach to inquiry that effectly grasped and represented what one might call the *teachers's voice*. The lack of this essential perspective has seriously hurt the quality of much educational scholarship, resulting in knowledge inferior in its practical and intellectual usefulness.

In order to remedy this situation curriculum scholars need to engage with teachers, as co-researchers/co-developers of classrooms as an important part of their research endeavors. In the short term, there is a dire need to develop a body of knowledge which represents the teachers' perspective, to redress the current dearth of such discourse.

One way in which outsiders can both learn about classroom reality and create knowledge which carries the *teacher's voice* is through the use of biographical and autobiographical accounts as to what they think, experience and do.

Specific Arguments

If good teachers' actions and thoughts are as much (if not more) guided by their own knowledge, intuition, experience, craft and theories-in-action, as by any prescriptive framework or models, (Eisner, 1983) what is the nature of that knowledge? (Elbaz, 1981; Connelly and Elbaz, 1980). How are teachers' theories-in-action and teaching styles formed? How do these guide teachers' thoughts and actions and in what actions are unexamined habits shaped more by circumstances than teacher thinking? In approaching such questions as these how do we best proceed?

The nature of teaching: qualitative studies as basic research

> "Any scientific understanding of human action, at whatever level of ordering or generality, must begin with, and be built upon an understanding of the everyday life of the members performing those actions." (Douglas, 1970 quoted in Janesick, 1981, p.15)

In the particular case at hand our interest is in teacher thinking and its interrelationship with action. It is logical, then, that we focus directly on the qualitative nature of teacher's thoughts and actions. How researchers see and interpret these thoughts and actions may be assisted in some ways by their detachment and non-involvement in teaching. This also carries with it, however, the disadvantage of a lack of experience of the phenomena concerned and a lack of personal knowledge of the participants perceptions, motives, and intentions. Human beings, through their consciousness, can be understood in ways that non-human subjects and objects of research cannot (Janesick, 1981, p.20). What teachers do and think within their professional lives depends, as the phenomenologist would say, upon the meanings those individuals hold and interpret within their personal, social, and professional realities and everyday-life situations.

Just observing an event or a phenomenon, even through the eyes of a participant is not sufficient. One needs to go further to understand the relationship among antecedent, subsequent, and consequent events through engaging in dialogue with the teacher. One can pursue meaning, motive, beliefs, and intentions—all those thoughts judged pertinent to the events by *both* researcher and teacher. This process not only permits access on the part of the researcher to a teacher's thoughts and actions, but also permits access to unexamined or habitual aspects of a teacher's life.

The appeal, in the foregoing paragraphs, is for us to return to the roots of science in order to understand the *quality* of the phenomena from an insider's perspective as well as through our own eyes. Aberrations of science have committed the original sin of what might be called vertical

reductionism—the separation of abstraction from the phenomena themselves. Research has also split educational phenomena into fragments that might permit some form of control variables. This has resulted in what might be called the horizontal reduction. The complexity and inextricable interrelatedness of human phenomena compound the errors of this reduction.

As opposed to being a simple set of phenomena which are devoid of motive and interest that are easily manipulated and controlled, teaching situations, as quantitative multivariate studies have discovered, are very complex phenomena. They are exceedingly difficult to generalize about, and even more difficult to control. Each teaching situation is different in significant ways from others, whether due to pupil, teacher, curriculum, environmental or other characteristics. The teaching act, itself, is not subject totally to a rational treatment but is a combination of science, craft, and art and "on the spot" human ingenuity and intuition (Eisner, 1983). The 200 or more (Jackson, 1968) decisions a teacher makes per hour are just as likely to be determined by dynamic situational factors as any predetermined stance on the part of *teachers,* indeed less so by experts' prescriptive models.

Teaching is riddled with so many competing influences, dilemmas, paradoxes, and contradictions that prediction of specific thoughts and actions of teachers by researchers is, at this point anyway, so difficult as to be futile. Each teaching action and the thinking associated with it is nested within uniquely personal, situational and contextual determinants and influences. Which of those influences will hold sway in a particular situation to result in one of many possible and paradoxical outcomes is difficult to predict. The dynamics of the classroom leave room for myriads of alternative outcomes for similar mixes of variables. It is no wonder, then, that in most empirical studies teachers still remain the largest source of variance.

At this stage of our understanding of teaching, especially teacher thinking and action, to utilize only

hypothesis-driven quantitative studies seems shortsighted. "Discrete variables and their relationships do not seem to be sufficient to deal with complex interactions and patterns of human behavior" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, p.81).

This is not to say, however, that an empirical-analytic treatment will never be fruitful. There are glimmers of hope within the careful research being conducted that has established links between certain teaching actions and pupil achievement using a time on task approach. We are not claiming here, then, that generalization across teachers is impossible not that any generalization that might exist is or will necessarily be educationally insignificant. What is apparent is that what is both generalizible and educationally significant is going to be complex and perhaps paradoxical, leaving room for some uniquely individual manifestations within different personal teaching contexts.

For example in a recent exploratory qualitative study of teacher commitment to various curriculum areas (Butt, *et al* 1982b) it became clear that there were no common commitment patterns among elementary school teachers. Teachers were quite unique and personal in their patterns of commitment to various subject areas with the exception of a common commitment to basic communication skills. Regardless of the differences in commitment patterns, however, when teachers were asked about the determinants of their *different* subject matter commitments, a *common* pattern of influences was discovered. This pattern consisted of mostly classroom influences including: personal interest and enjoyment in the curriculum area; personal expertise and perceived competence in the area; pupil needs and the relevance of the curriculum area to them (as perceived by the teacher), pupil motivation and enjoyment; and resource availability. Only two influences which emanated from outside the classroom were seen as important—legitimized time allocation and those curriculum areas that were *currently* receiving most

attention from stakeholder groups. Each influence, then, in this common pattern could take many different values allowing for both the uniqueness of each situation and the teacher to produce many different personal patterns of commitment to curriculum areas.

From this perspective, therefore, qualitative inquires into the nature of teacher thinking and action can be seen as a type of basic research that is necessary to provide the depth of understanding of educational phenomena required for empirical studies based on complex hypotheses. Initially these studies might be applied to individuals latterly to groups of teachers.

Inquiry into the complex and personal nature of teachers' thoughts and actions is not a task that can be undertaken by the researcher who functions mostly outside the classroom. This type of inquiry requires the active collaboration of the teacher as co-researcher who can engage in a dialogue with the outsider. In the end, who possesses teacher thinking, not researchers but teachers?

> The traditional empiricist considers himself (as a scientist) to be the primary source of knowledge and trusts his own senses and logic more than he would trust his subjects. The participant observer on the other hand considers the interpretations of his subjects to have first importance... By taking the role of his subjects he recreates in his own imagination and experience the thoughts and feelings which are in the minds of those he studies. (Severyn Bryyn, 1966, p.12 quoted in Janesic, 1981, p.21)

On the Need for Biographical Studies

The foregoing arguments besides being appropriately applied to biography can also support the use of qualitative studies of teacher thinking. The focus, in the remainder of this paper, is on making a more specific case for the use of biography in understanding teacher thinking for several

reasons. Firstly, the cases for the use of phenomenology and ethnography have been well made, whereas that for biography has not received sufficient attention. Secondly, though phenomenology and biography have very different histories, their interests intertwine easily, sometimes usefully and legitimately, but at the moment at the expense of certain strengths of biography which lie buried or neglected under the trend of phenomenology. Thirdly biography, despite its similarities to certain aspects of phenomenology, does have unique differences which made it better suited than phenomenology to address certain requirements argued previously in this paper for the study of teacher thinking.

One can understand the potential miscibility of phenomenology and biography in that phenomenology "strives to re-introduce the personal elements in knowing in order to understand how human knowledge is influenced by human imagination, desire, and will" (Collins, 1979, p.11). Phenomenology examines behavior, motive, or purpose, or intent and aims to understand humans' lives from their perspectives (Van Manen, 1975). Biography has very similar aims, but possesses some different methodological approaches than phenomenology that can add other insights of equal and sometimes better value.

Many aspects of current quantitative and qualitative methodologies are biographical in nature. The problem, here is, without being acknowledged *as biography* and guided by its principles and processes these efforts might not take full advantage of the biographical approach.

Jackson's (1968) study of life in classrooms and Freema Elbaz' (1981) recent work, a case study of one teacher, are clearly biographical in nature. Similarly, Valerie J. Janesick's (1981) case study of a professors of curriculum and pedagogy, while drawing from ethnography, phenomenology, and symbolic interaction is "the story of one person" (p.15), as is the current work of Connelly and Clandanin (1983). That biography forms an

important aspect of these and many other studies is *testimony* to its usefulness, as instinctively recognized by researchers. It is important, however, that this aspect of the work be explicitly acknowledged so we can begin to make judgments as to how biography might be most fruitfully used in education.

Biography and Education

Len Berk (1980, p.89) reviews the history of biography in a way which enables us to understand potential early links between biography and education. He provides a rationale for examining, through biography, what is educative, in a Deweyian sense of experience, both as it is felt by an individual and as it influences later experiences. He argues that Dewey employed what might be called a biographic conception of education. He contrasts the usefulness of biography for assessing *education* against logical positivism's restriction to being only able to assess *schooling*. He creates an argument for the use of biographic studies of pupil's lives in the assessment of the real *educative* merits of schooling. Berk's arguments can be transposed to apply to the study of teacher thinking and action. I would argue, in this case, that biography is useful in not only discerning what teachers' actually think and do, but more importantly, what events in their *past* personal and professional lives were and are influential in shaping how they think and act in *current* classroom situations.

Access to past influences on present actions can only be gained through individual teachers themselves. Biography emphasizes revealing the potential and actual influence, both conscious and unconscious, of the past on the present. This represents one strength of biography in comparison with the preoccupation of phenomenology with the present. The fact that this potential is illuminated *directly through the person him or herself*, as opposed to phenomenology's preoccupation with classroom events,

represents another strength of biography; especially since the art and craft of teaching is a personal statement. A longitudinal approach to biography, whereby past, present, and potentially future are combined, has the significant potential of recording the *development* of teacher thinking, as it happens. It can also be claimed that the intimate way in which the biographer and the teacher work together, assembling the record of events significant to the development of one teacher's personal practical and professional knowledge, makes the relationship as collaborative as it necessarily should be for fully understanding a teacher's thinking. This provides for a constant and continuous personal verification on the part of the teacher of the biographers' data, inferences, and form of biography. This is in contrast to many phenomenological studies which appear to gather feedback when their interpretations are more fully formed. This constant correction of existing bias may be somewhat safer, perhaps, than the process engaged in by phenomenologists of education, who attempt to "bracket out" their preconceptions without the constant monitoring of the teacher.

The teachers voice

The very level of personal collaborative work between the biographer and the teacher, while being one of its strengths, provides the context for its major strength. It provides a vehicle for recording and interpreting the *teachers voice*. The notion of the teachers voice is used in several literal and metaphorical senses. In a physical and metaphorical sense, the tone, the quality, the feelings that are conveyed by the way a teacher speaks are important to consider in investigating the nature of teaching. In a political sense, the teacher's voice attests to the *right* of speaking and being represented. It can represent the views of both unique individuals, and of a number of people —a collective voice. "Voice" also connotes that what is said is *characteristic* of teachers, as distinct from other potential voices.

An argument can be made for biography (in contrast to uncollaborative autobiography) in that teachers have expressed the need for someone outside themselves to assist them in making sense of what they do (Flanders, 1983, p.147). Conversely, researchers need biography among other methodologies in order to learn more about teaching reality. They also need approaches that structure and facilitate collaborative work with teachers', within collegial rather than vertical relationships (Butt *et al* 1983). These types of relationships are necessary to gain access to teachers' true feelings and attitudes that shape their thinking.

If, then, one's purpose is to understand teacher thinking and its relationship to action, then the proper subject of inquiry is teaching *as experienced* by teachers. Knowing the quality of experienced thought and action through biography makes it possible to disclose what significantly influences what a teacher does or does not do. How those thoughts came to be is understood through making educative experience intelligible. Through examining the transformational quality of significant experiences in personal and professional lives, we can apprehend a teacher's formation or development in an educative as well as a training sense. We can focus on how teachers might transcend the stress of daily teaching life—how they grow personally and professionally (Flanders, 1983, p.144).

Collaborative biography enables both researcher and teacher to raise their consciousness as to the interrelationship of thought, action and experience. It facilitates reflection, development and growth on the part of the teacher, potentially enabling him/her to transcend problems. It creates researchers literate in classroom reality and teachers "who see themselves as responsible for the shape and texture of their own experience...Agents of their own visions and commitments" (Grumet, 1980). Thus biography can be seen as emancipatory, not only for the teacher and researchers' knowledge and growth, but also in terms of liberating them from the dysfunctional structures of previous roles and relationships.

Biographical Vignettes on Teaching and the Curriculum

How would one use a biographical approach to explore how teachers think about the mandated curriculum?

> After a few weeks of trying to teach my kids according to the Ministry guidelines and the approaches I had been taught in my teacher training, I knew that I would either have to change my entire approach or sacrifice my stomach. My health had been suffering, I continually caught colds, had dizzy spells, stomach cramps. Sometimes I threw up in the staff washroom after a hard day. (McLaren, 1980, p.25)
>
> Each day the build-up in my mailbox grew. Curriculum materials, surveys, advertisements for curriculum materials and surveys to establish an advertising policy. Subject guidelines, policy guidelines, guidelines for guidelines—it seemed endless.
>
> At first, in my naivete, I figured everything was important and actually read it all. Somehow the educational system was nourished by all these forms and papers. However, I soon realized that I'd receive something worthwhile maybe once a week. (p.22)

This excerpt from a teacher's autobiography speaks very plainly but eloquently about teaching reality and the fantasy of curriculum documents and curriculum implementation in a specific situation. It is part of his record of critical incidents in his *past* professional life that can be interpreted as significantly influencing his current thoughts and actions as a teacher. Even though this particular situation might be thought to be "extreme", that is, it addresses an inner-city type of environment with children of immigrant families, other teachers in more ordinary classrooms seem to think in similar ways. Views

from the margins or extraordinary situations do illuminate or magnify an understanding of the ordinary.

We can follow some of this teachers's later trials and tribulations in his personal exploration of the issue of curriculum guidelines, relevance, and classroom change.

> My decision to try to provide my kids with more opportunities for self-direction was unpopular with a few teachers, who regarded with skepticism my attempts to experiment. They pointed to the results of a meeting we had held with some of the neighborhood parents, who preferred a more authoritarian system. In fact, several parents had complained that I was not using standard readers. Instead, I preferred to create readers out of the kids' own stories.
>
> But to my surprise, the biggest obstacle to creating a freer attitude in class do not come from the parents. I came from the students themselves.
>
> All their lives they had been ordered to obey rules. They asserted themselves, logically enough, by going out and breaking as many rules as they could. Removing the rules made them uncomfortable; it left them with nothing to push against.
>
> It took months before the kids were comfortable with my policy of having them plan their own timetables, choose their own topics for discussion and reports, and explore their own questions. It also took time for me to free myself of the odd feeling that, because I wasn't following the standard list of teacher topics, I was somehow not actually teaching. (McLaren, 1980, pp.99-100)

Many issues raised over the last ten or more years in curriculum development, implementation and change are contained within these two short excerpts from one teacher's biography. This illustrates the richness of illucidating power of biography. It illustrates how biography can encompass the universal within the particular (Tuckman, 1979).

Another teacher from a more conventional, less stressful, classroom situation still finds it necessary to pursue a similar, if less extreme, path. It illustrates what one teacher thinks and how she acts with some fairly useful curriculum guidelines.

> ...When I think about what I want to teach it always seems that I am reacting to the mandated curriculum. I do not honestly feel that at this point in my teaching I could say what I want to teach were I given complete 'carte-blanche', (unless I had a year's sabbatical to work it out). The mandated curriculum does offer me a guideline to reflect upon, I use it as a starting point to decide what and how to teach, and with what emphasis. I think this is reasonable, as no one curriculum can meet the needs of each class and each teacher.
>
> A large part of the grade one program is the language arts program and I feel I could competently teach it without a mandated curriculum...At times I do begrudge the material (workbooks) I must use but I do manage to work around them in a way that I am comfortable with. Only rarely do I find myself using mandated curriculum and detesting it. Possibly I use the curriculum guides as a check against my own curriculum and that is why they do not disturb me. If I can justify completely the manner in which I deviate from the given curriculum then I have no qualms about what I am doing.

This excerpt is an interesting portrayal of the way one teacher responds to curriculum guidelines as the prime curriculum developer for the classroom. Assessing, always against learning needs and her own philosophy; rejecting or adapting and elaborating her own material; infusing external curriculum intentions with hers and those her pupils would enjoy. It is interesting that even though she doesn't use these curriculum guides and materials to teach

from she does use them as a checking device and to provoke her to justify her own "deviations" or "creations" in a *dialectic* manner.

Biographies in Education: How Might They Be Done?

Biography does not have a particular unwavering "method" as to how it should be conducted. The details of each approach are worked out by the biographer to best investigate and portray the significant aspects of the life history concerned.

The best means, therefore, of understanding how one might conduct a biographical study beyond knowing the type or characteristics appropriate for a particular individual or situation, is through biographical examples from education which have appeared recently. These, it should be noted, represent an increasing trend to the use of scholarly biography in our field.

Obviously conversations, interviews, observations, video and audiotapes, field notes, stimulated recall, "stream of consciousness" journals, and logs, are all legitimate means by which data might be gathered for the purposes of biography. In what order and fashion these are used would depend upon the particular purpose. The manner in which one might interpret this record; how one might make and check inferences; how one might collaborate with the subject are all matters that would depend upon individual needs and circumstances.

The means by which Elbaz (1981), Janesick (1981), and Connelly and Clandanin (1983) pursued the elaboration of the stories of their teachers could be considered as legitimate for biography provided those means are used to investigate what from the subject's past as well as present life significantly influences current thought and action. "Biographic studies of education...deal with the formation of an individual consciousness through his or her experience" Berk (1980, p.140).

Whereas the gathering of data in biography, through whatever means and design, can be difficult and tedious,

the most difficult and tedious work is the interpretation of the record.

Berk (1980) searches for educational episodes, which are moments of insight, moments which change us, *gestalts* that provide a leap forward, a way of resolving a conflict, or of surviving. How did what baffled a teacher—a paradox or dilemma—become clear? These "are the marks of an educative experience... And an educational episode is the story of how one of these insights happened".

So one looks for moments of insight, searches for the problematic situation that required the insight, and the activity it provoked. Lastly "because the experience is supposed to enable later experience, one looks for evidence that the experience has had fruitful consequences" (p.98). Pinar (1980,1981) and Grumet (1980) provide examples of autobiographies which are existential, literary and perhaps psychoanalytic in character. Pinar's approach involves providing descriptive autobiographical narrative from ones' childhood and development (regressive), scrutinizing that data for important educational episodes (analysis), recording ones' imagined future (progressive) and bringing this together as a statement of oneself (synthesis). We give this all too simplistic description only to provide the reader the choice of whether to investigate this further or not. Pinar's in-depth treatment of autobiography must speak for itself as must other examples we have only characterized in a superficial way here.

Grumet (1980) explains how she uses reflexive research and analysis to cause students to recapture their own educational experiences, so as to reconceptualize curriculum in personal and concrete terms. The narrative is then analysed to reveal previously unknown interests and biases, again raising consciousness and thus allowing for conscious reconceptualization of their lives—and their curricula.

Biography and autobiography are also beginning to feature as an approach to portraying the thinking of curriculum theorists. Schubert and Schubert (1982)

present reconstructed dialogue between curriculum theorists, with themselves as both questioner and the one who responds. It represents a clarification of their own thinking about various aspects of curriculum. Similarily, a recent issue of *Curriculum Inquiry* included an autobiographical piece by Ted Aoki (1983) which describes the interplay between his life's history as a Japanese Canadian and becoming a teacher and teacher educator shortly after being interned as an alien during the second world war.

Another rich body of work in biography that bears examination both within education and other disciplines, is that of Francophone scholars from Quebec and Europe. Although most of this work is published in the French language, Bertaux (1981) has edited a useful background volume in English which outlines the use of biography as a means of research in history, sociology, and anthropology. We will examine selected examples from articles in French to provide readers not fluent in that language with the flavor of that work.

Ditisheim (1984) makes the case for the use of what she calls a life-history approach as means for both research and professional development of teachers. She describes how she uses the life-history approach in teacher education for the purpose of showing how ones' past experience as a *learner* might influence the way one thinks and acts during *teaching* and also how one might interpret the experience of teaching. She finds that the life history approach has cathartic, structural, cognitive (or communicative) and energizing functions. Through life history responses (written or spoken) to catalytic questions designed to stimulate recall of past and current experiences, and through a guided analysis of the data revealed by this process, Ditisheim aims to enable her students to express and unearth their feelings with respect to teaching, to be able to deal with them explicity (cathartic function). This function is seen as providing the potential for liberating the teacher from hidden knots (see Wagner, 1984) through the process of conscientization.

Analysis of the life-history data enables the teacher to give conscious form and explicit structure to their experience where before the daily routines, stresses and immersion in teaching had submerged the sense of their experience. This form-giving is enabled by and, in cyclic fashion, enables the discourse and communication among teachers about their practice. This serves a cognitive function and can be considered as an approach to collective biography whereby a group of teachers might examine what is common and unique within their experience of, and approaches to, teaching.

In arriving at a personal synthesis of one's approach to teaching as influenced by our life-histories, and through collective discourse, the devaluation of professional's practical knowledge that has occurred during the last several decades (Schon, 1983) and the alienation that teachers have experienced (Trempe, 1983, 1984) is countervailed. The teacher is once again placed at the center of the teaching act. Ditisheim has found that this, in many cases, 'energizes' teachers, giving them renewed commitment through the personal and collective empowerment generated by the life-history exercise. She includes guidelines to her approach and vignettes from life histories to illustrate the outcomes. Volume 72-73 (1984) of *Education Permanente* (Adult Education), the journal in which Ditisheim's article appeared, is devoted to the use of life histories within research and training, including to professional and personal development. It also illuminates the power of biography within self-oriented professional development of teachers.

Of particular interest within the volume with respect to the issue of understanding teachers' thoughts and actions is an article by a Swiss educational researcher, Michael Huberman (1984) which addresses the notion of the development of professional biographies of teachers. Huberman's approach during the last ten or more years has not so much focused on elaborating comprehensive personal-professional biographies of teachers, but has

rather been directed towards determining life cycles of teachers' professional lives from a neo-developmentalist perspective using simple quantitative as well as qualitative approaches. Readers might wish to consult one early English work which addresses the life-cycle approach within adult education and research (Huberman, 1972).

A book, recently published in Montreal, by Pineau and Marie-Michele (1983) entitled *Produire Sa Vie: Autoformation and Autobiographie* details a fascinating collaboration between a researcher who utilizes a life-history approach and a Quebecoise housewife who wanted to discover, in an explicit manner, what she had learned during a period of significant personal development. In attempting to develop some sort of autobiographical narrative of her experience which identified how she evolved through psychological knots (critical incidents, blocks, problems, issues—see Wagner, 1984) she experienced a need to talk, discuss, verbalize with significant others as a necessary step in clarifying what she would write and rewrite. She realized, then, that autobiography need not be solitary in nature, but, indeed, is made better by making it a collective endeavor whereby others interpretations are included and taken into account. She found the interpretations of her colleagues and friends to be very rich and edifying. They served a function of legitimizing her experience (c.f. triangulation). This sequence of oral presentation followed by feedback from a small group of colleagues and written narrative followed by similar feedback, gave rise to her final redrafted life history. Gaston Pineau's contribution to the book was twofold. Firstly, prior to the life history he related the results of a very extensive literature review of the use of biography and autobiography as a means of inquiry, research and development within literature, history, sociology, anthropology, psychology and other domains in both the French and English language. Secondly he conducted an analysis/synthesis of Marie Michele's life-history narrative.

In order to illuminate his understanding of the life-history self-education process, he asked a number of

questions of both the narrative and Marie-Michele. Were there any steps, moments, phases? What were the objects of the self-education process? What are the means or processes involved? This process of analysis/synthesis was not restricted to a content analysis of the narrative but involved Marie Michele fully and equally as meanings and words were constantly negotiated. Through this process, they found that a rapprochement takes place between the researcher and the researched (which they found desirable) however, the roles within the relationship can become blurred (which was not desirable) (See Butt, Olson & Daignault, 1983). Whereas it is desirable for power relations between what one might call "external researchers" and "internal researchers" to provide for equal input to the process (furthermore that they be regarded as co-researchers), it appears of vital importance that each maintain some distance and remain conscious of their uniquely different yet complementary roles.

Marie Michele found that, within the self-education process, it is hard to separate subjects-objects-means. The way of knowing is not visual or auditory, as such, but experimental without impersonal distance. It is personal, a direct confrontation of self, things, and events; therefore it is sensate "hot knowledge" in the broadest sense. It is the opposite of education-by-others, in the didactic sense; in the end adults find education-by-others alienating. Autobiography provides one alternate paradigm for the education of adults wherein the power and responsibility belongs to the persons in the process. It also has the property of linking self knowledge to action, through a conscientization process that propels the learner/teacher to action, thereby integrating thought and action, theory and practice. This property is rare among most epistemologies dominant in society today.

Whereas this example does not examine teacher thinking and action in the narrow sense, it does illuminate how research, enquiry and self education can be combined. A similar approach applied to the issue of understanding

how teachers' thoughts and actions came to be the way they are and how they might become otherwise would surely be edifying.

Summary

We have tried to convince the reader of the merits of using biography for understanding the real phenomena of teaching as experienced by individuals in their own personal way. Whereas we see the need to capture unique individual experience as a means of breaking through barriers to understanding persisting problems of the classroom, we also see individual experience as representing the general, especially if individual teachers have been involved in the same of similar professional events. Both unique individual experiences of the same events and collective understandings can be examined through forms of collective biography. We see the use of biography as having strengths which are in some ways different from, but complementary to, phenomenology and other qualitative forms of enquiry. These potential strengths can be viewed as contributions to basic research into the phenomena that concern us. Furthermore, besides making a contribution to fundamental qualitative understanding of teaching, biography (especially the collective biography) can utilize ancillary quantitative approaches to truth claims. The way biography brings together experience, thought, action, theory, practice, research development and self education, and the way it makes research relationships among insiders and outsiders more collaborative, gives biography, as an epistemology, tremendous integrative, synergistic, and emancipatory potential.

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Endnotes

(1) A brief portion of an earlier version of this paper was published in R. Halkes and J.K. Olson (Ed.) A New Perspective on Resisting Problems in Education, Tilburg, Holland: Swets and Zeiklinger, B.V. 1984 under the title "Arguments for using Biography in Understanding Teacher Thinking".

(2) We are deeply indebted to our typist Beulah Sinclair for her patience and endurance.

TRANSFORMATION AS AN AIM OF EDUCATION*

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Transformation as an Aim of Education

In 1972 Kohlberg and Mayer published an article entitled "Development as an Aim in Education." In that article the authors defined three basic educational ideologies: cultural transmission, romantic, and progressive-developmental and argued that the latter position was the most appropriate for developing educational programs.

In this paper I also describe three positions: transmission, transaction, and transformation. Two of these positions - the transmission and transaction-parallel the cultural transmission and progressive-developmental ideologies. However, as the title indicates there are major differences in the Kohlberg-Mayer position and the one outlined here. First, the transformation position, although it includes elements of the romantic, is not identical to the romantic ideology described by Kohlberg. Second, I argue that the transformation position provides a more comprehensive framework for developing educational programs than Kohlberg's developmental position. Third, the positions are linked with specific social contexts. Lawrence Cremin (1961) has made the connection between educational ideologies and social movements:

> Actually, progressive education began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life—the ideal of government by, of, and for the people -—to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The word progressive provides the clue to what it really was: the educational phase of American Progressivism writ large. In effect, progressive education began as Progressivism in education: a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. (p. viii)

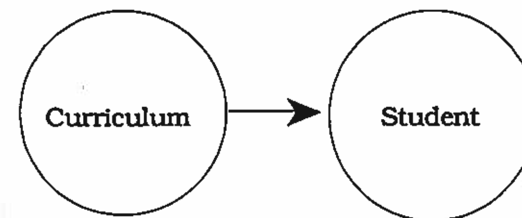
Just as progressive education was linked to a broader social movement, so too transmission and transformation curricula have been related to various social contexts.

In this article the three major positions are outlined in detail. As an "advance organizer," the three positions are now briefly described.

Transmission Position

This position focuses on mastery of traditional subject matter. In this position there is a general concern that students acquire the basic values and skills that are necessary to function in society.

Specific orientations within this position include the subject orientation, cultural transmission orientation, and competency based learning. The subject orientation focuses on student mastery of traditional school subjects. Cultural transmission is concerned with passing on cultural values and mores to the student. Finally, competency based learning attempts to develop student skills through specific instructional strategies. The transmission position can be diagrammed in the following manner:

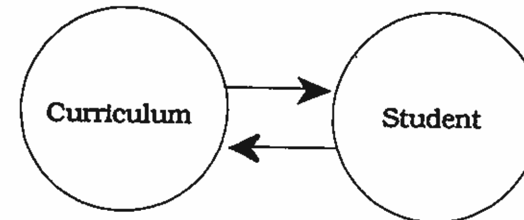


In the transmission position there is primarily one-way movement to inculcate the student in certain skills and values.

This position has its philosophical roots in logical positivism where the focus is on breaking language into logical components. The philosophical-scientific paradigm, then, in this position is an atomistic view of nature that sees reality in terms of separate, isolated building blocks. Psychologically, this orientation is rooted in behavioral psychology. The work of Thorndike and Skinner with their focus on behavioral components provides, in part, the psychological underpinnings of this position. Finally, the position tends to be linked with various forms of conservative political philosophy. Conservatism is characterized by an emphasis on traditional values (e.g., the work ethic, patriotism) and minimum government interference in the economy.

The Transaction Position

The transaction position focuses on problem solving and cognitive growth. It contains the following specific orientations: cognitive process, democratic citizenship, and the disciplines orientation. The cognitive process orientation is seen in the work of Ausubel (1968), Robinson (1972) and more recently in the work of Driver and Erickson (1982), Posner (1983) and Ross (1982). These theorists have emphasized curriculum strategies that facilitate problem solving. Sometimes this problem solving occurs within traditional subjects or it is applied to solving personal dilemmas. If problem solving skills are applied within a social context then, this usually is within a democratic citizenship orientation. Educators like Shaver (1976) have stressed the importance of developing citizenship skills within the context of the democratic process. Finally, the disciplines orientation has emphasized cognitive skills within academic disciplines. Driver and Erickson (1982) and others have articulated how thinking skills can be developed in such areas as science. The transaction position can be characterized in the following way:



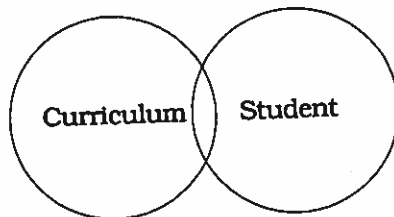
Problem solving focuses on dialogue between student and the curriculum. The student is viewed as someone who reconstructs knowledge in this process. The transaction position is philosophically rooted in Dewey's pragmatism. The philosophical paradigm of the transaction is the scientific method. This method or process has formed the basis for many inquiry learning models. The position has its psychological roots in the work of Piaget and Kohlberg. Development from the Piagetian viewpoint results from interaction between the student and a stimulating intellectual environment.

Finally, the transaction position can be linked with small "l" liberalism. Liberalism has been characterized by applying rational intelligence to social problems.

Transformation Position

This position focuses on personal and social change. In this position the teacher attempts to pass on to students, skills that allow for personal and social transformation. Freire's work in Brazil can be viewed in this context. In this position social change is sometimes placed within a transpersonal framework. In other words, change is seen as moving toward harmony with the environment rather that exerting control over it. Transpersonal techniques are sometimes used to work with the inner self. Centering devices such as meditation, visualization and movement techniques are used to enhance inner awareness. With a transpersonal orientation the environment also takes on a

spiritual dimension as the ecological system is viewed with respect and reverence. The transformation position can be diagrammed in the following manner:



In this position the curriculum and student interpenetrate each other in a holistic manner. The paradigm for this position is an ecologically, interdependent perspective that emphasizes the interrelatedness of phenomena.

Philosophically this position has its roots in what Huxley (1970) called the "perennial philosophy." Psychologically it is attuned to transpersonal psychology which emphasizes spiritual fulfillment. Finally, this position is linked with decentralized political networks, and "small is beautiful economics."

We turn now to the three positions. First, I discuss an example of programming that can be linked with the position. Then I turn to the historical, philosophical, psychological and social contexts associated with each position.

TRANSMISSION POSITION

This section begins with a discussion of the work of Henry Morrison. Although he died in 1945 his thinking is similar to many subject centered and competency based educators today. For example, Bloom (1981) states that mastery learning is derived, in part, from the work of Morrison (1926).

Morrison (1940) draws a distinction between curriculum and instruction. Instruction is the "social process by which the community seeks to guarantee that

education of the rising generation shall be right education, of which the citizen and not the criminal or insane is the outcome" (p. 3). Instruction, then, places a strong emphasis on cultural transmission as it is conceived as a socializing process.

Curriculum is the basic framework for planning instruction. For Morrison curriculum is in it's "nature constant and universal." Curriculum assumes that "human nature is at bottom the same world over." The curriculum, then, is the same in its essentials in most schools.

Morrison argued that literacy skills were essential in the elementary school curriculum. He thought that the elementary school should focus on the three R's. Morrison felt that reading was the basis for the school curriculum since it allows access to the rest of the curriculum. The next important element in the curriculum for Morrison was the development of computational skills. Morrison indicated that the main task of mathematics education was to acquire elementary concepts of number and the ability to deal with basic mathematical relationships.

Handwriting is the next essential aspect of curriculum. Morrison felt that writing encourages the student to organize his or her ideas in a clear and concise manner.

At the secondary level, Morrison developed the unit approach to learning. He argued that material should be organized into units which the student must master if he or she is to progress to the next level. His concept of mastery is similar in some ways to the current concept of mastery learning. Morrison's unit method involves the following sequential steps: (1) pre-test; (2) teaching; (3) testing the result of instruction; (4) changing the instruction procedure; (5) teaching and testing again until the unit has been completely mastered by the student.

Mastery involves a fundamental grasp of subject matter. In developing the concept of mastery Morrison distinguished between learning and performance. The application of learning after mastery is classed as performance. At first, then, the student focuses on

learning a skill; then once he or she has achieved a certain level of learning the student attempts to apply the skill. This application is called performance.

Once performance is achieved adaptation is realized; that is, the students can apply their learning to any situation. Adaptation is seen as unitary and permanent. It is unitary in that one either masters a skill or does not master it. Second, mastery and adaptation are also viewed as permanent; a skill does not fade away.

There are three different types of adaptation. First, there are special skills such as bicycle-riding adaptations. Second, there are "understandings" or cognitive abilities; and third, there are "attitudes of appreciation."

Morrison has had a strong impact on education and the transmission position. Morrison's unit model encouraged the use of worksheets which are still used today so that the teacher can assess whether students have achieved mastery.

Morrison's conception of curriculum is an atomistic one. Learning is broken down into small units that are separate from one another. Once an adaptation or skill has been achieved, it is simply checked off on the teacher's worksheet. Since mastery is permanent, the teacher can forget about the skill once the initial adaptation has been achieved. Bayles and Hood (1966) come to this conclusion about Morrison: "This is an elementistic-atomistic theory in curriculum construction as well as in teaching method, and for this reason we feel obliged to classify Morrison as a specific objectivist" (p. 214).

Historical Background

In North America, the transmission position can be traced to colonial times when Calvinism was predominant in New England. The student was seen in the context of original sin and thus strict discipline was the order of the day. Teachers were not reluctant to use corporal punishment to control student behavior. Reading and religious instruction were the principal areas of instruction as

students learned to read through the alphabet method. Reflecting the atomistic paradigm, students would first learn their letters, then words.

The demands on teachers were onerous. Often one teacher had to work with over 80 students. As a result of these demands, teachers often relied on rote learning and recitation (Burton, 1969). Students in groups of three or four would be asked to recite what they had memorized from a book. Arithmetic was learned by copying rules into a notebook.

A feature of nineteenth century education was the monitor system developed by Joseph Lancaster. In this system, the "bright" pupils were selected to teach groups of students. The teacher would instruct the monitor and the monitor would instruct a row of students. Influenced by faculty psychology this method was based on the assumption that the children's faculty of memory was well developed. However, children were not expected to engage in independent thinking or analysis. Tanner and Tanner (1980) argue that programmed instruction is similar in many ways to the monitorial method:

> A century and a half later, advocates of programmed instruction are extolling the virtues of mechanized instruction for educating disadvantaged children. Once again "mechanics" (rote learning by reading, writing, and arithmetic) is the whole of schooling for many urban youngsters. Education is seldom valued as a potent social force for the poor. In a climate of retrenchment, the concern is with a few narrow outcomes that can be taught economically by rote and drill, and can be easily measured. In many respects, the situation today parallels that of the early nineteenth century. (p. 210)

In examining the transmission position, it is clear that it becomes dominant in difficult economic times as politicians and educators opt for inexpensive solutions to difficult educational dilemmas.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, William T. Harris articulated the transmission position. For example, in the science classroom, he felt that textbook learning should be used instead of the laboratory, experimental approach. In 1880, he wrote an article entitle "Textbooks and their Uses." For Harris, the textbook was the center of curriculum and instruction and should reflect "what has been tested and found essential to civilization" (p. 9)—a classic statement of the transmission position.

Harris was concerned that the newspaper dominated public thought. In an argument that is similar to one used by Neil Postman today, he felt education should counter negative trends in society. Postman (1979) argues that television is the first curriculum and must be countered by the more formal curriculum of the school. Harris, in his time, argued that newspaper must be countered by the textbook. In Cremin's (1961) words, Harris was clearly a conservative:

> His emphasis is on order rather than freedom, on work rather than play, on effort rather than interest, on prescription rather than election, on the regularity, silence, and industry that "preserve and save our civil order." (p. 200)

In the 1920's and 30's, the transmission position was represented, in part, by Franklin Bobbit of the University of Chicago and W. W. Charters of the Carnegie Institute. Bobbit thought that curriculum could be improved by employing techniques he called "scientific management." Scientific management techniques, he felt were being employed in industry and should be applied to the more "backward" institution of education. Bobbit (1913) reflects the transmission position when he says, "education is a shaping process as much as the manufacture of steel rails" (p. 11). Education, then, must focus on product development and this was to be accomplished through the introduction of uniform standards. In fact, Bobbit suggested that business and industry should set the appropriate standards. Tanner and Tanner (1980) contend that "the trend of education catering to the demands of business has been a continuing trend of American Education" (p. 329). A recent example of this phenomenon was in the 1960's when school systems turned to business to develop "performance contracts" in order to improve pupil performance in the schools.

In 1924, Bobbit published *How to Make a Curriculum.* In this book, Bobbit argued that the curriculum should prepare the student for all the activities he or she will encounter in daily life. The curriculum, then should consist of activities that can be readily identified and measured. This mechanistic view of science dominated education in the 1920's. In Cremin's words:

> The scientific movement exerted its greatest influence on education at a time when the study of education was making rapid headway as a university discipline. One need only check the dissertation lists at Columbia, Chicago, and Stanford after World War I to see the vast enthusiasm for scientific topics. Here was no dabbling with the tricks of the trade that had been the earmarks of the normal school; here was Wissenschaft with a vengeance. (p.200)

The transmission position has tended to have two strands. One strand is represented by Harris with an emphasis on traditional academic subjects taught through traditional methodologies (e.g., textbook learning). The other major strand is seen in the work of Bobbit and in competency-based education. Applying a narrow conception of science this strand has focused on developing specific behavioral objectives and breaking the curriculum into small components that can be easily mastered by the student.

Psychological Roots

The psychological roots of the transmission can be

found in the work of Thorndike and in recent work of B.F. Skinner. Both of the psychologists developed the behavioral orientation to learning.

Thorndike's *Stimulus - Response Learning* was interested in animals and his dissertation *Animal Intelligence* (1911) was published by MacMillan. Influenced by his study of animals, Thorndike saw human behavior in terms of S R. The S for Thorndike (1913) was the situation which stimulated a particular response. "A man's intellect, character and skill is the sum of his tendencies to respond to situations and elements of situations. This number of different situation response connections that make up this sum would, in an educated adult, run well up into the millions" (Vol. 2, p.4).

Thorndike reduces learning to the physiological mechanism. According to Thorndike "The physiological basis for education is the modifiability of synapses between neurons. Learning, then, is concerned with facilitating the connections between neurons. Thorndike developed a number of laws in relation to this physiological view of learning. One of these laws is called the law of use and disuse.

Thorndike believed that connections between neurons are enhanced through exercise and diminish when not in use. When applied to the classroom, repetition is believed to be as important to learning.

Another Thorndike (1913) principle is the law of effect which anticipated Skinner's law of reinforcement. "When a modifiable connection between a situation (stimulus) and a response is made and is accompanied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs, that connection's strength is increased: when made and accompanied or followed by an annoying state of affairs; its strength is decreased" (Vol. 2, p. 4).

Problem solving, for Thorndike, involves trial and error. Thorndike (1913) wrote:

> Similarly a person whose general aim is to solve a mechanical puzzle may hit upon the solution, or some part of it, in the course of random fumbling, may hit upon it sooner in the next trial, and so progress in the learning-all with little help from ideas about the puzzle or his own movements. (p. 131)

In the transaction position, problem solving is charactcrized by rational assessment of alternatives. For Thorndike, problem solving is random fumbling. Since people are viewed in a passive manner, they can only solve problems through trial and error.

Thorndike argued that "Teaching is the arrangement of situations which will lead to desirable bonds and make them satisfying." The definition is similar to Skinner's definition of teaching which he called "the arrangement of contingencies under which students learn."

In 1968 Skinner published *The Technology of Teaching*. Although he does not consider himself as an educational psychologist, he has written extensively on education. In the second chapter of this book, he asserts that "recent improvements in the conditions which control behavior in the field of learning are of two principal sorts" (p. 10). The first is the law of effect which allows us to shape "the behavior of an organism almost at will" (p. 10). The second advance allows us to "maintain behavior in given states of strength for long periods of time" (p. 10). In the second law, Skinner is referring to the use or reinforcers. Reinforcers are the central component of Skinner"s theory of operant conditioning. An operant is a behavior that can be controlled through reinforcement. The basic law of operant conditioning involves reinforcement. "If the occurrence of an operant is followed by presentation of a reinforcing stimulus, the strength is increased" (p. 4). In education, teaching is "the arrangement of contingencies of reinforcement under which students learn" (p. 64). By arranging reinforcers the teacher can increase certain desired behaviors.

Skinner distinguishes between negative and positive reinforcers. Positive reinforcers, when added to a

situation, will increase the behavior. A negative reinforcer will increase the frequency of behavior when it is removed. In general, Skinner supports the use of positive reinforcers. Aversive education, in Skinner's view, uses negative reinforcers and leads to "maladaptive or neurotic" behavior.

Natural reinforcers occur in the environment. However, Skinner suggests that natural reinforcers are too slow to bring about change. In Skinner's opinion, if the teacher relies on the environment he or she actually abandons the role of teacher. Instead, the teacher must intervene to manipulate the environment. One technique that Skinner (1968) recommends is programmed learning.

> Programmed instruction is primarily a scheme for making an effective use of reinforcers, not only in shaping new kinds of behavior but in maintaining behavior in strength. A program does not specify a particular kind of reinforcer (the student may work under aversive control or for money, food, prestige, or love), but it is designed to make weak reinforcers or small measures of strong ones effective. (p. 156)

In starting a learning task, Skinner suggests that students be rewarded immediately. For example, in programmed learning steps should be small and thus errors are minimized. Skinner's psychology is atomistic as behavior is broken down into small bits (e.g., reinforcers) so that it can be manipulated. Programmed learning also contains small identifiable components so students proceed through sequential steps. However, we can wonder how these pieces fit together. For many critics these pieces don't come together particularly in Skinner's Utopian visions such as Walden II. Criticisms of Walden II have been abundant:

> A vision of the future in which man is controlled by science, made happy by technique, rendered well-adjusted by the manipulation of others. Emerson's vision? Only the hubris of science could take Thoreau's Walden, and dare to appropriate a word with such noble connotations, for such a vile vision. (Becker, 1967, 243-244)

Philosophical Context

The transmission position can be linked to analytic philosophy. This philosophical movement in its different forms has also been called logical atomism, logical positivism and scientific empiricism. Analytic philosophy attempts to break language down into small components so that there is clarity and verification. The thrust to atomize language and reality is at the heart of the atomistic paradigm and the transmission position. Barrett (1979) summarizes the core of analytic thinking:

> What is this vision? The position may be labeled as "Logical Atomism," a phrase previously introduced and put to use by Russell. But Russell advanced this new style in philosophy merely as a mode of procedure: as a kind of philosophical analysis that proceeds by the piecemeal decomposition of any complex subject into its logically ultimate components. (p. 36)

Ludwig Wittgenstein played a crucial role in the development of analytic philosophy. In his book *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* he gets to the root of empiricism and the atomistic paradigm when he asserts "any fact can either be the case or not be case, and everything else remains the same." In this view the universe is made of isolated "facts" or atoms that may or may not be related to each other. There is no link or bond between these facts.

According to Barrett (1979) the early work of Wittgenstein is tied to the thought of Russell and Whitehead, particularly Russell's logical atomism:

> Now we have to take only one tiny step further in order to arrive at the logical atoms that make up the world. Logic analyzes statements into two kinds: complex or molecular statements into which these are resolved. But what holds for the items in the mirror must also hold for the realities the mirror pictures. Hence, in line with our picture theory of language, the world must ultimately be made up of atomic facts that correspond to the atomic statements with which logical analysis terminates. And the various groupings of these atomic facts make up the complex facts that constitute our experience. We thus arrive at the full-fledged doctrine of Logical Atomism. (p. 39)

It has been argued that Wittgenstein takes empiricism to its conclusion—the universe is made up of atoms or facts that are disconnected from one another. To attempt to theorize is not worthwhile in the empiricist's view. Synthesis should not be attempted until the basic elements have been identified and analyzed.

Analytical philosophers may not even acknowledge that there are different world views or metaphysical conceptions:

> Traditionally, philosophy presented the appearance of a number of world views, each essentially complete in itself, and impossible to assess in terms of some other philosophy without begging the fundamental questions. One is either a Platonist or Aristotelizn, Spinozist or Thomist, Cartesian or Kantian, and so for the rest. And the choice between the great systems seemed to be a matter of taste or temperament; no wonder the controversies were endless. Now, says the analytic philosopher, the time has come to put an end to such pointless disputation. When a philosophic thesis is formulated in sufficiently exact language, there is no longer room for debate—the thing can be settled one way or the other, and once for all. Philosophy could make progress if only the philosopher would rather be definitely wrong than vaguely right. (Kaplan, 1961, p. 59)

Instead philosophy should attack specific problems on a piecemeal basis. Using the gains of science as a model, analytic philosophers suggest that through analysis small, cumulative gains be made.

Analytic philosophy has focused on language. In Wittgenstein's view philosophical problems arise when "our language has gone on vacation." Thus, problems can be resolved by clear and precise language. The analytic philosopher focuses on overcoming the functional disorders of language which often have arisen in traditional philosophic discourse. By analyzing language, then, philosophic confusion can be arrested.

Philosophy, then, abandons metaphysical questions. In the words of Wittgenstein "whereof one cannot speak, one must be silent." Instead philosophy becomes a servant of science. Analytic philosophy first attempts to identify which questions are worth pursuing. Once the appropriate questions have been identified, science then takes over and confirms which statements are true or false. The basis for identifying appropriate questions in analytical philosophy has been called "the verifiability theory of meaning." Some statements are verified on an empirical basis so analytic philosophy has also been called "scientific empiricism." For the analytic philosophers, other philosophical approaches made no attempt to discriminate about different types of experiences. Metaphysical propositions in traditional philosophies are nonsense in view of the analytic philosopher because they are not verifiable:

> In short, for analytic philosophy the questions raised in traditional metaphysics are unanswerable because they are not genuine questions. Philosophical arguments have been interminable because in

> principle there is no way to establish that one side is right and the other wrong. What is crucial, from the standpoint of analytic philosophy, is that metaphysical questions are unanswerable because of defects in their formulation, and not because of any alleged limitations of the human mind. (Kaplan, 1961, p. 66-67)

In its most radical form, empiricism is seen in the principle of physicalism—that all the science can in principle be reformulated in the language of physics. Even psychology from this point of view is reduced to observations of physical behavior. Physicalism, then, is the link between the philosophy and psychology of the transmission position.

In analytic philosophy humans are connected only through the rational use of language. Human experience is reduced to what can be logically verified. We are left again with Wittgenstein's two statements.

> - "Any fact can be the case or not be the case, and everything else remains the same."
> - "Whereof one cannot speak, therefore one must be silent."

In the world of the analytic philosopher values are removed from the rational discourse, instead they are a matter of personal choice. There is no connection between philosophy and one's personal values. They are simply separate from each other. In Kaplan's (1961) words "What he identifies as philosophy is not something that he lives by, but a purely intellectual pursuit, like the study of mathematics or physics with which it is so intimately associated." (p.88)

The world view of the analytic philosopher is made up of isolated segments that may or may not be related to each other. The analytic philosopher focuses on science, observations, inference, clarity and precision. Art, beauty, ethics, spirituality are separate and unrelated. This separation between rational and intuitive modes of thought of course, is not just common to analytic philosophy, it has tended to dominate most of academia and has permeated educational philosophy and psychology for most of this century. There have been other currents such as existentialism, and humanistic psychology but these have generally been isolated from the academic mainstream. In short analytic philosophy has reinforced the shizoid split that separates head from heart in our culture.

It is this same dichotomy that is apparent in the back-to-basics movement. The curriculum is reduced to basic elements (e.g., the 3 R's) which are taught separately. Of course, there are different strands within the back-to-basic movements but generally the transmission position breaks the curriculum down into small segments which are unrelated and cut off from the affective and spiritual dimensions of life.

Economical/Social Context

The transmission position can be linked to conservatism. There are varieties of conservatism which include religious fundamentalism, Tory conservatism, laisse-faire conservatism, Social Darwinism, and technological conservatism. The conservatism which will be discussed here is laisse-faire conservatism, since it is closest to the atomistic paradigm and is the predominant conservative viewpoint in North America.

Laisse-Faire Conservatism

Laisse-faire conservatism can be traced to Adam Smith, whose *Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776. In this book Smith attacked the dominant economic system of the day-mercantilism and argued for the free market system. Smith's conception of the free market was based on individual self-interest and competition. Individual self-interest results in competition through the market and

the market results in the provision of those goods that society wants. Self-interest drives man to work for what society is willing to pay for and competition acts as a restraint to self-interest. These two factors - individual self-interest and competition - act as checks on each other to provide the best possible goods at the lowest possible price. Heilbroner (1980) summarizes Smith's conception of the market as "atomistic:"

> The world of Adam Smith has been called a world of atomistic competition; a world in which no agent of the productive mechanism, on the side of labor or capital, was powerful enough to interfere with or to resist the pressures of competition. It was a world in which each agent was forced to scurry after its self-interest in a vast social free-for-all. (p.56)

Today one of the strongest advocates of laisse-faire capitalism has been Milton Friedman. Friedman has argued that government has intervened too far into the social and economic life of the country. For Friedman this intervention has reduced the freedom of the individual. Friedman (1962) believes that the economic and political freedom are intertwined:

> Economic arrangements play a dual role in the promotion of a free society. On the one hand, freedom in economic arrangements is itself a component of freedom broadly understood, so economic freedom is an end in itself. In the second place, economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom. (p. 8)

In Friedman's view "capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom." Friedman's view of capitalism is derived from Smith and his view of economic alternatives is stark:

> Fundamentally, there are only two ways of co-ordinating the economic activities of millions. One is central direction involving the use of coercion—the technique of the army and of the modern totalitarian state. The other is voluntary co-operation of individuals—the technique of the marketplace. (p. 13)

He also adopts Smith's atomistic view of the individual in the marketplace. "In its simplest form, such a society consists of a number of independent households—a collection of Robinson Crusoes, as it were" (p. 13).

Friedman's choice of terms is revealing as he sees society as a collection of Robinson Crusoes. The only link for individuals is through the marketplace. Government, in Friedman's view should act like an umpire to make sure that one individual or group of individuals does not take over the marketplace. In this way economic freedom is maintained.

Friedman also has something to say about education. In brief, he applies free market theory to education. He argues that parents should be able to choose and pay directly for the kind of education they prefer. He suggests that until 1840 this was the case in the U.S. where schools were financed by fees paid by the parents. After that time schooling was taken over by government, and since then most children in the U.S. have attended government schools. As government has played a larger role, the focus of schooling has changed. He feels that schools "are still expected to teach the three R's and to transmit common values" a classic statement of the transmission position. He also suggests, however, that schools have become involved in the issues such as social integration which he feels are only "distantly related to their fundamental task." (e.g., the three R's).

To restore the health of education, Friedman advocates the voucher system. The voucher system means that parents would receive a voucher, or a piece of paper for a designated sum of money (e.g., $2,000) which is only

redeemable if it is used to pay the cost of schooling. The voucher, then, allows the individual or parents to choose the type of school they want their child to attend.

Transmission Position - Concluding Comments

The transmission position, then, is rooted in an atomistic world view. This world view has made some significant contributions to our culture.

One contribution has been the emphasis on clarity and precision. Analytic philosophers have forced thinkers to define their terms so that clarity is enhanced. The behaviorists' emphasis on specificity has also contributed to clear and precise objectives. Clarity and precision have enhanced communication; since there is more of an effort to define things clearly people can communicate more readily.

Empiricism has had some positive influences. By using empirical methods our scientific knowledge, of course, has grown exponentially. Empiricism has also led to a healthy skepticism as people have questioned entrenched assumptions and untested dogma.

In the economic sphere the freedom of an individual to buy and sell goods in an open marketplace is, at first glance, an appealing vision. The problems of centralized planning in communist countries are also well known. Yet we are also well aware of the excesses of unregulated capitalism. Today a fragile environment that has been scarred by industries that are more concerned with profits than the ecology is only one example. Adam Smith himself objected to exploitative capitalism but present day conservatives tend to focus solely on the importance of the free market.

The atomistic position has made it easier for people including industrialists to compartmentalize life. In this position, life is broken into segments that are unrelated. Thus, the analytic philosopher comes to work and focuses on analysis and verification. However, this work is unrelated to the philosopher's personal life. The

philosopher's values, spirituality, and aesthetic sense do not enter into the well defined world of analytic philosophy just as an ecological sense is remote to the industrialist.

The behaviorist also tends to work in a segmented world. The extreme behaviorist disconnects consciousness from behavior and is only interested in the external world. The concern of the behaviorist is to be able to describe and predict behavior; the internal world of thoughts and images is seen as irrelevant. The separation of our inner and outer worlds is similar to the dichotomy between the personal and professional work of the analytic philosopher.
The atomistic paradigm may be at the root of alienation. In a social world where individual self-interest is prominent then we end up isolated and cut off from each other. In the words of Philip Slater (1970):

> It is easy to produce examples of the many ways in which Americans attempt to minimize, circumvent, or deny the interdependence upon which all human societies are based. We seek a private house, a private laundry, self-service stores, and do-it-yourself skills of every kind. An enormous technology seems to have set itself the task of making it unnecessary for one human being ever to ask anything of another in the course of going about his daily business. Even within the family Americans are unique in their feeling that each member should have a separate room, and even a separate telephone, television, and car, when economically possible. We seek more and more privacy, and feel more and more alienated and lonely when we get it. (p. 7)

In *The Compassionate Teacher* Miller (1981) demonstrates how the separation between our inner and outer world is upheld in schools:

> Schools reinforce this separation. To succeed in school it is important that an individual succeed in conceptual

> terms. The individual must gain technical skills and abstract knowledge, but there is little emphasis on empathy or compassion. In fact, compassion is negatively reinforced in favor of "playing it cool." Competition and quick-wittedness are stressed over cooperation and warmth.
>
> We detach the head from the heart because we want to hide behind the illusion that we may have created for ourselves. A current illusion in education is the "back to basics movement." By suggesting that we must focus solely on the 3R's, we are continuing to perpetuate the split between the heart and head. By stressing cognitive skills over affective and spiritual integration, we reinforce the schizoid culture. (pp. 15-16)

When we break the world down into isolated segments we can feel cut off from those elements. We move from the I-thou relationship to the I-it position. The extreme end point of the atomistic viewpoint is the survivalist. The survivalist is prepared for the breakdown of society; almost everyone is conceived of as a potential enemy. Thus, the survivalist is prepared to defend his or her home with a shotgun. In the survivalist's world, Crusoe's household has become an armed camp.

TRANSACTION POSITION

Science educators have been leading advocates of the transaction position. They have described how cognitive processes in scientific inquiry can be used as a basis for designing curriculum and instruction. In general, the transaction position has been associated with forms of inquiry within academic disciplines.

Recently Driver and Erickson (1983) have described research which integrates cognitive psychology with work in a discipline such as science. Driver and Erickson summarize the thrust of this work:

> Empirical Premise One. Many students have constructed from previous physical and linguistic experiences frameworks which can be used to interpret some of the natural phenomena which they study formally in school science classes.
>
> Empirical Premise Two. These student frameworks often result in conceptual confusion as they lead to different predictions and explanations from those frameworks sanctioned by school science.
>
> Empirical Premise Three. Well-planned instruction employing teaching strategies which take account of student frameworks will result in the development of frameworks that conform more closely to school science.
>
> Value Premise One. One should conduct research which will lead to a better understanding of school science by students.
>
> Conclusion. We ought to engage in research endeavors which will uncover student frameworks, investigate the ways they interact with instructional experiences and utilize this knowledge in the development of teaching programs. (p. 39-40)

Driver and Erickson claim that until recently the emphasis in science curricula has been directed towards the structure of knowledge to be taught. Now it is shifting to the idea that students possess "invented ideas" or frameworks that are based on sense experience and language. These invented ideas influence student investigations in the science classroom. Researchers have also found that these "invented ideas" can confuse investigation and lead to inaccurate conclusions. Teachers, then, need to concentrate on strategies that will take into account these student frameworks.

Some of the recent research in this area has focused on how students tend to develop conceptual frameworks. Strauss (1981) has argued that student's common sense knowledge is "spontaneous and universal" (e.g., acquired

by individuals without formal instruction). Researchers such as Brown (1982) have argued that detailed descriptions of novice frameworks should be developed in a number of areas (e.g., mechanics, energy or evolution). After these novice frameworks are identified then instructional strategies can be developed that help students examine their own frameworks.

Students, then, do not enter a science experiment with a "blank slate." Instead, students through sensory and linguistic experience have developed some basic conceptualization about the problems at hand. In science the novice frameworks are usually in place in such areas as mechanics, heat and temperature.

Research is currently being conducted on how student frameworks interact with instruction. Some of this work is descriptive. For example, Anderson and Smith (1983) have conducted studies that describe student conceptions of topics such as light, color and photosynthesis before, during and after instruction. Tiberghien (1980) and her associates at the Universite de Paris have also been examining student frameworks about heat during instruction.

Finally, there has also been research examining how student conceptual frameworks can be changed through instruction. Some of this research has focused on changing frameworks through cognitive conflict similar to Piaget's "equilibration" concept of Festinger's "cognitive dissonance." For example, Stavy and Berkovitz (1980) developed strategies which brought children's qualitative-verbal representation systems into conflict with their quantitative-numerical representation systems. This conflict was used in relation to children's thinking about temperature change. Research by Hewson (1981) and Posner, Strike, Hewson and Gertzog (1979) integrates the philosophy of science with information processing psychology. This research "has also provided specific instructional prescriptions for changing secondary school student's intuitive notions about the concepts of mass,volume, density and particulate nature of matter (Hewson,M., 1982, Hewson, M. and Hewson, P. 1981) and for diagnosing and subsequently altering students' 'alternate conceptions' about the concept of speed using a microcomputer as the means of presenting and pacing the instructional materials" (Driver and Erickson, p. 52).

Historical Background

The transaction position views the student as capable of intelligent interaction with the environment. Even in colonial times there were educators who did not accept the Calvinistic view of the child. For example in the U.S., Benjamin Franklin developed a vision of secondary education that moved away from a narrow view of education.

In the early nineteenth century many U.S. reformers were influenced by Pestalozzi, the Swiss educator. Pestalozzi felt that teachers should be able to understand the needs and wishes of the child. Pestalozzi developed a curriculum based on "the Art of Sense Impressionism." He felt that students learn through observation of nature by being presented with opportunities to analyze and make inferences on experience.

Pestalozzi influence was present in the so called "object teaching method" which became popular in the U.S. in the 1860's. In the U.S. the object method was promoted by William Sheldon. Object teaching was similar to Pestalozzi's "Sense Impressionism." In the object method the child would observe an object and then develop concepts about the object which then would be translated into words. Tanner and Tanner argue that object teaching was a "tremendously important reform because direct experience concerning an object was substituted for teacher verbalism." (P. 215) In the Tanners' view object teaching was also a forerunner of inquiry learning.

A late nineteenth century figure who was also influenced by Pestalozzi was Francis Parker. Dewey

referred to Parker as the father of progressive education. In Quincy Massachusetts he became Superintendent of Schools in 1875 where he introduced a number of innovations. He advocated the whole word method of reading and introduced the discussion method into the classroom so that children moved away from rote recitation. Writing in the classroom focused on having children describe their own activities. Arithmetic was taught through induction rather than by rote memorization. Field trips were used to teach geography.

Another figure who helped usher in progressivism was Lester Ward. Unlike Parker, Ward was a Social Darwinist, or more accurately a Reform Darwinist. In 1883 Ward's book *Dynamic Sociology* was published where he criticized Laisse-faire economics and proposed instead a planned society. Education had an important role in Ward's scheme as it must inform the student about his or her relationship to society. Ward argued that social sciences should play a significant part in this process as they would allow the student to participate in public affairs in an informed manner. An important aspect of the transaction position is the development of the student as an individual who can intelligently resolve social problems.

This social strand of progressivism was continued with John Dewey. Dewey's laboratory school remains a classic example of the transaction position put into practice. The purpose of the school of Dewey's words was:

> "to discover in administration, selection of subject-matter, methods of learning, teaching, and discipline, how a school could become a cooperative community while developing in individuals their own capacities and satisfying their own needs." (Mayhew and Edwards, 1936, p. XIV)

The Philosophical Context

The transaction position has its philosophical roots in experimental pragmatism. John Dewey, in particular, has

provided the philosophical underpinnings of inquiry approaches in curriculum. Dewey's thought can also be linked with liberal political philosophy which attempts to facilitate social and economic growth through active government intervention.

Dewey claimed that schools should focus on cooperation and sharing. Schools should be miniature communities where teachers and students develop shared goals and solve mutual problems. Dewey's social vision is clearly different from the atomistic vision of the transmission position. Dewey (1916) criticized laisse-faire capitalism because in this system he believed that a few individuals exploited the majority of workers. In other words, he felt that the laisse-faire economics was oriented too much toward the individual. Laisse-faire capitalism was based on individual interest and competition, while Dewey's social vision was centered more on group cooperation.

Dewey argued the aim of education was growth. Dewey (1938) claimed that growth involved the reconstruction of experience and knowledge which helps in refining and controlling future experience. Educational experiences are judged, then, on their ability to promote growth. Positive experiences facilitate growth while negative experiences arrest or retard growth:

> Some experiences are miseducative. Any experience is miseducative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience... An experience may be immediately enjoyable and yet promote the formation of a slack and careless attitude...(which) operates to modify the quality of subsequent experiences so as to prevent a person from getting out of them what they have to give... Just as no man lives or dies to himself, so no experience lives or dies to itself. Wholly independent of desire or intent, every experience lives on in further experiences. Hence the central problem of an education based on

> experience is to select the kind of present experiences that live fruitfully and creatively in subsequent experience. (p. 25-28)

Dewey felt that growth is developed through the individual's interaction with the social environment. In particular, intelligence arises through solving problems. Ideally this problem solving should occur in a cooperative social context where people can work collaboratively. Dewey's concept of problem solving is rooted in the scientific method. The first step in Dewey's concept of problem solving is the problematic situation. Here the individual confronts a situation that causes confusion or puzzlement so that he or she must resolve the difficulty. In the second step the person must define the problem. Exactly, what is the problem? The third step consists of clarification of the problem where there is a careful examination or analysis of the factors contributing to the problem. In the fourth step the person develops hypotheses or "if-then" statements that are possible solutions and consider the possible consequences of each alternative. In the fifth and final step the person selects one hypothesis or alternative and implements it. If the alternative is successful, the person continues his or her activity. If the hypothesis does not work out, then the individuals selects another alternative.

In the transmission position knowledge is viewed as more static; students master the core curriculum which is seen as relatively fixed. For Dewey knowledge is related to experience; it is not something which is passively received, but is acted upon by the student as the student tests out ideas and hypotheses. Dewey (1916, 1966) stated "*when education under the influence of a scholastic conception of knowledge which ignores everything but scientifically formulated facts and truths, fails to recognize that primary or initial subject matter of an active doing, involving the of the body and the handling of material, the subject matter of instruction is isolated from the needs and purposes of the learner, and so becomes just a something to be memorized and reproduced on demand*" *(p. 184).*

School should not be merely a place of activity but instead should focus on problem solving. The teacher links the external environment with the needs, purposes and interests of the child. Too often Dewey (1938) felt progressives romanticized the child and merely succumbed to the child's impulses. Instead he felt that schools should facilitate inquiry rooted in the scientific method. In Dewey's (1938) words:

> It means that scientific method is the only authentic means at out command for getting at the significance of our everyday experiences of the world in which we live. It means that scientific method provides a working pattern of the way in which and the conditions under which experiences are used to lead ever onward and outward. Adaptation of the method to individuals of various degrees of maturity is a problem for the educator, and the constant factors in the problem are the formation of ideas, acting upon ideas., observation of the conditions which result, and organization of facts and ideas for future use. (p. 88)

In sum, the scientific method allows the person to examine and control experience. The individual working from the transaction position places his or her faith in analysis and rational intervention.

Psychological Context

Lawrence Kohlberg has argued that his work and the developmental theory of Jean Piaget has been in part the psychological extension of Dewey's thinking. While Dewey stated that growth was a principal aim of education, Piaget and Kohlberg have more clearly defined the stages of growth. At the heart of the Piaget-Kohlberg conception is the interactionist position:

> The child is not a plant or a machine; he is a philosopher or a scientist-poet. The dialectical metaphor of progressive education is supported by a cognitive-developmental or interactional psychological theory. Discarding the dichotomy between maturation and environmentally determined learning, Piaget and Dewey claim that mature thought emerges through a process of development that is neither direct biological maturation nor direct learning, but rather a reorganization of psychological structures resulting from organism-environment interactions. Basic mental structure is the product of the patterning of interaction between the organism and the environment, rather than a direct reflection of either innate neurological patterns or external environmental patterns. (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972, pp. 456-457)

In Kohlberg's view, cognition is seen in terms of structures of "internally organized wholes or systems of internal relations." These structures are rules for processing information. The child's experience is organized through these internal structures which interact with the environment. Development occurs when these internal structures become more comprehensive in the way they can deal with cognitive conflict. In Kohlberg's words "The theory emphasizes that the core of development is cognitive change in distinctively human, general patterns of thinking about the self and the world." (p. 457) At the center of the Piaget-Kohlberg theory is the concept of life stages with each stage implying distinct, qualitative differences in children's thinking.

Piaget and Kohlberg have been powerful influences on education over the past two decades. A principle strength of their work has been the attempt to understand the world view of the child at different stages. Their work has made us inquire more seriously into how children think. Yet there are serious problems with their view. One difficulty is that they have dismissed the child's imaginative capacity. In Sullivan's (1977) words:

> There is something lacking in all of the conceptual elegance of both Piaget's and Kohlberg's structuralisms. One significant gap is in the area of the "aesthetic imagination" and the potential role it may play in the development of intellectual and moral understanding. It can be said of Kohlberg, as it is said of Piaget, that his theory is confined to an analysis of "decentering" in logical and moral structures. The imagination is the thorn in the rosy development of most theoretical rationalists. We noted earlier that Piaget seems to pass off figurative knowledge as simply a lower form of intellectual development. Kohlberg's theory has no systematic place for it. In our everyday life, value synthesis is not a science but probably encompasses, when done well, the virtuosity of an artist. (p. 23-24)

Another problem has been pointed out by Gilligan (1982). She argues that Kohlberg's view is male oriented and does not deal with the person's growing capacity to care or be compassionate. In sum, we have limited view of development that denies human wholeness.

Social Context/Economic Liberalism

Just as Milton Friedman has been the principle spokesman for the laisse-faire position, John Galbraith has been the most prominent spokesman for liberal interventionist theory. Gambs (1973) claims that Galbraith and Dewey share a common world view:

> Both have been active in reform politics. Both saw that their fields of study—philosophy and economics, respectively—have not really been a search for truth, but rather a search for myths to explain this curious and unreasonable world: such things as high and low rank, abject poverty and ridiculously great wealth, domination and obedience. Both saw that these myths, though perhaps once serviceable to mankind, are no

> longer relevant. Dewey invented instrumentalism as a guiding philosophy and Galbraith is (seemingly) an unconscious instrumentalist who, like Moliere's M. Jourdain, had unwittingly been speaking prose for forty years. (pp. 113-4)

One of the most complete presentations of the Galbraith position can be found in his book *Economics and the Public Purpose*. This book has two major components. In the first there is an analysis of the economy and the second part there is a theory of reform.

Galbraith claims that one of the main components of the economy is the large corporations. Corporations such as Mobil and Esso have vast powers to control prices and even the demand for goods. Each of these firms has a technostructure which is the corporate bureaucracy. The technostructure, in Galbraith's view, is most concerned with survival and thus there is much interaction between the corporate technostructure and government. For example, people move back and forth between government positions and the technostructure. These large firms in Galbraith's view act virtually independent of their Boards and the shareholders.

Besides the large corporations, Galbraith argues that there is a market system composed of smaller corporations and businesses. This section of the economy is closer to laisse-faire capitalism and includes small stores, restaurants and other small businesses. Galbraith argues that government should stimulate and support the market system so that it is not swallowed up by the large corporations.

The third element in Galbraith's economy is the government. Galbraith feels that government has an essential role to play in the economy in providing essential services such as education. Government also must be the principal party that combats inflation through wage and price controls.

Galbraith (1973) argues that to rely on the laisse-faire system leads to "unequal development, inequality, frivolous

and erratic innovation, environmental assault, indifference to personality power over the stage, inflation, failure in interindustry coordination."

An important aspect of his proposal is changing government so that it serves the market system rather than the planning system of the techno-structure. Galbraith feels that government now is a servant of the big firms and that voters must stop electing incumbents to Congress so that the new members will not continue the cosy relationship between government and big business.

Government, as mentioned earlier, should actively support the market system which includes allowing small businesses to form guilds. Government should also implement a guaranteed income to people who cannot find work and he argues that excessive incomes should be reduced through progressive taxation. Government should also be involved in nationalizing certain industries. Galbraith feels that housing, medical service, public transport and the defense industries should be publically owned. Galbraith's "socialism" is not ideological but more pragmatic in nature, based on his view that these particular industries could function better if they were made public enterprises. In general, Galbraith argues that government expenditures should be made for public services rather than space programs. Public purpose is the main priority for Galbraith's government.

The free market system cannot adequately bring about the changes that Galbraith feels are needed. In a word laisse-faire economics is irrelevant. The only solution to today's problems is greater planning. Galbraith even advocates that governments of different countries cooperate in planning to control distribution of capital and to combat inflation.

Transaction Position - Concluding Comments

The transaction position, then, is rooted in pragmatism and liberalism. Abraham Kaplan claims that pragmatism can "be described as providing meaning to the old

fashioned and much abused term liberalism" (p. 41). Both pragmatism and liberalism hold the optimistic view that people can improve the social environment through rational intervention. Pragmatism and liberalism encourage active reform. In the conservative position the universe is better left alone, in the liberal position things can be improved. Related to this idea is that pragmatism and liberalism are receptive to social planning. Pragmatists support the liberal view that social planning can improve the overall welfare of society. However, although there is support for government involvement in the economy, pragmatists such as Sidney Hook insist on individual rights in the political structure. Thus economic development must take place in a framework of political freedom where civil rights are respected. Finally pragmatic liberalism is committed to the democratic process as a method for developing policy. In Kaplan's words "the method is the application on intelligence to social problems." Pragmatic liberalism insists that rational intelligence in the form of the scientific method can resolve most problems. Education, then has a key role in developing intelligence.

The transaction position has given us a clearer conception of how children think. As the researchers examine how individuals process information, solve problems and make decisions we get a clearer image of how children learn. With this image we are better able to design instructional procedures that facilitate student growth in specific intellectual competencies.

Despite these gains there are certain problems. One is the narrowness of some academics working within the cognitive process orientation. Basically most of these individuals focus on left brain logical, analytical problem solving and ignore right brain, intuitive, synthetic problem solving. Since most of the inquiry models are related to the scientific method, we do not get a sense of how problem solving occurs in the aesthetic domain. Even in scientific discovery there is an intuitive element which is often dismissed in various curriculum projects. In

aesthetic and creative problem solving one is not attempting to identify a clear set of alternatives and then logically reduce the set of alternatives to one best solution. Instead one is seeking something novel which involves a leap outside of an existing framework.

A broader and more pluralistic view of cognitive psychology comes from the work of Howard Gardner (1983). Gardner also criticizes the narrowness of the Piagetian model and information processing psychology. Instead he has developed a pluralistic view of intelligence, or his theory of multiple intelligences. He argues that there are different types of intelligences including linguistic intelligence, musical intelligence, logical-mathematical intelligence, spatial intelligence, bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, and the personal intelligences. Attempting to apply one model of cognitive processes to all domains is inadequate and reductionistic.

THE TRANSFORMATION POSITION

In this position the wholeness of the child is recognized. Programs within this position stress connections between the inner life of the student and the surrounding environment. An example of a transformation program is confluent education.

Confluent Education

Confluent education facilitates personal and social integration. Confluent education began as a project in the 1960's. The project was directed by George Brown (1971) who summarized the results in his book *Human Teaching for Human Learning.*

Confluent education first focused on the integration of the cognitive and affective. The affective domain encompasses feelings, emotions, attitudes, values, intuition and creativity. The cognitive domain includes intellectual functioning. However, confluent education has moved beyond this more limited definition. For example,

confluent also refers to the integration of the intrapersonal, interpersonal, extrapersonal, and transpersonal. Intrapersonal refers to the person's internal space-feelings, and self-perceptions. The intrapersonal also refers to each person's subpersonalities such as aggressive or passive masculine and feminine, as well as other subselves. Confluent education attempts to facilitate awareness of the different subselves and eventually bring them into harmony.

The interpersonal dimension consists of relations with others. It involves how students perceive other people and how they communicate with them. The next dimension, extrapersonal refers to the context or social structures that encompass the experiences of the student. These include the structure of the school, the community and the society. The most desirable education is where all three dimensions are integrated:

> For example, if a curriculum is designed to teach democratic processes, and individual students share in decisions affecting them, work in small groups in a decision-making process, and participate with the teacher in setting classroom rules, a confluence exists among intrapersonal needs, interpersonal relations, and the extrapersonal setting. If the teacher governs the class autocratically, however, the situation is not confluent. (Brown et al., 1976, p. 11-12)

It can also be argued that a fourth dimension, the transpersonal surrounds the first three. This refers to the cosmic or spiritual dimension of the student's experience. The transpersonal provides the universal context for examining basic questions of meaning and spirituality.

Confluent education has three broad goal categories—"to achieve traditional subject matter goals, to achieve nontraditional goals of personal and interpersonal or social development, and to learn process skills that will help students to attain their own goals" (Brown et al., 1976, p. 16).

Confluent education has employed such techniques as guided fantasies and nonverbal awareness exercises to enhance traditional learning experiences. For example, in working with the book *Lord of the Flies* one teacher asked students to imagine themselves as animals in the forest encountering other animals. This exercise is related to animal imagery in the book where the boys visualize themselves as animals. Another example comes from a class where students role played words and their opposites. A college instructor used this approach to examine word meanings. These exercises attempt to link the internal world of the student with the external world of subject matter. At the same time there is an attempt to motivate students toward traditional learning goals.

Confluent education has also used techniques associated with humanistic education such as developing interpersonal skills. Thus, confluent education uses both humanistic and transpersonal techniques in the classroom. For example, in a unit on racism students fantasize that they are entering a room full of persons of a race different from their own and then to share what they have experienced. In another exercise on sex role stereotyping, the males sit in the center of a circle with the women on the outside. Both groups, then, share their perceptions of sex-stereotyped behavior that they associate with each sex. These latter examples show how social awareness is integrated with transpersonal techniques (e.g., the use of imagery). This integration is central to the transformation position.

Historical Background

Historically, the transformation position has been represented by two different strands. One strand is the romantic element which can be traced to Rousseau's theory and is also found in the work of Froebel, Tolstoy, A.S. Neil and John Holt. The other strand is the social change position which is represented in the work of George Counts, Jonathan Kozol and Michael Apple.

The romantic element of the transformation position can be traced to Rousseau and his work *Emile*. In *Emile* (1911), Rousseau advised "Therefore the education of the earliest years should be merely negative. It consists not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error" (p. 57). Rousseau felt that children in their natural state are good and that they become corrupted through their contact with society. Education, then, should not attempt to manipulate the child but simply let the child's inner nature unfold. Education as unfoldment has been a pervasive theme in the romantic strand.

Friedrich Froebel (1887) was influenced by both Rousseau and Pestalozzi. However, his mysticism clearly places him within the transformation position. The following statement reflects his belief in the interdependence of all things:

> By education, then, the divine essence of man should be unfolded, brought out, lifted into consciousness, and man himself raised into free, conscious obedience to the divine principle that lives in him, and to a free representation of this principle in his life.
>
> Education, in instruction, should lead man to see and know the divine, spiritual, and eternal principle which animates surrounding nature, constitutes the essence of nature, and is permanently manifested in nature. (pp. 4-5)

Froebel is best known for his development of kindergarten. Some of the features of Froebel's kindergarten included play, singing and dancing.

Perhaps the most famous example of the Rousseauian position in practice is Summerhill. Founded in 1921 by A. S. Neill, this school is still in operation. Neill (1960) describes the philosophy of the school in his book, *Summerhill:*

> When my first wife and I began the school, we had one main idea: to make the school fit the child—instead of making the child fit the school. . .
>
> Well, we set out to make a school in which we should allow children freedom to be themselves. In order to do this, we had to renounce all discipline, all direction, all suggestion, all moral training, all religious instruction. We have been called brave, but it did not require courage. All it required was what we had—a complete belief in the child as a good, not an evil, being. For almost forty years, this belief in the goodness of the child has wavered; it rather has become a final faith. (p.4)

By 1969, *Summerhill* was selling at a rate of more than two hundred thousand copies a year. It influenced a number of writers such as Paul Goodman, John Holt and Herbert Kohl, as well as the free school movement in North America.

Another person who initially was a romantic critic of schools was Jonathan Kozol. His first book *Death at an Early Age* is a condemnation of the Boston public school system and its effects on children from the ghettos. However, Kozol quickly moved to the social change orientation. He was critical of free schools and wrote a book (1978) on Cuban schools which he feels are an appropriate model for social change. In these schools, the Cuban students are sent into the countryside to teach others basic literacy skills.

Kozol's work, then, represents the other major strand in the transformation position—the social change position. Historically, this position is seen in the work of George Counts. Counts believed that teachers should be actively involved in social change and even run for political office. He prodded progressive educators to take this stand in his book, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*, which was published in 1932. Counts argued that educators should collaborate with other groups to effect social

change. Counts also felt that schools cannot be morally neutral. In Counts' view, educators should clarify their assumptions and values and make them explicit. Counts was particularly critical of progressive educators who espoused a position of value neutrality.

In recent years, the romantic strand and social change position have been integrated in such programs as confluent education and social literacy training (Alschuler, 1980). Integration of these two strands is essential to the transformation position and distinguishes it from Kohlberg's romantic ideology.

Philosophical Roots

The transformation position is rooted in what Huxley (1970) called "the perennial philosophy." At the center of the perennial philosophy is the view that all phenomena are interconnected and part of a unified whole. The individual is also part of this unity. In this section we will outline a few of the main principles of the perennial philosophy. These principles include:

-the interconnectedness of reality and the fundamental unity of the universe;
-the intimate connection between the individual's inner or higher self and this unity;
-the cultivation of intuition through contemplation and meditation in order to "see" more clearly this unity;
-the realization of this unity among human beings leads to social activity designed to counter injustice and human suffering.

These principles have been articulated in different spiritual and intellectual traditions in both the East and West. In the West the perennial philosophy can be traced to early Greek times. For example, Pythagoras was a Greek philosopher who made the connection between the inner person and the universe. Pythagoras designated the word psyche to represent this "inner self" which corresponds to the highest principles of the universe. The individual must attend to the psyche to realize this connection. According to Jacob Neddleman (1982), Pythagoras felt that "the cosmos, the deep order of nature is knowledgeable through self-knowledge—man is a microcosm" (p. 59). Thus the individual must contemplete or meditate to gain access to this understanding. Pythagoras suggested that certain techniques such as "the use of parable and symbol, of meditation, of the discipline of silence, of the study of music and sacred dance" (p. 45) as well as other methods be used in the search of self-knowledge.

In this section we will discuss the four basic principles in relation to different traditions as represented by two individuals: Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mahatma Gandhi. For example, in the nineteenth century many of the principles of the perennial philosophy were articulated in transcendentalism. Ralph Waldo Emerson argued that within each person there was the "inner self" that was connected to the unity of the universe or "the oversoul" as Emerson called it. Other transcendentalists included Walt Whitman, Bronson Alcott and Henry Thoreau.

Just as Eastern thought influenced the transcendentalists, Thoreau affected Gandhi, particularly Gandhi's thinking about non-violent action. Gandhi's work represents the perennial philosophy in eastern terms and he was able to integrate his spirituality (Hinduism, in this case) with social action. A person who also integrated spirituality with social action in this century was Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Interconnected Nature of Reality and the Fundamental Unity of the Universe

Emerson (1903) argued that the universe revealed this unity in a number of forms:

> There is one animal, one plant, one matter and one force (that is, energy). The laws of light and of heat

> translate into each other, —so do the laws of sound and of color; and so galvanism, electricity and magnetism are varied forms of the selfsame energy. While the student ponders this immense unity, he observes that all things in Nature, the animals, the mountain, the river, the seasons, wood, iron, stone, vapor, have a mysterious relation to his thoughs and his life; their growths, decays, quality and use to curiously resemble himself, in parts and in wholes, that he is compelled to speak by means of them. (Emerson, 1903, p. 4)

Emerson's thinking is similar to Capra's (1975) idea that new physics reveals "a basic interconnection of matter showing that energy of motion can be transferred into mass, and suggesting that particles are processes rather than objects" (p. 275).

For Gandhi (1980), this unity reveals itself in the immediacy of daily life. He also claims that this unity lies behind all religions. He said: "The forms are many, but the informing spirit is one. How can there be room for distinctions of high and low where there is this all-embracing fundamental unity underlying the outward diversity? For that is a fact meeting you at every step in daily life. The final goal of all religions is to realize this essential oneness" (p. 63). Gandhi's position that this unity is evident in everyday life reflects the notion that the interconnectedness of reality should not be relegated to remote forms of mysticism.

The Connectedness Between the Individual's Higher Self and the Fundamental Unity of the Universe

The higher self has been referred to by many different names in many different contexts. For example, Carl Jung, the Swiss psychologist, called it the Self while the Hindus name the higher self, the Atman.

Emerson (1965) referred to the connectedness between the inner self and the fundamental unity frequently in his work.

> We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal ONE. And this deep power in which we exist, and whose beatitude is all accessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect in every hour, but the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one. We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree; but the whole of which these are the shining parts, is the soul. (p.29)

Gandhi referred to the same connection between the individual and the interconnected nature of reality. He said: "I believe in the absolute oneness of God and, therefore, of humanity. What though we have many bodies? We have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source. I cannot, therefore, detach myself from the wickedest soul nor may I be denied identity with the most virtuous" (p. 72). Gandhi continually made the link between the concept of interconnectedness and his relation to all other human beings. Again he does not use spirituality as a way to escape from humanity but as a means to renew his encounter with others.

The Cultivation of Intuition and Insight Through Contemplation and Meditation

How is one to see the interconnectedness of reality and the fundamental unity of things? A consistent thread within the perennial philosophy is the need to cultivate intuition so one can "see" clearly how things are. Emerson (1965), for example, refers to intuition as the primary wisdom:

> The inquiry leads us to that source, at once the essence of genius, of virtue, and of life, which we call

> Spontaneity or Instinct. We denote this primary wisdom as Intuition, whilst all later teachings are tuitions. In that deep force, the last fact behind which analysis cannot go, all things find their common origin. For, the sense of being which in calm hours rises, we know not how, in the soul, is not diverse from things, from space, from light, from time, from man, but one with them, and proceeds obviously from the same source whence their life and being also proceed. (p. 267)

Gandhi refers to intuition as that "still small voice within" that prods him to social action. "There are moments in your life when you must act, even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The 'still small voice' within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty" (p. 62).

Specific approaches have been advocated with the perennial philosophy to cultivate intuition. These methods, such as contemplation and meditation, have been developed to help one to "see." Emerson, for example, suggested that it was helpful to be quiet and to listen. In this quiet, one can begin to see one's relationship with the environment. Gandhi believed that silence was helpful in seeking God. He said: "It (silence) has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me. Originally it was taken to relieve the sense of pressure. Then I wanted time for writing. After, however, I had practiced it for some time, I saw the spiritual value of it. It suddenly flashed across my mind that that was the time when I could best hold communion with God. And now I feel as though I was naturally built for silence" (p. 101).

Social Action as Means to Relieving Human Suffering

The last component is a logical extension of the interconnected perspective. If indeed I am intimately related to all other beings then I cannot ignore injustice to others. Gandhi frequently made this point:

> Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, political, social and religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavor simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all. And this cannot be done except through one's country. I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of the humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbors. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity." (p. 51)

Mother Theresa in Calcutta is another person who has applied this principle in her work in India. What are the implications of these principles on education? Again, Gandhi draws the most direct conclusion:

> I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g., hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, etc. In other words an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lopsided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds pari passu with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another. (p. 138)

Unlike the other positions, the transformation position cannot ignore the wholeness of the child. To do so would be to deny the interdependent nature of reality.

Psychological Roots—Transpersonal Psychology

Transpersonal psychology is based, in part, on the perennial philosophy. One of the most prolific writers in the field has been Ken Wilber. He has written several books which keep redefining new perspectives in the field. In his recent work, Wilber (1983) integrates a broad spectrum of thinking to construct a developmental view of the person. This view contains the following levels of existence.

At the base of development is what Wilber calls the *archaic* level. The focus of this stage is on physical sensation and emotional, sexual energy. According to Wilber, the person operating at this level is dominated by his/her physical needs. It is parallel to Maslow's physiological need level, and Kohlberg's stage one morality level that is organized around punishment and obedience.

The next level is the *magical* stage. Here the person begins to think instead of just react to physical needs. However, the thinking tends to be magical or in Piaget's term preoperational. This stage also parallels Maslow's safety needs and Kohlberg's stage two morality that is based on egocentric needs.

The third level is the *mythic*. Here the person begins concrete operational thinking (Piaget); that is, he or she can figure things out without being deceived by appearances. However, the child at this level cannot reason abstractly (e.g., hypothetico-deductive reasoning). This stage is correlated with Maslow's belongingness needs and Kohlberg's conventional morality. In general, the person is oriented towards conformity in his or her personal relations.

The next level is the *rational*. Here the person is capable of abstract thinking. The individual can also hypothesize and then rationally examine the variables which may or may not support the hypothesis. Thus, the person at the rational stage has entered Piaget's stage of formal operations. This stage correlates with Kohlberg's post-conventional morality and Maslow's self-esteem needs.

Many hierarchies of development end at this point. However, transpersonal psychologists suggest that the individual is capable of higher levels of consciousness. Wilber believes that it is not outrageous to speculate about the evolution of human consciousness in this way:

> The point is that the general concept of evolution continuing beyond its present stage into some legitimately trans-rational structures is not a totally outrageous notion. Look at the course of evolution to date: from ameobas to humans! Now what if that ratio, amoeba-to-human, were applied to future evolution? That is, amoebas are to humans as humans are to—what? Is it ridiculous to suggest that the "what" might indeed be omega, geist, supermind, spirit? (Wilbur, 1983, p. 24)

Based on his study of mystical psychologies, Wilber has developed three stages beyond the rational. The first stage beyond the rational is the *psychic*. The psychic level goes beyond the rational level by forming networks of conceptual relationships. Here the person moves towards a higher order synthesizing ability. The individual makes "connections, relates truths, coordinates ideas, integrates concepts." This stage is parallel to Maslow's self-actualization stage. Wilber suggests persons at this stage can also experience insight and even illumination. "This can also result in a type of vision, noetic, numinous, inspiring, often enstatic, occasionally ecstatic" (Wilbur, 1983, p. 29)

The next transpersonal level is the *subtle*. Here the person experiences what Maslow called self transcendence. According to Wilber, the disciplines and insights of

the great saints reflect this level of development. At this level the person experiences the highest level of intuition. Intuition is not emotionalism or some form of hunch at this stage, but direct spiritual insight.

The highest level of transpersonal development is the *causal*. Wilber states: "Passing full through the state of cessation or unmanifest absorption, consciousness is said finally to re-awaken to its absolutely prior and eternal abode as spirit, radiant and all-pervading, one and many, only and all" (p. 31). Here the person becomes identified with Tillich's "Ground of Being" or Spinoza's "Eternal Substance." At this level the person does not have a particular set of experiences but transcends the "experiencer." Thus subject-object duality is transcended.

It can be argued that the form of education should match the level of development. Thus, for children operating at the archiac stage there should be a good deal of physical experience and the opportunity to move about. At the magical stage, play is crucial to the child's development. Play allows children to experiment with their growing conceptions of the world and to learn to get along with others.

At the mythic level the student's thinking can be developed more fully. The student can be presented with problems that stimulate his or her thinking. The problems are best presented with concrete materials that the student can test his or her logic.

At the rational level the student should focus on developing abstract thinking skills. In terms of personal development self-esteem needs are important so that educational approaches designed to facilitate self-concept are appropriate. These approaches include various humanistic education curricula such as Purkey's (1983) Invitational Teaching and Weinstein's (1976) Self-Science education.

At the psychic level the individual is capable of genuine spiritual insight. The person at this level can work with various transpersonal techniques such as visualization, and dreamwork. Yogic disciplines may also be used.

At the subtle and causal levels the individual may work with various forms of meditation. At the subtle level the meditative experience allows insight, while at the causal level the personal merges with the ONE.

Although much of Wilber's work is impressive, there are certain difficulties. For example, he has developed a peculiar jargon that can make his work inaccessible. Such terms as pleromatic and uroboric which abound in *The Atman Project* and other works obscure his thinking. The developmental framework of Wilber is also open to question. Is human development like an escalator that inevitably moves us along or is it more fluid and spontaneous? His vision of development beyond conventional models is needed, yet must we also accept the lock-step nature of the model? There is not question that humans grow and develop but I question whether this movement occurs in the lock-step manner he suggests. Despite these problems Wilber offers a broad synthetic view of development that moves beyond the limited rationality of the Piaget-Kohlberg models. We are no longer dealing with a view of development that is narrowly rooted in cognitive processing. Instead we have a model that acknowledges our spiritual potential.

The Social Context

In his book, *New Age Politics*, Mark Satin suggests that there are four principles or "ethics" which underlie the social thrust of the transformation position. These four ethics include: 1) self-development; 2) ecology; 3) self-reliance/cooperation; and 4) non-violence.

Self-development ethic—This ethic suggests that it is valid for persons to seek growth and fulfillment. It is assumed that it is natural, even lawful, for individuals to move toward higher, integrative states (e.g., Wilber). To facilitate self-development, various forms of discrimination based on race, sex, and age must be eliminated. Instead there should be a maximization of cultural, intellectual and spiritual freedom.

Ecology ethic—As individuals move toward higher stages of functioning, they become more aware of the interconnectedness of life. Thus, the personal, social and economic behavior are not isolated events but are interdependent.

Self-reliance/cooperation ethic—The transformation orientation focuses on the connection between our inner life and community. It emphasizes the possibility of being more in touch with one's inner self and at the same time communicating with others. According to Satin, "we need to maximize self-reliance of communities, regions, and nation states, and maximization of the cooperative potential of communities, regions, and states" (p. 102).

Non-violence ethic—At the heart of the transformation position is reverence for life. The thought of Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, and King extend this reverence to non-violent political action. No matter how valid the cause, violence is not condoned in pursuit of social and political action.

Satin suggests that these four basic ethics are reflected in more specific values. These values include:

Enoughness. The transformation orientation argues that more is not necessarily better. Instead there is a focus on appropriate technology.

Stewardship. Focuses on a concern for the present environment. Earth and its resources are not to be used in an unconscious manner, rather they are something that should be cared for and nurtured.

Diversity/Pluralism. The transformation orientation places value in pluralism. Through diversity people are more able to realize wholeness. If the culture moves towards a monolithic ethic, then conformity tends to override diversity. Satin suggests that this diversity can also occur within ourselves. Thus, we can acknowledge the different parts of ourselves - masculine/feminine, young/old, active/passive, independent/interdependent. In this sense, we are multidimensional persons.

Voluntary Simplicity. Duane Elgin (1981) explores this concept in a book by the same name. There is a tendency in the transformation position to follow Thoreau's dictum-Simplify, simplify, simplify. In other words, people attempt to simplify their lives so that their wants and life style are not excessive.

Quality. In general there is an emphasis on the qualitative aspect of life over the quantitative. Pirsig (1974), in his book *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* discusses the concept of Quality and how fixing a motorcycle can be a higher quality activity than attending the University of Chicago.

The ethics and values outlined by Satin have been translated into many domains of action such as economics.

Transformation economics is based on the concept that economics cannot be separated from social realities. Economic well being, then, is not defined in terms of GNP. Gary Synder (1977) has argued that GNP fails to measure what he calls the "real values" of "nature, family and mind." He suggests that accounting measures should be "What is the natural spiritual price we pay for this particular piece of affluence, comfort, or labor saving." Thus transformation economics attempts to grapple with personal, social, ecological costs of economic activity. Economics from a transformation perspective is based on the following principles:

- Social purpose and profit are valid goals in transformation economics. Profit is not seen as a valid goal in itself; instead it is connected with right livelihood. Right livelihood is work that is not exploitative in any way.
- Appropriate Pricing—Prices are not marked up to highest possible level. Instead goods are priced at a level that allows for reasonable, not excessive profit.
- Appropriate Consumption—People consume according to basic needs not according to manipulative consumer advertising.
- Worker Participation—Workers are involved in decision making. Hierarchial organizational structures are replaced by small human scale organizations.
- Cooperative Economics—Cooperatives are often used as a way to pool capital and resources. Cooperatives are

preferred over competitive modes, although competition still has a role in making business less wasteful.

- Blending of Work and Play—Work is not seen as separate from play. In transformation economics work is seen as rewarding in itself.

- Integration of Economics and Spiritual Values—Work is not separated from one's spiritual life. How one does his or her job is as important as any product; thus, ends do not override means.

- Ecological Consciousness—Economics are viewed as a part of a larger whole, thus business activity should take into account its relationship with the surrounding environment.

- Appropriate Technology—Technology is used as an appropriate tool and does not become extended beyond basic economic requirements; technology remains a tool rather than a master.

We have then, a different social context than found in the transmission or transaction positions. The individual is not an isolated "Robinson Crusoe" who is atomized in the marketplace. Neither is the person a rational planner who intervenes in the social and economic environment. Instead the individual is intimately linked with those around him or her. Seeing this interconnection, the person cannot compartmentalize life as in the case of the capitalist or the analytic philosopher. Because he or she cannot compartmentalize life, life must be treated with respect even reverence. It is much more difficult to treat others as objects from the transformation perspective; in fact, if the person perceives the interconnectedness of life, as in the case of Gandhi or King, it is impossible to view the other as object.

The transformation position demands a great deal from us. If, in fact all beings are interconnected, where do my responsibilities end? As an overall position there are other difficulties. The links with mysticism are alienating to some. The language used to explain the interconnectedness of the universe is not alway accessible. One of the biggest problems is that empirical and analytic methods are frequently not appropriate within this position. Instead, we have to turn to other modes such as imagery, poetry, music, myth, and spiritual insight. We can also explore parallels between the perennial philosophy and the "new physics" (Capra, 1975) but we should be aware that synthesis between science and mysticism may not emerge. Physics may just be another metaphor to express the interconnectedness of the universe.

Despite these problems the transformation position is the only major ideology which acknowledges the wholeness of life. The perennial philosophy and transpersonal psychology do not leave us atomized or in a cognitive straight jacket. When I listen to Mozart or Beethoven or sit in silent meditation I sometimes get just a glimpse of this interconnectedness and wholeness. The perennial philosophy is an attempt to articulate this sense of unity, and however, inadequate these attempts are the transformation position is more spiritually satisfying than the other positions.

Educational programs which have been developed within the transformation position have many problems. They are difficult to evaluate and are the first to be attacked in periods of retrenchment. Yet we can remember that it is only within the transformation position that the child is not reduced to Thorndike's "random fumbler" or an abstract set of mental processes. At the heart of such programs such as confluent education and social literacy training is the aim of personal and social integration. Even more important than these aims are the underlying assumptions or world view which acknowledges the interdependent nature of reality. However, problematic, these programs reflect the vision articulated by Theilard de Chardin (1965):

> The farther and more deeply we penetrate into matter, by means of increasingly powerful methods, the more we are confounded by the interdependence

of its parts. Each element of the cosmos is positively woven from all the others... It is impossible to cut into this network, to isolate a portion without it becoming frayed and unravelled at all its edges. All around us, as far as the eye can see, the universe holds together, and only one way of considering it is really possible, that is, to take it as a whole, in one piece. (p. 43-44)

In the final analysis curriculum must also recognize this interconnectedness. The transformation position can restore an image of individual growth that is spiritually satisfying and deeply connected to community.

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AN ANALYSIS OF STUDENT-TEACHER EXCHANGES IN DIALOGUE JOURNAL WRITING

John Albertini and Bonnie Meath-Lang
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Introduction

The significance of educational autobiography and individual experience in social-educational situations are the central preoccupations of reconceptualized curriculum theory (Pinar, 1975; Grumet, 1979; Pinar & Grumet, 1976; Huebner, 1975; Berk, 1980; Mazza, 1982). Similarly, the personal uses of language in context have received increased attention from linguist (Ervin-Tripp, 1968; Fishman, 1968; Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972, p. xii). Such communication may occur, however, if the methodologies of curriculum and sociolinguistics converge. For the linguist, this may mean increased use of phenomenological approaches in the framework of educational autobiography. For the curriculum theorist, the supplementing of traditional social science paradigms with elicitation methods associated with language study may be particularly useful.

Language is, among other things, a means of communicating information, opinion and state of mind. To enable non-native or hearing-impaired students to communicate in English, instruction typically focuses on mastery of specific forms (such as grammatical structures and vocabulary) and appropriate usage of these forms in linguistic and social contexts. The difficulty in many classrooms is that, because of the complexities involved in teaching language forms and usage, the student has relatively little opportunity to use the target language to communicate about other topics. The student is expected to practice the language in a variety of communication situations and for a variety of purposes outside of the

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classroom. In-class communication, when not about the target language, often occurs for a single purpose: to report. Here the student is expected to speak or write for a general audience, provide new information and often follow an assigned organizational schema. Such communication, while important in Western education is nevertheless highly restricted.

Two arguments for the use of dialogue journals in a language class are 1) that they encourage students to attempt a greater variety of language functions, that is, use of the language for different purposes, and 2) that they encourage the student to assume greater responsibility for control of successful communication in the target language (Staton, Shuy & Kreeft, 1982a). In addition, dialogue journals might provide the instructor with valuable information regarding the student's communication preferences and abilities.

Dialogue journals have recently been used by a Los Angeles elementary school teacher to communicate with and improve the writing of mono-lingual and multilingual elementary students (Staton, Shuy & Kreeft, 1982a, 1982b). Dialogue journals have been used with hearing adults learning English as a second language (Gutstein, 1982) and have been proposed for use with deaf students (Stokoe, 1982).

In this paper, we analyze a set of dialogue journals written by ten young deaf adults learning English and by one hearing adult, their instructor. Initially, we identified and classified language functions (such as asking and advising) and structures (for example, object complements and relative clauses) that appeared in the journals over a ten-week instructional period. The purpose of the analysis was, first, to determine whether any change in either kind or amount of language functions or structures occurred as students and teacher had the opportunity to bring life-experience and interaction into their writing. It soon became apparent, however, that differences existed at the discourse level rather than at the sentence level.

It should be apparent that the relationship between function and structure is not isomorphic. That is, one function may be expressed by a variety of structures and conversely, one structure may express a variety of functions. Yet, certain structures have traditionally been associated with certain kinds of writing (for example, the passive voice in technical and scientific writing). Thus, another goal was to determine whether the expression of different functions would, in any way, trigger the use of different structures. Knowledge of such connections would be important for language pedagogy. Discussion of the method of analysis and the participants is followed by analyses of the language functions and structures in the journals. In the section on language structure, journal writing is compared with composition writing in order to highlight structural features of the journals. Finally, educational and curricular implications of journal writing and of the analyses are suggested.

The Method

Perspectives

"We need to learn to shift back and forth between the two perspectives, and even to focus on both at once, as in straining to see both aspects of an optical illusion...to strain to experience one's acts not only as subject and agent but as recipient, sometimes victim..."

Sissela Bok. *Lying*, 1978, p. 30

Sissela Bok's notion of dynamic viewpoint applies to the analysis of linguistic and pedagogical interactions found in dialogue journals. Lest, like Susan Isaacson, E.L. Doctorow's mad heroine of *The Book of Daniel*, we die of "failure of analysis," the method and procedure of examining these student-teacher exchanges must live through discrepant and congruent perspectives, defined explicitly and subject to scrutiny. The intricate and often-complex interplays between student and experienced

Others within text, between student and teacher in the journal, between observer and students, and between observer and teacher-participant bear careful investigation. In the recent literature on classroom-centered research in second language teaching and learning, writers such as Allwright (1983) refer to these various relationships of subject, agents, recipients, and observers as *triangulation:*

> Triangulation refers to the important point that multiple viewpoints (at least three, as suggested by the term itself) may be necessary if we are to *understand* what goes on rather than merely record it in a way that confirms our personal prejudices. In practice, the principle of triangulation can simply mean that it is wisest to opt for a combination of observation and introspection and, within each, for a variety of observers and 'introspecters.' We might well, for example, ask learners, and not just teachers, for their recollections and interpretations of classroom events. Together with our own, the researcher's, that will make three points of view, none of which can claim to have the 'truth,' but all of which need to be taken into account in our attempt to understand classroom language learning. (Allwright, 1983, p. 193)

Mindful of Bok's exhortation to move back and forth between perspectives, combined introspection and observation seem warranted in examining dialogue journals for language structures and functions as well as for curricular meanings. The perspectives in the present study are provided by ten students, one teacher and one observer.

Procedure

The ten journals were written during a ten-week course. While part of the course requirement, they were not graded; rather, the teacher (JA) responded to the student's entries with entries of approximately the same length, making corrections only if invited by the student. Confidentiality was assured, and the observer's involvement at a later date was contingent on the students' permission.

The journal was initiated by a question asking students to describe their past experiences in learning English, a question that could allow for a range of "essayist," formal writing to more colloquial reflections. Following that initial topic, students and teacher selected topics of individual, personal interest and concern. The students were strongly encouraged to select and explore their own choices of topic.

Approximately one year after the course was taught, the journals were analyzed over a two-month period by the teacher and the observer who are colleagues at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID). Following processes suggested by Pinar (1975), Grumet (1979), van Manen (1979), Willis (1979), and Meath-Lang (1980), we—participant and observer—engaged in the process of analysis outlined below.

The journals were divided into five chronological periods, each spanning the students' entries over two weeks. Initial reading of the entries across students in each time period focused on the utterances of the students and teacher, and similarities and differences in language function and affective concerns across biographical and conversational lines. A set of journals from one period was also selected and compared to student compositions for language structures. Reading was limited to no more than ten entries in a given day, and journalistic notes of curricular and linguistic concern were made during and following reading. This phase required several weeks and 8-10 re-readings.

The second phase involved reading the journals within themselves. Each student's journal, with the teacher's responses, was read at least three times. The student's utterances alone were also examined, as were the teacher's entries in themselves across time.

The participant and observer each made independent notation in their journals of the language structures and functions observed in the process of analysis. We also made note of the categories of educational, pedagogical, and curricular concern informing and transforming our notions of *praxis*. We then met to examine our notes and our analyses.

The Participants

The Students

The hearing-impaired college students in this study were either born deaf or became deaf before the age of one year. Their profound hearing loss has prevented normal acquisition of English through the auditory channel. This is evident in their reading behavior and in their writing. For some, it is likely that acquisition of their first language--whether it be English or American Sign Language (ASL) or a combination of the two—occurred primarily in the process of formal schooling (Moores, 1978). For such students, dialogue journals may be an important teaching and research tool for both the curriculum theorist and the linguist. While low achievement levels on standardized tests for hearing-impaired students have been well documented (Moores, 1978), comparatively little is known about the educational experience of these students. As reported in recent biographical studies (Meath-Lang, 1980; Meath-Lang, Caccamise & Albertini, 1982), the writings of 80 hearing-impaired college students revealed perceptions about schooling and language learning that were common to the group yet probably unusual when compared with those of other language learners. Moreover, descriptions of English language learning by the hearing-impaired student are typically based on the results of standardized objective tests or, less frequently, on analyses of formal written essays (Kretschmer & Kretschmer, 1978). Such tests may fail to elicit the full

range of language functioning of these students given the formality of the situations, the individual sentence orientation (Wilbeur, 1977), and given that an assigned essay topic may limit the range of language functions and structures. For assessment of written language use and language learning then, as well as for curriculum study, other, more spontaneous elicitation procedures need to be investigated, and responses to those procedures compared to assigned formal discourse.

The Instructor's Voice

The objective of the course, "Advanced Vocabulary," was to teach English vocabulary to advanced English language learners. As stated to the students, one reason for using dialogue journals was to encourage experimentation and practice of new vocabulary in informal writing (short compositions were also required, and these will be discussed below). The second reason was to encourage ongoing evaluation of the course. Since these students were reaching the end of their formal training, it was important that I know their expectations for the course and how they wanted and were best able to learn new vocabulary. Therefore, the students were required to submit journal entries weekly. Students received credit but no grades for their entries. Only one student requested that I correct his grammar and I did this on two of his entries. When intent was unclear, I asked clarifying questions such as "Did you mean...?"

Beyond vocabulary practice and course evaluation, I had two additional reasons for using dialogue journals. The first was that I had been attracted by claims of "getting to know your students better" through dialogue journals, and I wanted to learn more about my students' backgrounds and goals than was possible in a mere 20 hours of group instruction and limited contact outside of class. In the second place, I felt that dialogue journals might provide "naturalistic" language data. In other words, I was looking

for information on the use or avoidance of certain grammatical structures in students' informal writing which would augment formal assessment of their English proficiency.

The Observer's Voice

In Nel Nodding's remarkable essay on "Caring" (1981), she speaks of the danger of studying apprehended reality. Suspended in the troubling duality of subjective and objective effort, she declares her intent to "tie my objective thinking to a relational stake which stands at the heart of caring" (141). Tethered to this stake, I begin this examination.

The journals of these deaf students are, in form, testimony to lives of silence or distorted sound. In substance, each is uniquely joyful, uniquely businesslike, uniquely Deaf, uniquely angry. The life reverberating from the pages engrosses me, as I try to picture each writer (I never met the students). The process of composing a mental picture objectifies, to some degree, and helps me move between what the student says to how. Through reading and re-reading, the features come into focus; but I am ever-conscious of what I do not, cannot know beyond the pages.

John's responses in the journals pull me in, reminding me of my limitations. Teacher, colleague, mentor, friend, father—his responses reflect and amplify these varied roles, challenging my analytical powers as well as my own pedagogical functions and beliefs. His language, too, is re-shaped through the experience.

In the course of the analytic process, many directions could be taken. In a very real sense, the examination of these journals will never be completed, as readers replace me as "the observer." I depend on my colleagues' discourse and compassion in the evolving process of bracketing, defining and re-defining the experiences of John and his students.

Analysis of Language Functions

The studies of speech acts (Austin, 1962), speech act phenomenology (Lanigan, 1977) and developmental pragmatic functions (Halliday, 1975) all present a number of schemata for defining and breaking down topics and conventions in language. The rationales for study developed by Austin, Lanigan, and Halliday are useful touchstones for dialogue journals, it is necessary to see "the things themselves" for what they represent and communicate. These journals, then, were not studied to map cognitive growth *per se* but communicative, relational growth and understanding. Both student and teacher language functions were examined, and summaries of these are presented in the tables below.

Period One: The Rhetorical Phase

As was discussed in the description of the method, the journals and responses by the teacher were divided into five chronological periods of approximately two weeks in length. In the first two week period of the quarter, the journals were begun through a question asking students to describe past English language learning experiences. The question itself was what Halliday (1975) would call heuristic, or "formally intellectual" and the responses were equally so:

FT: "English is one of the important tools of our life...(Without English) I'd be more like an ape or a cave man.

BR: "I feel English is fantastic to learn to communicate each other. As myself, I brought up as hearing world.

ES: "When I was young, I had some difficult to learn English. I was eager to learn a lot of mistakes in grammar and other things..."

Teacher Language Functions

Across 5 Time Periods

Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
				reassuring
				including
			promising	inviting
		sharing pers. info. (req.)	giving opinions	giving opinions
	sharing some pers. bkgd.	requesting info.	expressing concern	counseling
	explaining	expressing concern	comparing (exp.)	confiding
questioning	advising (acad.)	encouraging	goading	encouraging
eliciting	counseling	clarifying	requesting connection	clarifying
prompting	challenging	explaining (discrete)	joking	thanking
explaining	asking opinions	joking	offering	requesting feedback

Student Lanugage Functions

Across 5 Time Periods

Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
			suggesting	including
			confiding	confiding
			expressing anger	announcing
		joking	expressing confusion	joking
	asking help,correction	reassuring	interpreting	evaluating
	acquiescing	praising	expanding	requesting (eval.)
	sharing goals	responding	responding (past)	thanking
intoning (rhetoric)	asking an opinion	questioning motivation	reversing	philosophizing
expressing frustration	asking personal info.	asking rationale	teasing, joking	reversing
complaining	verifying	including	intellectualizing	accommodating
			attacking	repairing

RN: "I don't believe in being negative about communication."

These unpaid political announcements, characteristic of the way many deaf students feel obliged to speak of their English language learning (Meath-Lang, Caccamise, & Albertini, 1982), serve a sort of intoning function throughout all 10 journals. Two other functions come into play quickly, however, those of complaining and expressing frustration.

ES: I can't remember how the people taught me English. During high school, I lost motivated in English because the teacher taught me the same way as I was young in school. He gave me the book about English and he explained it again more than 5 times which made me boring. Also, he didn't explain or clarifying any problem that I had in English. I decided to read some books because I wanted to improve my English skills and to get better understanding English.

When I came here at NTID, English level 5 helped me a lot. When I made mistakes in writing sentences or story, the teacher classed out and explain me why I got the wrong one and which one should be right to make sense. I'm sorry I can't remember everything and try my best to write this one.

FT: My past experiences in English/Communication was not that great! I have a lot of problem with verbs. When I came to NTID last year, I improved a lot, from level three to five in 3 quarters. I am blaming a teacher in BOCES (a special program for the hearing impaired) in a regular high school for my poor English grammar. A teacher wasted a lot of time by talking about the trip plan, TV programs, etc., and most af all, talked on the phone. Her class always

went far behind school work! She don't taught me enough on grammar rules.

KS: I feel that English/Communication department needs several improvements. The teachers are the ones who really needs lots of skills to be improved in order for deaf students to understand them better and vice versa. I am not critical of the system but I feel that is has to be changed as soon as possible...

KR: I would have to admit the truth, I never really liked English until I had Mrs. X for English Composition as my first general studies. I guessed I have changed my feelings about English than how I felt in grammar and high school.

After I have looked back at my life in school, I would say it started in six grade when English was my least favorite subject. My class was required to read the book *Charlotte* and underlined every word that did not know the meaning of and looked up in the dictionary. The class was to hand in the list of words and meanings to the teacher once a week. The quota depended on the individual. It seemed to me that I had the largest list in the whole class every week. I really got tired and lost my patience for looking up every word.

Another time, I really got the desire to give up on English was in high school. All through my four years in high school I was placed in the high English classes since I was in the program for college prep. My senior English teacher taught the class by films and movies which was very frustrated for me since I had difficulty reading the lips from the movies. The films there was no actions to tell me what was going to happen. The teacher gave the

students tests and theme based on those films and movies. He would give the students an 'E' for three grammar mistakes on themes. I was trying very hard to get good grades but kept getting bad grades due to my grammar. I kept refering to a grammar book after I finish my other homework. I guessed it helped me since I achieved better grades toward the end of the school year.

While frank, the overall mood is cautious throughout the first two weeks. The journals written by the students are polite, open with regard to *past* frustration with *other* teachers (a safe candor), and limited, although students knew that a dialogue was being initiated. Little self disclosure beyond frustration occurs.

Initially, this appears to influence the way that the teacher's (JA's), responses are framed. Careful and reserved, the teacher functions are questioning and eliciting (mostly on the topics of professional goals and language learning), prompting ("Tell me more about...") and explaining words and concepts:

JA to KR: Your writing is generally very clear. I hope this class is more useful and pleasant than the ones you described. Let me ask you a few questions about what you wrote. What's the best way for you to learn meanings of new words and how to use them? Do you remember anything (words) from all that looking-up of words in *Charlotte?*

You said you referred to a grammar book in your college prep class in high school. Was that on your own or did the teacher assign homework in the grammar book? How do you think it helped? Obviously your hard work has paid off. You are in Level 5 and seem to feel that you want to learn more. I'd be interested in knowing what your goals are. Could you tell me again what your major is and what you want to do after graduation? What kind of people do you want to work with and where? How do you like to meet people?

I guess I've asked a lot of questions but it is only because your response was so interesting. Don't try and answer all of the questions at once, if you don't want to.

JA to KS: What specifically do you think needs to be changed so that teachers and students can understand each other better? Both students and teachers share this responsibility.

Is my signing clear? What would make it clearer to you?

I was interested in your saying that your friends at RIT help you with speech and writing skills. Can you tell me how they help you. You also said you felt that certain communication courses were necessary. Which ones and why? Can you relate this to your professional and personal goals? That is, what communication skills do you need for the job that you want after graduation? What kind of people would you like to socialize with when you graduate?

JA to ES: E, you obviously have learned a lot of English. What techniques were interesting to you. What kept your motivation? You said that you decided to read some books to improve your English. What books were they? What books do you like to read? I like books about travel. Right now I'm reading about a man's trip to Iran, Pakistan, India and some other Moslem countries. The author is from Trinidad.

Could you please tell me again what your major is. Also, where would you like to work when you graduate? What kind of people do you want to work with or live with?

The last response is particularly interesting in highlighting the issues of readiness in sharing personal information and maintaining focus. The teacher here has spent some time in the Middle East in the Peace Corps, but chooses not to discuss this at this point in the journal. To maintain a more continuous dialogue focused on the student and to respect the early reserve appropriate to sensitive relationships, what is not said is as important as what is said.

Thus, in the first period, the students intone "what the teacher would hear," complain of the past, and express frustration. The teacher questions (about goals), prompts, and explains some concepts (for example, the interaction of hearing loss and language learning). In the first dance of words, formality is evident, but honesty begins immediately.

Period Two: "You Really Mean It..."

The journals all change perceptibly in the second period. By now, all of the students have written at least one entry, and have seen at least one response from the teacher. The teacher's response appears to have drawn from the students not so much change in length of entries, but a good deal more variation and expansion in function, even in response to John's direct questions:

KS: I feel that both students and teachers should share the responsibilities. Sometimes the students told the teachers what they didn't like or would like to have teachers to change their habits, the teachers continued doing it - they (teacher) believed in their own systems.

Yes, your signing is clear enough for me to understand. Some teachers just screw up their sign language— don't sign smoothly.

The communication courses like 'The Advanced Vocabulary' and 'Idioms and Slangs' and the one has something to do with improving your listening skills—for example—are far more important because in my opinion, if you take the Speech Therapy—you just talk or practice with therapist for just 1 or 2 hours a week and you just practice on how to pronounce some certain words...

BR: My professional and personal goal is to use a lot of vocabulary that I should use while I'm speaking to and writing too. Why I should waste my beautiful voice? Some kids are alike as me, they don't use their voice at all. It looks dumb!!! That's why good English and speech are important to me. Is that good enough information, huh?

In my past, the English was okay for me because I was in so many school that my mother didn't know what to do with me. I find that English was most complex subject to learn especially going to different school. It made me mad because I felt that English was no use for me to learn while I was young girl.

I'm majoring in printing and I'm hopefully I can finish by next year.

Recently I was in English class with X. She seems nice as she want to be nice. In the class she said when you are finished with English requirement here and ended up with C average and take English Composition over at RIT you might get an F!! What do you think of that? Hey! What kind of teacher that we got to ended with? I can see her point of view but just because she know about it. We aren't too stupid either. I found English Department sure have weirdo teacher to keep up with. I think I better sign off because I don't want to waste my time to talk about it.

It is in the second period that the journals come to life and the spontaneity and vivacity are striking. Here, more emotional states and concerns are expressed. With the freedom of topical choice, communicative functions expand, as can be seen above, even where students are continuing to talk about English language learning *per se:*

KR: Well, I think I better answer the question about the grammar book I have used in high school. The teacher passed the books to the students during the first week of school. He said the book was for your own uses and there would be no homework in that book. I figured if I wanted to pass the course I better take his advice on the grammar book.

I have spent more time on my English subject than any other subjects that year. At the end of the school year, I guessed I have developed a habit of looking up words or the correct grammatical ways.

I think the grammar book helped me to improve English and to use the words correctly. Also, the grammar book helped to remember some grammatical ways from all of the looking up again and again.

Now, I have a curious question for you. I am wondering if you ever took calligraphy lessons? The reason I am asking this question is due to your handwriting.

Requesting personal information of the teacher, as above, began for 4 students in the second period. Requesting John's opinion on issues and life-concerns also took place for 3 students. Other functions which appeared for the first time were asking for help, verifying the teacher's expectations and sharing goals and dreams.

Faced with a burst of communication in this period, the teacher engages in finding a voice, or register,

appropriate for each student. This is a complex and unchartered time, and a critical one in the continuation of the dialogue. In the case of BR, the student indignant about the former teacher's evaluation of her skills, John's response is torn between concern and professionalism; and he finally moves to another topic, uncertain about her last "I don't want to waste my time to talk about it.":

JA to BR: You sound upset by what Dr. X said about English composition. I wasn't there and don't know all that she said but from what you quoted, it sounds as if she was trying to be realistic with you. In other words, if you just get passing grades in English classes, you probably will have a hard time in English Composition. This may sound harsh and unsympathetic to you but it's probably true. Maybe you should talk to her about it and ask her what she meant. By "professional goal," I mean what kind of job do you want to get and where? Any definite plans or will you go anywhere you can find work?

What do you like to do for fun or relaxation?

On the other hand, John begins to challenge other students' assumptions on certain issues, where there is an intuitive sense for the student's ability to handle and accept challenge. In the case of John and JD, a student who clearly accepts responsibility for his actions and opinions, a dialogue rooted in challenge and concern begins, one which will be maintained throughout the course and the journal:

JD: Yes, I do know what you mean by picking up new vocabulary myself and you are right that I will use the word which I picked longer than yours.

A teacher at P.S.D. was very strict and she used 10 to 12 words for one week. She used to give out matching from A to B column. But she used a

sentence instead of a definition. I had to remember all of the words that's how I know those words easily. But now I forgot most of what I have learned. I mean I don't like the Reading Lab because I can play around there. I know I should be a responsible person. I prefer to have a Reading class, well it really doesn't matter because I'm finish with the Reading Lab.

My major is Manufacturing Process and my goals are to have a very good pay and be a top machinist. I would get my dream car with that money. I would like to work outside Philadelphia, Pa. I can work with anybody else but no blacks...could you tell me where you come from?

JA to JD: Is one of the reasons that you don't like Reading Lab that you don't like reading? Is that true? If so, why do you think that is the case?

OK, what's this dream car going to look like? Flashy? Red? Custom everything? Are you from outside Philly? It's a free country and you can work with anyone you choose. But suppose you find a job you really like, good pay, etc., and you have to work next to a black. What will you do? What if the foreman or supervisor is black?

I come from a small town southwest of Boston, Mass. called Dover. My father, brother and his family still live there and so do my wife's parents. So we usually make the trip once a year at least. We went last summer and I pigged out on seafood.

JD: No, I really do like to read anything. I just don't like their system because I didn't learn anything.

My dream car will be a 1982 Chevrolet Corvette "Edition." The color will be all silver and it will be a

classic. I wish that I am a car collector. I love cars and they are beautiful. I always wanted to get a 74-75 Chevy Caprice "Convertible" in good condition with low mileage. It's very hard to find one like this.

I was born and raised in Philly for a long time until last summer my family moved outside of Philly. I really missed my old hometown because there were a lot of actions in Philly. The town where I live now is a very quiet place and I don't like it. I like to live in the city.

If I have to work next to a black, I hope that he is very nice. I don't like wild black person if you know what I mean, the way black people live, the way they act, etc. I should tell you that before, there are few blacks in Manufacturing Process. I forgot to tell you my another goal, I would like to get my apprenticeship after graduation. I would have to go to a night class.

Can you tell me what college you graduated and what make you interested in deaf people?

The challenging and joking in the last example of the teacher's responses are supplemented by advising and counseling, sharing some personal information on family and places visited, explaining concepts, and asking opinions. Thus, both teacher and student entries (with the exception of one student with very sketchy entries) expand functions and topics and disclose more personal information. The relative caution on the part of the teacher as he explores his communicative possibilities with the students does not prevent the emergence of unusually honest written interaction.

The Third Period: Balancing Acts

To this point, the teacher has demonstrated more

variety of communicative functioning in his responses to the students, partly as an artifact of the eliciting he has initially been doing. The stabilizing of the relationships apparent in the journals acts to balance the language functions on both sides of the notebooks in the third period. Students begin to question John more frequently, and have the idea that it is all right to do so. Further, students begin to ask John why he asks certain questions, and question him specifically (in 3 cases) as to why he became interested in deafness:

KS: I'd be interested in knowing your background and how you got interested in working with deaf people. Why did you decide to work at NTID? What made you decide to get into the little part of the deaf world?...

Other than questioning the teacher's background, rationale for certain activities, interests, and motives, the students' entries are characterized by joking, praising, responding to previous questions, and including the teacher in certain life events:

FT: Boy, guess what time is it? It 12:09 a.m.! Anyway, I will have to make this journal short! I study very hard for the Final Exam tomorrow (Tech. Math III). Anyway, I learned the your words about the kind of feeling. I enjoyed to learned those words.

Oh yeah, I gave up to study the vocabulary every night because I have other works to do and get some sleep for morning class! I am working hard on my technical courses. However, I am not working hard on English 5. I feel like to withdraw it and I hope I will pass the English Composition Placement Test! I am getting bore with my english class!

Excuse me that I complain about my english class! Do you know that I have same english teacher from last spring quarter!

Anyway, I better go back to studying little bit more and then sleep!

Have a good weekend!

P.S. I am also have to write formal lab report which it due Monday (10/18) I haven't start yet! I will start it this weekend!

JA to FT: Hope your Technical Math III exam went well. I don't mind if you complain about English. What's the problem with the class now? A new problem or an old one?

I'd be interested to know what kind of vocabulary you need for your lab reports. Could you make me a list or show me one of your reports?

Thanks, I had a great weekend. Did some serious calligraphy for the first time in a couple of years. How about yourself? Are you finished with math now?

On balance, the teacher is now, in addition to requesting information, expressing concern for situations, encouraging, clarifying, explaining discrete points, and volunteering more information about himself in response to questions. The communication is very much individual to individual from the chatty, "Trekkie" FT quoted above to the more reflective, intellectual KR, and her dialogue with John during this period:

KR: I am from (name of town), a town near Morristown. Yes, I do know where Madison is since it is near my hometown. I went to public school since kindergarten until I graduated from high school. I took college-prep courses in high school.

I am majoring in Data Processing at NTID. I am planning to transfer to RIT or University of Pennsylvania for BS in Computer Science after I finish with AAS at NTID. I hope to be a computer programmer and to work for a well-known company... Also, I would like to have the opportunity to meet other people who have different culture and environment if possible.

I have another goal in my life which is a little more personal, which happens to be about my great grandfather, who is still alive in Pennsylvania. I would like to find out more about my ancestors on my mother's side since some of my ancestors were Cheyenee Indians. My grandmother still tells my story about what my great-great grandfather did with the animals' bones and made music with the bone.

Also, the reason I preferred to work in Pennsylvania is that all of my relatives from my mother's side resided in that state. I am very close knit to my mother's side of family. I seem to be a little old fashion and still contain some values of farm life from my mother's side. I may be the only person in the family going to college but it does not mean that I have rejected rural ways of living. I still would love to live on a farm but I also wanted a challenging occupation as well. I guessed I am trying to live two completely different lifestyle to satisfy myself. I am very concern for my bliss in my future.

JA to KR: Small world! I really enjoyed Madison mainly because it was so close to N.Y.C. Three things that I remember about the town itself are: the Nautilus Diner (good cheese blintzes, O'Brien's (a bar) and barber shop that we picketed because they refused to serve black students.

Have you gone on a co-op yet? It would be interesting to try one at Nabisco to see if you liked the company. Does U of Penn have a good Comp-Sci. department? Are you interested in systems programming or what? By the way, how did you learn new vocabulary in D/P? Do instructors here help with that or are you on your own?

According to my dictionary (American Heritage) the Cheyenne tribe were originally from Minnesota and the Dakotas. Did your great grandfather come from there? Are you recording your grandmother's stories? Do, before she dies and you forget them. Either write them down or turn on your cassette tape recorder when she's not looking. I always regret that I didn't do that with my grandfather (his grandfather owned a merchant ship that sailed to China).

It seems like you've chosen the right profession if you want to choose your life-style and where you want to live. Programmers are very mobile and able to find work in a greater variety of places than many other professions.

The relaxation of communication on both sides generally remains through the rest of the quarter. The third period dialogues are critical in cementing a foundation to withstand the onslaught of deadlines, assignments, and external pressures and interests which loom large in the last four weeks.

The Fourth Period: Expansions and Contractions

The fourth two-week period builds on the third period language functions. For the students, added to those functions previously mentioned are intellectualizing, confiding, defining social roles (deaf vs. hearing),

expressing confusion and fatigue, suggesting activities, interpreting experience, and, in one case, attacking. KS, who has in the previous two periods praised the teacher, lashes out:

KS: I am sick of some people playing games with me... I am trying to help you not insult you. Well, sometimes in my class, I don't get your words in my mind—just pass my mind. You should try to sign a bit faster... It turned us off. Thank you.

The entry is confusing juxtaposed against others in the group. The journal is disrupted at this point because it has been stolen—the "games" the student refers to. The entry must be considered with the entries by this student in the last period to be more understandable, but this entry should serve as a reminder of the pain teachers using dialogue journals expose themselves to in the course of communication. Frustration and pressure are expressed at this period more than any other (by 6 of 10 students to some degree).

BR: "I hope you'll get some ideas what I'm trying to tell you what frustrates me enough."

DL: "1 question please? I THINK THAT I'M FAILING THIS COURSE!! Pazzo."

ES: "It's true that DP students had a lot of problems with the system... I had the same problems... and fell behind a little."

Despite the feelings of pressure, however, several of the students continued to express themselves openly:

JA to JD: There is a lot of powerful feeling in your description about you and your brother. I got lost in one place though. All of a sudden your relationship changed (beginning with sentence "And then Tom taught me about everything...). What happened between this sentence and the previous one to change your relationship?

JD: ...About my brother and me. I hope you will find your way out.

At the time we hated each other, my brother didn't really wanted to bother me. He just wanted to be with his friends. And I wanted to be with them. So I bothered my brother. I joined in myself by playing games with them... in the summer. We played basketball, 'Who's afraid of the lion,' football and many others. My brother and I used to dominate them. Most of the time we used to be teamed up together. Sometime we played against each other, like I was on one team and he was on the other team. We always played one on one in basketball. Somehow, I guess playing game together brought us together. We became close. Then Tom started teaching me.

JA to JD: Thanks for the clarification about your brother. Your description now makes more sense, and it is a realistic description of how a personal relationship can change. I hope you will use this description as "raw material" for the next composition.

I never really liked my older brother until I was in graduate school. He is five years older than me and I was never any competition for him in sports or in fights. The older we both got, the more we both became interested in each others work and families. Now of course, I'm sorry I can't see more of him.

JD's humor in the text of a serious conversation ("hope you find your way out") belies much of the literature on deaf students' abilities to engage in word play.

The topical switching in the next entry—in addition to word play—suggests as well a level of comfort with the journal form which is often absent in more formally organized essays. Moreover, the "play" aspect becomes a short hand for personalization, an "insider" language which engages and is supported by the teacher—an experience very foreign to most of these students:

FT: Star Date 8210.22 (Friday)

Whew, I finished Tech Math III course on Time! I got A on it! Not bad, I thought I will get B!

Oh, there aren't any vocabulary I need to know for lab report. But maybe I do in the future (next quarter). Fine, I would like to show you a lab report but I didn't get it back yet!

Anyway, I still have a lot of work to catch up. I will prob. do my homework tonight because my family will visit here tomorrow (Saturday). First, my parent and little sister Theresa will pick my another sister Lisa up at William Smith College which is only 50 miles way from here, then they will arrived here by around 3 p.m. Anyway, I am looking forward to see my family this weekend. I have no idea whether my family will sleep at Hotel or not! Oh yeah, do you know that my both sisters also have hearing impaired? Lisa (age 18) is hard of hearing. Theresa (age 15) is profoundly deaf like me. I also have a brother, namely Michael (age 19) who is hearing. Yes, I am the oldest, age 20! I also have no idea whether my brother is coming or not to Rochester!

I am curious if you have any children or wife? Can you describe what does your wife look like? Hope you don't mind about that!

OK, I guess that's enough, I can write more about my family next time. Any questions?

Have a great weekend SK, SK.

JA to FT: Congratulations! Glad you aced Tech Math. Don't forget to show me the lab report when you get it back.

Sounds like you had a busy weekend. When did everyone arrive? What did you do around Rochester? What are your brothers and sisters doing now? Do your parents both work? Are they deaf or hearing? Do they visit you at RIT a lot? Where did you grow up?

I have a wife and two kids. My wife, Kathleen (Kathi) looks very Irish with dark hair and fair complexion. She is a computer programmer and is in charge of the graphics package for a small company near here that uses computer-aided design to design circuit boards. She works three days a week. Arn is our 5-year-old son who just started kindergarten. He acts like a B.M.O.C. (Big Man on Campus) especially in front of his sister, Dorothy, who just turned 3. Dorothy thinks she should be in kindergarten too. They're a lot of fun! Any questions? That's it for now. Beam me up, Scottie!

The teacher maintains the language functions of the third period, but two perceptible categories of function emerge more distinctly at this time. First, there is more goading of those students who have been "quiet" to this point. Second, and more significant, there is more "promising" - promises of various forms of help, promises of books, promises of contact. The promises appear to anticipate the fifth and final period, the ending of the course and continuous dialogue. And promises create futures, even for a very short time.

The Fifth Period: Final Days

The communication of the last days in this compressed set of biographies is characterized by a sense of separation. Two areas indicating a terminal period are, again, the language functions and the topics generated by some of the students themselves. Formally speaking, as has been mentioned, an elliptical quality hangs over the journals, signalling the reality that more could be said—if there were time.

Pragmatically, the students engage in "announcing" (their plans, their last entries), teasing, requesting the teacher's evaluation, thanking, philosophizing, reversing questions (as in the fourth period), evaluating, "repairing," confiding, and including. The thanking, philosophizing, repairing, and announcing functions are particularly tied to moving on and beyond the dialogue. For the teacher, the functions are equally diverse and anticipatory: expressing concern and affection, inviting (to continue the relationship), questioning, some confiding, thanking, requesting feedback, offering help, and counseling toward future goals.

The sense of ending is particularly compelling in two instances. In the first, KS, the woman whose angry outburst marked the fourth period of her journal, re-establishes contact:

KS: I recently accepted a new responsibility—Resident Advisor—two weeks ago. I was the Resident Advisor last summer—Summer Vestibule Program '82. I enjoyed working with students who had some problems and setting up some programs.

One R.A. decided to move to apartment and take it easy. The Area Complex Director asked me if I could replace the other R.A. I replaced her 2 weeks ago. I spent most of my time moving my stuff into the new room. I was so frustrated at that time.

What made it so worst was that pressures were loading on my back at that time. I was and am behind in the homeworks. I felt so depressed that I could not able to do all that works. I never felt that way before. I thought of getting away from this campus and go straight to home, but inside me—my heart said, "don't give up."

Now, I felt the same thing. I lived through the hard times when I was young and I somehow succeeded. I think that I am back to the same old phase. The problem is that I am stubborn in some ways—like refusing to give up. I loved all the challenges I had experienced in the past and now, the new challenge is here for me.

The question is: Should I challenge the pressures that are on me now? I am asking you for the opinions.

JA to KS: I know how you respond to challenges. You seem to enjoy them. Yet, there is a limit to how many challenges a person can handle at one time. The question becomes: am I giving this challenge or job the best I can or am I only doing half a job. As exciting as any 'challenge' can be, I find one of the most difficult 'challenges' is saying *no* when I don't feel that I have the time to do a really good job. The process includes deciding which things are most important to you and then limiting yourself to a reasonable list. There is also the famous 'fudge-factor.' Every big and important project will take 2 1/2 times longer than you think!

Of course, it helps to know your ability and just what is 'reasonable'; but that only seems to come with experience (trial and error).

It sounds like you really wanted to try the R.A. job; but you're still a student, so there will have to be some compromise in how much time you spend on the job and studying. Does this all make sense to you? I'll respond to some of your other questions later.

The act of repair on the student's part and measured response on the teacher's part in effect begin a new potential dialogue. Regardless of the outcome or the incidence of future encounters, a lesson in survival of communication has taken place for both participants.

Topics, too, reflected concern for the importance of ending well and creating possibilities for the future. In the last interactions of John and JD, the student becomes a teacher, reversing the questions, eliciting an honest and poignant response and personifying what a deaf street-kid from Philly might tell us:

JD: I have no complaints about this course at all so far. I really do like this course because I learned many new vocabulary. And I enjoyed this class.

You don't have to answer the question below but I hope you do.

Are you afraid of getting old or how do you feel when you get older every year?

JA to JD: That's a very interesting question! Getting older, itself, doesn't scare me. What does bother me sometimes is when a year goes by and I haven't accomplished personally or professionally what I had hoped to accomplish. The thought of dying young (or anytime) is troublesome. When I think of things I should have done—and haven't—to provide for my family. The annoying thing about getting older is that the body doesn't respond as

quickly as when you're young. I play tennis and have a lot more trouble with pulled muscles than I used to. What about yourself? Are you thinking about aging?

JD: No, I never think about age. I am 20 years old now and I feel like I'm 23 or something because I am a responsible person. My mother never take care of me. I always take care of myself since I was a little young teen. I always handle the problem myself. Remember that my brother and I never got along, we solved the problem ourselves. I don't have a father, he died of cancer when I was about 3 1/2 years old. That made me a responsible man. I am always ready to face the problem if there is one. I feel like a man not a kid. I don't know if I will be scare of getting old in the future. But I doubt it.

JA to JD: You sound confident and ready to face the future, Joe!

I think your compositions have really improved. They've become a lot more interesting maybe because you like the topics better but you seem to be spending more time on them.

Any big plans for the holidays?

JD: Thanks for what you have said, I really appreciate it. I really enjoyed this class and I did learn a lot of new vocabulary. I don't think there are any big plans at home for the holiday for me except watching sports on cable. I am looking forward to watch the footbal game on TV. It will be my favorite team (Notre Dame) against my brother's favorite team (USC) after the Thanksgiving Day.

Do you have any children? Again, thank you for having me as your student. The last composition I

wrote was my best one because I like to let go of my own ideas.

JA to JD: I have two kids: Arn a 5 year old boy in kindergarten, and Dorothy a 3 year old girl who thinks she should be in kindergarten. They're fun.

I agree. Your last composition was one of your best. But not necessarily better than the one you wrote about you and your brother. There was a lot of strong feeling expressed in that composition and because you expressed it clearly and honestly it was vivid and one that I will remember a long time.

Hope the best man's team wins on Thanksgiving Day! Thanks, I hope you have a great holiday, too!

Please stop by to see me if you have a chance next quarter and let me know how you are doing. Someday, I'd like a ride in your Corvette!

Analysis of Language Structures

We have considered the expansion and contraction of language functions over the five periods and also the growth of relationships between teacher and student. We now turn our attention to the *language per se* of these journals. At the outset, we hypothesized that there would be fundamental structural differences between the language in the journals and the language in the compositions which were assigned during the same time period. We also wondered how language structures in the journals themselves would change over time, if at all. Consequently, our approach in this analysis was both cross-sectional and longitudinal.

First, we consider the journals over time. As noted earlied, there was a slight increase in length of journal entry at Periods 3 and 4 and a decrease at Period 5. There

was, however, no marked increase or decrease in sentence length nor change in sentence complexity within the journals themselves. Sentence complexity is defined here as the occurrence of embedded complement and/or relative clause constructions.

Since variety of topic appeared to be at its peak at Period 4, this period was chosen for all 10 students. The entries at Period 4 were compared with the third composition, since the assignment for this composition ("Write about an unpleasant experience or write a horror story") seemed to elicit the students' best efforts. One was missing, and for this student, who consistently performed well, we chose her fourth composition. thus, for each student, a single detailed and topically varied dialogue journal entry was chosen and compared with a composition written at about the same point in the quarter. The objective of each composition was to practice using vocabulary introduced in the course. For the third composition, students were asked to draw from a set of adjectives that included "awkward, hurt, depressed, uneasy, nervous and terrified." Compositions were graded solely on the basis of correct semantic and syntactic use of this group of words. No instruction was given with regard to theme or paragraph organization. Occasionally, sentence level grammatical corrections were made on the papers to improve intelligibility. Thus, the students' attention in the compositions was focused on correct semantic and syntactic use of new vocabulary.

When we compared one period (period four) of dialogue journal entries with one set of compositions, we found no consistent differences in sentence length and no particular sentence structures favored in either type, except for the obvious use of direct address and questioning in the dialogue journals. Also, there were no consistent differences in length between journal entries and compositions. That is, if a student wrote long entries, he or she tended also to write relatively long compositions. We were, however, struck by one obvious difference. All students,

except one, broke down their dialogue journal entries into paragraphs. Their compositions on the other hand, while of a comparable length, were most often written as a single, long paragraph. Of the 10 students, one paragraphed her composition as well; two students paragraphed, but poorly; and the rest (seven) did not paragraph at all. What do paragraphs represent and why did students paragraph in one kind of writing and not in the other? In attempting to answer these questions, we will consider topic shifts and the linguistic markers that are used to create or clarify such shifts.

Teun A. van Dijk (1982) regards paragraphs as surface manifestations of *episodes* in certain types of written discourse. van Dijk conceives of an episode in temporal terms as being part of a whole and having a beginning, middle and end. Both the part and the whole consist of sequences of events or actions. The word *episode* is derived from the Greek word *epeisodion*, which meant literally an "addition" or something which followed upon the opening of a Greek tragedy; in other words, an episode was an *act* in the tragedy (Morris, 1980). We speak of episodes—and episodes within episodes—when we talk of, for example, a battle or an attack (179). These are events or units of action characterized by certain types of action, certain participants, and temporal limits. A sequence of sentences denoting such episodes should manifest a conceptual unity; and the thematic and linguistic characteristics of such a unit should be identifiable.

van Dijk takes as his corpus an article from *Newsweek* and specifically limits his conclusions to this type of "action or event" discourse. His analysis seems worth considering here since both the dialogue journals and compositions are journalistic in that they describe events. The difference is that in the journals, students had more latitude in their choice of what to describe. For van Dijk, the ultimate criterion for considering a sequence of sentences as an episode is thematic. A change of place, time or participant in an event generally coincides with

the boundary—either beginning or end—of an episode. In KS's story (Composition Four) about one Halloween night, the sentences are clearly grouped according to place and time.

KS: Veronica was alone in her house on one halloween night. She felt so *uneasy* for the first time. She never felt that way before. It was so quiet that night.

She jumped when the doorbell rang. She opened the door and was *horrified* by some monsters (the children in the costumes). They were wearing the most *frightening* costumes. She gave them some candies. She went back to her room and sat down.

She heard something downstairs. It was a noise she never had heard before. The squeaking noise got louder and louder and nearer and nearer. Veronica was *scared* by the strange noise. She thought that it could be the night stalker.

She ran around and hid under the bed. She was *afraid* that someone may see her under the bed so she grabbed the shoe boxes and putted them beside her. It was impossible for her to see the stalker. The noise got louder. "Someone is near me," she thought. She froze a when she realized that the squeaking noise disappeared.

The box moved about an inch. She got up laughing and screaming at the same time, then ran around the room.

She stood on the chair and looked down at the innocent thing, the mouse. It wasn't the stalker, it was the mouse.

She'll never forget one halloween night. It was her first frightening experience.

The participant is the same throughout. Once the scene is set, each paragraph describes an event connected with a sound, a place or an object (doorbell, squeaking, noise, box, mouse). Her journal entry (quoted above) likewise describes a single event, her new job as a Resident Advisor in the dorms. Thematically, the entry is broken down into introduction, problem, reflection and question. Interestingly, in this entry there were also more linguistic markers to indicate episode boundaries: shift of participant ("I" to "One R.A."), shift of tense (past to "Now, I feel...") and shift of address or perspective ("I" to "you" and a direct question). van Dijk calls these linguistic markers "cast change markers," "time change markers" and "change of perspective markers" respectively.

In JD's brief journal entry, his use of pronouns ("I" to "you" and a direct question) are the linguistic signals of a change in episode.

JD: I have no complaints about this course at all so far. I really do like this course because I learned many new vocabulary. And I enjoyed this class.

You don't have to answer the question below but I hope you do.

Are you afraid of getting old or how do you feel when you get older every year?

Note that JD wrote *learned* and *enjoyed* in his first paragraph but probably should have written *have learned* and *have enjoyed* to indicate actions begun in the past and continued into the present. Thus, they probably do not represent a shift in time from the first two verbs in this episode. In JD's composition, which describes several unpleasant experiences, JD uses linguistic signals for new episodes but does not paragraph.

JD: An Unpleasant Experience

When my brother, Tom and I were little we used to hate each other because he was in a hearing world who doesn't comprehend deaf world. And I'm in the deaf world who doesn't comprehend hearing world. I tried to go out with him and his friends at the time when I felt alienated. He wouldn't let me go with him. We said all the dirty words to each other so loud that the neighborhoods heard us. We were fighting everywhere and most of the time we were fighting in the middle of the street in front of all onlookers. I felt awful and discouraged. My brother used to play with his friends every day and I was miserable because I wanted to have fun. So I tried to join them and play with them. My unkind brother kept giving me a hard time and I was hurt. I kept trying and trying and finally he gave me a break. I played games with them. We played basketball, football, "Who's afraid of the lion" and many others. My brother and I were used to dominated other friends. Sometimes we played together against other team but we played against each other. All the time like he is on one team and I'm on the other. When we were not with friends we always play one on one in basketball and he always beat me. Somehow I guess that playing together really brought us closer. Right now we love each other so much.

His use of pronouns falls under van Dijk's "cast change markers." New members of the cast are introduced with a full noun phrase (name, noun with indefinite article or other determiner) and repeated mention of the same character is accomplished with a pronoun (he, she, etc.,). When a character is reintroduced, as van Dijk points out, the full noun phrase is again employed. Note that JD begins with "When my brother, Tom, and I----" and continues with "he," "him," "I," and "we." But midway

down the page the full noun phrase is used to "reintroduce" the brother: "My brother----," "my unkind brother," "my brother and I." One could argue that a new episode begins with each full noun phrase except for the presence of an additional perspective marker: "used to."

On two places, JD uses this verb phrase in conjunction with the full noun phrase to indicate and introduce repeated actions in the past. Taking "When my brother Tom and I...", "My brother used to play...," and "My brother and I were used to dominated..." as episode markers we have three episodes which set out 1) JD's feeling of alienation, 2) the incidents that caused this feeling (including the "break" and changes in the relationship), and 3) the new relationship between the brothers. Note that JD signals the end of the third episode and indeed the end of the composition with a shift to the present tense.

Other students used lexical markers for the beginning of new episodes: "*Well*, I think I better answer..." and "*Now*, I have a curious question for you." (KR) FT began 2 of the 4 episodes in one entry with "*Anyway*,..." This same student, however, did not use lexical or other linguistic markers such as pronouns (in place of his character's names) to delineate episode boundaries in an otherwise well written horror story. A fourth student (DL) began three out of four episodes of his "Unpleasant Experience" composition thematically by introducing a new character. Unfortunately, DL shifts his pronouns from third to first person half way through his composition and confuses his perspective:

DL: While they were discussing about the problem that Duane had, DL came home and was confused because they were talking too rapidly for me and I didn't wnat to disturb them. Although my dad stopped me and asked me if I could help him. I said "OK."

DL represents another possibility. KS's composition about the mouse was segmented thematically and graphically (i.e., with blank lines or indentation). JD's composition about his brother was segmented thematically and linguistically but not graphically. FT segmented his horror story neither linguistically nor visually; and DL segmented thematically and graphically but imperfectly by means of language structure. The point is that there was great variation in ability to mark episodes in the compositions, whereas there was a notable consistency in marking episodes in the journal entries.

Curricular Implications

The visible words of these written dialogues teach us, the observer and readers, much in the way deaf students themselves are taught. Disembodied phrases, visual voices on paper draw us into a metaphor of deafness. In themselves, the journals are compelling. Beyond form, we can listen to the issues raised by these written voices, listen to our own educational history, and, perhaps, listen to the language of a new curriculum rooted in experience. By discussing the implications in the utterances of students and teacher, language functions, language forms, and relationships, we do not propose to generalize; rather, we propose that continued efforts to interpret individual educational experience through language study take place. The exploration of such experience can thus inform our pedagogical acts and pave the way for future dialogues.

Implications of Language Structures

Staton (1983) has suggested that second language students may model instructors' language in the dialogue journals. No evidence of structure modeling, change in length of sentence, or use of particular language structures were noted here. Perhaps, in a less restricted time period such changes would occur. What was noted at the

discourse level was a clearer sense of episode in the dialogue journals than in the compositions. Most of the students marked episodes graphically and linguistically in the journal entries but not in the compositions. van Dijk's notion of episode focused on lexical, pronominal, temporal and aspectual linguistic markers. Syntactic cues such as the choice of passive versus active structures have been suggested elsewhere in the growing literature on discourse analysis (for example, Coleman, 1982). Further research in the identification of such markers can only have a salutory effect on second language instruction in general and our students' written English in particular.

The students' ability to clearly "chuck" discourse in their dialogue journals was due, we submit, to an increased control of topic, a knowledge of the audience and confidence in the "genre" (recall JD's word play and personalization in the entry quoted above and his control through questioning quoted above). The implication for the teaching of writing to these students is that one might proceed from a form of writing that is more easily controlled by the student to a form (such as, the essay) where the topic is assigned, the audience is more generalized, and the organization is dictated by criteria other than the narration of events.

Implications of Language Functions

In the restricted context of a quarter system, the expansion and personalization of language functions was dramatic. The first period of time observed yielded little language variation or self-disclosure beyond frustration with past teachers and rhetorical commitment to the duty of learning English; the fourth and fifth periods included confidences, comparisons of experience, expressions of immediate anger, philosophizing, teasing, and articulating concern for the other. While one might argue that this expansion would probably occur in the presence of any humane classroom approach, certain considerations must

be noted. First, the length of the journal entries remained fairly constant for each student. It was the pragmatic, communicative functioning which increased as both student and teacher connected, shifted, queried, and responded. Secondly, this variation and increase in functional use began for most students in the second period with some seminal sharing of goals and dreams (2 students), inquiries of the teacher of a personal nature (3 students), and requests for the teacher's opinion on issues and concerns (3 students). The openness of the students is immediately striking in the absence of an *assigned* topic of discourse.

ES: Reading and writing letters kept me motivation to learn English better. I usually read adventure, non-fiction and United States history. The last time I read a book which was called '1984'. It is good one with a lot of vocabulary which I didn't know. It is about a man who find love and tried to get freedom in Russia. I was not sure because I read it in 1981. I used to read a lot during my teen years. I tried to read more during college life but it is possible for me to read a lot of books except comics and joke books.

I'm studying Data Processing in second year. My goal is to be computer programmer after I graduate from this college. I would like to work in Long Island or Midwest. I would like to work or live with the people who are friendly, show love, and don't care about the race. Also, I would like to see people respect and show interesting to meet deaf people.

The teacher's utterances, in the observer's view, also show immediate increases in communicative function in the second period of time. In the first weeks, he is limited to explaining, prompting, and questioning. By the second period, these functions remain, but are supplemented by advising, joking and challenging; and, by the end of the

course, expressing concern and affection, sharing past experience and requesting continued contact and feedback. Reserved but honest, the teacher assumes responsibility for what he might be asked, and responds in ways that open him to challenge:

JA to ES: (response)

> You said that reading and writing letters has kept you motivated. Do you still write a lot of letters? If so, who do you write to? Another way of saying your last sentence with a word that we practiced today in class would be:
>
> Also, I would like to work with people who respect me and are interested in meeting deaf people.
>
> Have you had a co-op experience yet? Where would you like to go for that?
>
> How do you feel at NTID? Do you feel that people respect you? That's enough questions! Good luck on your major. It's a difficult one, but one that can lead to satisfying work (I married a programmer).

The Teacher and the Journals

The teacher's role and curricular implications of the dialogues are radical in the context of deaf education, as Stokoe (1982) suggests. The notion of writing back to a student for clarification and without correction (unless asked), may well be puzzling to students and uncomfortable for teachers (for discussion of the effects of corrective orientation, see Meath-Lang, Caccamise, & Albertini, 1982). Indeed, in the third period of entries, one student was still writing "on 10/11 you said 'if that's boring, change the topic'—what do you mean by that?" When the teacher had told her to write about matters

other than those he brought up if she wished. Inexperience with flexibility in dialogue may confuse some students whose experiences and opinions have not been elicited or valued. Other students, like three of the students in this group, will prefer to maintain distance or simply be involved in other matters (the programming student who told the teacher that all of his time was spent in Student Computing Services). The teacher must be able to apprehend and respect the Other in the dialogue, be open to attack or criticism (as in one case here), and be willing to choose a "voice" or level of formality that is comfortable for the student. The injunction to "be flexible" in hundreds of teacher education texts, however, never prepares one for the gamut of topics and concerns students may communicate. Thus, a teacher must approach such an experience with a readiness for hurt as well as a willingness to share in writing.

In the face of working with a "special" population or different culture, moreover, the chasm to the Other in dialogue can appear endless. In one example from this group, the teacher did not—could not—respond to one man's dream of being "a deaf black leader...to encourage deaf black people." Rather, the teacher suggested the student think about recruiting other students from his area after graduation, but left the dream respectfully alone. The student had said all that could be said and the teacher could never know the experience of being deaf and black. Curriculum can emanate from shared and compared experience. But shared experience can never deny individual sensibility, or translate other-ness into simple terms. The use of the journal in any curricular context must proceed from respect for the culture, biography, gender, and affiliations of the student, even in the face of anger and silence. On the other hand, as in the case of the student who said that he hoped never to work with blacks, a teacher can and must make his or her position clear, and refuse the violation of his or her own moral sensibility. The teacher in this case presented the student with vignettes

of choice, asking the student to think of them carefully in characterizing a group. For a while, it appears, the student did.

The Teacher and the Analysis

The teacher's impression at the end of the twenty-hour course was that contact with these students had been rushed, elliptical and fragmentary. In the rush of day-to-day class preparation, paper correction and journal writing, the teacher was not conscious of the devleoping relationships and change in the communication of feelings, facts and opinions that occurred. This became apparent only through the *post hoc* analysis of language functions. A second retrospective discovery was that those students who *were* able to use the journal to express feelings began exercising control of their share of the "conversation" early in the quarter. Those that understood the flexibility of the medium, used it and directed the choice of topics (and the development of the relationship) as much if not more than the teacher did.

Dialogue journals—added features for a participant, bracketed voices for an observer—create a conversant curriculum of activity, retrospection, and introspection. They also create opportunities for study and reflection. Language analysis, both structural and functional, illuminates curriculum study by providing frameworks for acquisition, development, use, and influence. Reconceptualized curriculum theory, its core in individual experience, has gained strength from the use of journals (see, for example, Grumet, 1979), and can continue to grow through language analysis. The marriage of curriculum theory and language study is in itself a dialogue, only beginning; supported in structure by the voices of bewildered, brave people—some of them silent.

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POLITICAL NOTES & NOTICES

Political Notes and Notices

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As regular readers of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* are well aware, previous volumes of this journal have fallen behind our schedule of publication, with the result that time delays for contributing authors and readers have been frequent. To rectify this situation, the editors have attempted to print several issues of the journal more quickly than might have been expected in view of recent publication dates. Accordingly, this issue of The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing went to press before the previous issue had been disseminated.

In the "Political Notes and Notices" section that appeared in the previous issue, I outlined the results of discussions that took place regarding its direction and focus at the 1985 Bergamo conference. Among other things, this section will incorporate a citation, when submitted, that readers can respond to for publication consideration in the following issue. The previous issue contained such a citation, from the work of James B. Macdonald, as a follow up to the recognition given him and his work in the journal. I would like this citation to be used as a source of commentary for Volume 7, Number 3, since there has not been time for responses to it to be written for inclusion in this installment. In addition, political notices will be included beginning with Volume 7, Number 3, again in response to the current publishing schedule for the journal.

Two letters were submitted since the last installment of "Political Notes and Notices" went to press.

Interestingly, they both deal with the same general issue, namely the encroachment of the political right—through "Accuracy in Academia"—into higher education policy and teaching.

Bill Reynolds, University of Wisconsin-Stout, notes the growing movement by people involved in this group to keep alive the McCarthy-era activities aimed at rooting out "the purveyors of untruth". "Accuracy in Academia" claims that "there are over 10,000 Marxist professors in classrooms in the United States."[1] This group is engaged in recruiting students to serve as spies on these 10,000 professors, and to date claims that 600 students have signed up across the nation. They have reportedly established a new chapter at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where an unnamed sociology professor has been selected as their initial target.

Gene Grabiner, Erie Community College, submitted several pieces of information regarding Accuracy in Academia and efforts to expose and confront that group's charges. For example, a recent article in *The Buffalo News* reports that a group of students has been monitoring classroom statements by some professors who allegedly show a "liberal bias".[2]

At the same time, resistance to Accuracy in Academia has also grown, even in places where an affinity with right wing political causes could be expected. Joseph S. Murphy, Chancellor of the City University of New York, has cautioned against taking the AIA too lightly, citing previous attacks on universities in Fascist Germany and Italy. Richard Pipes, a Professor of History at Harvard University, and a self-described conservative, has commented that, "what goes on in the classroom is sacrosanct...I don't want to be obliged by anybody to deal with views in ways I don't think right."[3] Within the current fiscal, political, and educational climate, Accuracy in Academia may well pose a serious threat to the alleged ideals of American higher education, even though those ideals are not practiced to the extent that we would like.

Among the groups that has organized in opposition to the activities of Accuracy in Academia is, "Scholars Against the Escalating Danger of the Far Right". They have some written materials available, and contributions to help resist the AIA can be submitted to: Scholars, P.O. Box 133, New York, NY 10011.

The remainder of this edition of "Political Notes and Notices" will be taken up with summaries of recent news items.

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The University of Georgia's Developmental Studies Program has been in the news of late, in regard to their programs for varsity athletes. Professor Jan Kemp, formerly of Georgia, filed a civil suit in U.W. District Court in Atlanta, claiming that she was fired because of her exposure of preferential treatment for athletes who were enrolled in this program. "The interesting thing about the Atlanta trial," one reporter notes, "was that most of the information damaging to the university didn't come from Ms. Kemp or others who might be classified as 'disgruntled'... It came from present officers and professors of the Athens, Georgia Institution."[4] Testimony at the trial established that: the University gave athletic scholarships in violation of NCAA regulations that recipients have a "C" high school average; Virginia Trotter, University Vice President for Academic Affairs, ordered that nine football players who failed remedial courses be promoted into the regular curriculum in 1981—just before Georgia played in the Sugar Bowl game; Leroy Ervin, University Assistant Vice President, said that academically deficient athletes were recruited by the University of Georgia only to "produce income" for the university, and that "they are used as a kind of raw material...and get nothing in return."[5]

University response to the suit brought by Professor Kemp was quite interesting. President Fred Davison argued that since other institutions follow similar practices, to disallow such activities would be "to disarm unilaterally". A University attorney added that athletic practices aided "disadvantaged" students even if they did not graduate. "We may not make a university student out of him [the 'disadvantaged' athelete]," this attorney stated, "but if we can teach him to read and write, maybe he can work at the post office rather than as a garbage man when he gets through his athletic career."[6]

This incident raises a number of interesting questions and possibilities. Given the admissions of University of Georgia administrators and other officials, it would seem that former atheletes of that institution have a reasonable cause to bring suit against the university—an action that might make the $2.57 million awarded Professor Kemp seem almost negligible. On another level, the Georgia case represents only one example of the exploitation of athletes at major universities—especially those involved in revenue-producing sports. This case also points, obviously, to the contradictory roles and purposes universities are expected to fulfill in contemporary society.

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The influence of the Gramm-Rudman budget balancing law is beginning to be felt in a variety of academic and scholarly pursuits. For example, the budget of the Library of Congress—containing the world's largest collection—has been cut by $8.4 million this year and the Gramm-Rudman law will necessitate additional cuts of $10 million. Daniel Boorstin, the Librarian of Congress, inquired at a recent House appropriations hearing: "Dare we say, simply, that our nation, perhaps the first nation on earth explicitly founded on knowledge, is now ready to disintegrate and destroy its own foundations?"[7] In response to the current financial predicament, the Library is, among other measures, cutting book purchases by 13%, reducing book restoration activities by 16%, and closing its reading room

on Sundays. Because of the decline in funds for restoration work, some photographs, prints, and books are likely to be irreparably damaged.

* * * *

Evidence of another sort of continuing discrimination, this time in the Canadian public schools, has also been aired recently. Patricia Swenson, a graduate student at Simon Fraser University, conducted a study of Government authorized language arts textbooks in British Columbia. According to Ms. Swenson, the typical family portrayed in these texts had three members, no ethnic identity, and lived in an unspecified, though probably North American, setting. Moreover, the women in the stories were more likely to be mothers or farm workers, while the men were likely to be farmers, fishermen, and hunters. French-Canadian and Ukranian-Canadian families were not featured in the texts Ms. Swenson examined.[8]

It is also interesting to note that most of the readers used in Canadian schools are produced by U.S.-based multinational corporations. Rowland Lorimer, a Professor of Education at Simon Fraser, commented that the problems identified by Ms. Swenson are also common in other Canadian provinces. Multinational, corporate text publishers typically develop readers that can be quickly and cheaply adapted to any country, thereby increasing profit margins.[9] Thus the problems seen in this country regarding racial, gender, and social class stereotyping that are sometimes fueled by the existence of such things as textbook adoption committees, has international analogues.

The practice and policy of apartheid in South Africa and its furtherance by U.S. corporations doing business there, continues to draw fire on some university and college campuses.

Further evidence of the glaring discrepancies across the four racially segregated educational systems of South Africa has recently been revealed. For fiscal year 1983-84 per capita expenditures were: $992 for whites; $653 for Indians; $341 for coloreds; and $141 for blacks.[10] Pupil-teacher ratios follow this fiscal picture: 19:1 for whites; 23:1 for Indians; 26:1 for coloreds; and 41:1 for blacks. A University of Cape Town researcher has also reported that the illiteracy rate for blacks is 33%, while the illiteracy rate for coloreds, Indians, and whites, is 15.5%, 7.6%, and 0.72%, respectively.[11]

In this country, 200 students at Smith College took over the College's administration building on February 25, 1986, in response to the Board of Trustee's decision to retain investments in companies doing business in South Africa. The College reportedly owns $22.3 million in stocks in 22 companies that do business there. Smith College has sold its stock in one company that has refused to establish a policy designed to assure racial fairness, and will "review what steps the other 21 companies could take to bring about change in South Africa's racial system".[12]

Meanwhile, at Dartmouth College, 12 right wing students, 10 of whom have links with the publication of "The Dartmouth Review," were recently suspended. They are charged with the sledge hammer destruction of a cluster of shanties that were erected on that campus in January, in opposition to the racial policies of South Africa. Former editors of "The Dartmouth Review"—a right wing alternative to the college-sponsored "The Dartmouth Review"—include William Cattan, speech-writer for George Bush, and Ben Hart, director of studies at the Heritage Foundation.[13]

* * * *

W. Robert Houston, Associate Dean of the College of Education at the University of Houston, has added yet another proposal for educational reform, entitled, "Mirrors of Excellence". Dr. Houston's study recommends that improvements in schooling could be aided by a closer look at corporate management. For example, he recommends

that principals (the analogue of plant managers) do more of the hiring of teachers; part of the teaching problem, he suggests, has been that many teachers are hired by a central personnel office and assigned to schools, arguing instead that, "we must use more participative management and get teachers involved."[14] He also recommends teachers and principals working together, especially with "problem children," in the construction of "learning blitzes" that would be "similar to the extra marketing efforts made by company teams."[15]

Predictably, Chester Finn, currently Assistant Secretary of Education, takes a different view of educational administration. According to Finn, "a principal should be more an executive than a teacher and more an executive than a civil servant."[16] Like corporate executives, Finn believes principals should be hired on a twelve month contract, and that they should be recruited not from the ranks of teachers, but from the pool of "business executives, retired military officers, and public officials."[17]

The irrepressible Dr. Finn was featured in another recent story, dealing with a recently released ETS report on bi-lingual education. In responding to the ETS finding that Hispanic children are far below the national average in reading proficiency, Finn charged that, "the report cited a 'neo-Marxist account of American society' that suggests discrimination and an American 'caste' system are to blame for the low aspirations of black and Hispanic children."[18]

In the same vein, Myron Lieberman, Ohio State University, has published a study entitled, *Beyond Public Education*, espousing conservative ideology applied to school reform. The reason for school reform failures, according to Lieberman, is that "effective reform will not come until we find a way to encourage a market economy approach to education. That means having profit-making schools competing with both public schools and the non-profit ones that now predominate among private schools."[19] Among other things, the author believes that

private, profit-making schools would be less restrained by "legal and administrative obstacles that permeate public education"; private schools, for example, can impose "search and disciplinary procedures" regarding the search of students and lockers as a condition of admission. "What we especially need is technology that will reduce the extreme labor-intensiveness of education," Lieberman continues. "We need the educational equivalent of refrigerators in place of iceboxes. Only then can we buy better education for the same amounts now spent on schooling... Eventually," Lieberman concludes, "Businessmen trying to generate profits will bring about improvements beyond the reach of our moribund educational establishment."[20]

What stories such as these ought to help remind us, among other things, is that while attacks by groups like "Accuracy in Academia" are potentially disruptive and need to be resisted, more subtle and perhaps dangerous threats are posed by the ways of thinking about education that are becoming accepted as commonsense by educational decision makers like Finn, Bennett, and others. The confrontation of such ways of thinking, perhaps on our own campuses, is as urgent as any venture on the agenda of a politically progressive educational policy and practice.

* * * *

At Thornlea Secondary School in Thornhill, Ontario, students are involved in "Theme Courses," inquiring into such topics as "Space and Man" and "The Cold War". These programs provide "individualized instruction" with a new, technological twist: everything is to be done on computers. Brian Mclean, the school's Vice Principal, says that "the teachers really should become dispensible and fade into the background. That is our thesis."[21] The apparent goal of this and other programs is to minimize the role of the teacher, often in the guise of helping students become "independent".

Combining high technology/mass production and consumption/free market education, is the current trend toward national franchises in education. For example, the Sylvan Learning Centers offer intense, one to one instruction in reading and mathematics.[22] Similarly, American Learning Corporation of Huntington Beach, California, and Hunington Learning Centers of Oradell, New Jersey, are concerned about low test scores and deficiencies in under-funded public schools. Such franchise operations cater to some of the worst fears about the quality of American public school education, while promoting remedies that further the right wing efforts to extend the arm of capital further into the field of educational practice.

* * * *

Several interesting and complex issues have arisen regarding the relationship between church and state.

In the area of applying fundamentalist beliefs to the workplace, one entrepreneur has come up with a somewhat novel, if ethically reprehensible, approach. Bill Watts, of Como, Texas, owns a factory "which awards bonuses of an extra fifty cents an hour to workers for each child they rear and an extra dollar an hour to those who are a family's sole wage earner—which induces some men to keep their wives at home."[23] Carol Sobel, an attorney in the Los Angeles office of the American Civil Liberties Union, notes that, "with the rise in fundamentalism...more people believe that their messianic duty is to share their values with other workers whether they like it or not."[24] Given the population explosion and food shortage worldwide, paying people to generate more offspring in the service of some allegedly religious mission, is a curious paradox.

In Canada, Ontario has decided to extend public school financing to Roman Catholic high schools. In a decision handed down on February 18, 1986, the Ontario Court of

Appeals ruled 3-2 that Ontario Government is not violating Canada's "Charter of Rights and Freedoms" in providing full financing of Roman Catholic education. The majority decision found that since Canada "was founded upon the recognition of special or unequal rights for specific religious groups in Ontario and Quebec," the law permitting such funding of religious schools passed in 1982 was constitutional.[25] In anticipation of such a favorable decision, Ontario's Roman Catholic school boards have drawn up plans to add another grade to their high schools this fall. Enrollment in Roman Catholic schools is expected to increase by 6,000 students that year.[26]

In addition to raising a number of interesting legal questions about the relationship between church and state of the sort that may become crucial in the U.S. as well in the near future, some commentators see the current controversy in Ontario as "a debate between two wealthy and power-hungry education bureaucracies."[27] Elements of religious bigotry, differences of view about quality education, and political power manueverings have all played an important role in this continuing debate.[28]

NOTES

[1]TAWF Comment, November 11, 1985

[2]**The Buffalo News**, December 8, 1985

[3]"Update: The Far Right Attack on Campus," November 25, 1985, p.2.

[4]**Wall Street Journal**, February 21, 1986.

[5]**Ibid.**

[6]**Ibid.**

[7]**Wall Street Journal**, February 21, 1986.

[8]**Globe and Mail**, February 15, 1986.

[9]**Ibid.**

[10]**Globe and Mail**, February 5, 1986.

[11]**Ibid.**

[12]**New York Times**, February 26, 1986.

[13]**New York Times**, February 13, 1986.

[14]**New York Times**, February 25, 1986.
[15]**Ibid.**
[16]**Ibid.**
[17]**Ibid.**
[18]Baton Rouge, Louisiana **Morning Advocate**, February 3, 1986.
[19]**Fortune**, February 17, 1986.
[20]**Ibid.**
[21]**Globe and Mail**, December 15, 1985
[22]**Wall Street Journal**, October 15, 1985
[23]**Wall Street Journal**, December 4, 1985.
[24]**Ibid.**
[25]**Globe and Mail**, February 19, 1986.
[26]**Globe and Mail**, January 31, 1986.
[27]**Globe and Mail**, February 4, 1986.
[28]I would like to thank Bill Pinar and Paula Salvio for their efforts in helping put together this issue of "Political Notes and Notices."

CURRICULUM PROJECTS & REPORTS

Benjamin J. Troutman, Editor
Virginia Beach (Va.) City Public Schools

Pondering Education Policy

The presidential commission report, "A Nation At Risk," released three years ago, established education as a central policy issue for this country. Since then, hundreds of books, articles, and reports have been published detailing directions for improving education. Perhaps it would be instructive to ponder the impact of this unprecedented outpouring of proposals.

To make sense of this flurry of activity is no small task. Various groups and individuals have looked at schooling from particular vantage points. Thus, what was addressed depended on individual perspective and persuasions. Many reformers, for example, limited their focus to high schools. Only recently have we seen attempts to extend the focus to elementary schools and colleges.

A factor that complicates an assessment of the impact of the current renewal effort, is that so many of the supposedly new ideas are not new at all. They have been around for years. For example, the emphasis in several reports on the need for character development and education for civic responsibility is well articulated in the 1960 social studies materials of the *Harvard Project Social Studies*.

The much maligned curriculum of the 1960's also predated the latest and most fashionable trend in education: thinking skills. The curriculum reform of the 1960's in such areas as social studies, science, and English, stressed deductive and inductive reasoning,

[14]**New York Times**, February 25, 1986.
[15]**Ibid.**
[16]**Ibid.**
[17]**Ibid.**
[18]Baton Rouge, Louisiana **Morning Advocate**, February 3, 1986.
[19]**Fortune**, February 17, 1986.
[20]**Ibid.**
[21]**Globe and Mail**, December 15, 1985
[22]**Wall Street Journal**, October 15, 1985
[23]**Wall Street Journal**, December 4, 1985.
[24]**Ibid.**
[25]**Globe and Mail**, February 19, 1986.
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The much maligned curriculum of the 1960's also predated the latest and most fashionable trend in education: thinking skills. The curriculum reform of the 1960's in such areas as social studies, science, and English, stressed deductive and inductive reasoning,

critical thinking, problem solving, and attention to real-world problems.

Another factor which may cloud more than clarify is our reliance on standardized test scores and college board scores as the central measure of educational productivity and impact. Every person should look critically at indicators of school productivity, and those indicators should include more than test scores.

We need to be much more cautious in attaching so much value to test scores. The box score mentality of quantifiable educational measurement leads to the mismeasurement of education. Standardized tests measure what they measure; not necessarily what has been taught. In many cases, the curricular content (what's taught) and what's tested are widely divergent. It's as though someone was given the Virginia driver's manual to study and was tested on international driving rules. Put another way, when nationally normed tests ask questions on concepts and skills students have not been taught, then the test is an imperfect measure of the success of teaching.

Further, if we look at what we actually test in schools, we find that we are sampling only limited and fragmented parts of student knowledge and learning. We are focusing on a single black and white snapshot while missing a full-length technicolor production. For example, schools and most of the reform reports, talk of the critical importance of teaching thinking and writing. Yet, most of our current standardized testing does not tap creative or imaginative thought, fluency of thought, or the process of writing. As Larry Cuban of Stanford has pointed out, the single-minded quest for higher test scores has narrowed the school's agenda to content that is most easily measured; therefore, less attention is paid to other goals such as learning to make decisions, developing self-esteem, becoming effective citizens, acquiring higher level thinking skills, and developing aethestic appreciation.

Still, the cry for basics reverberates through the land. Yet it is not basic skills teaching that is our problem. As a matter of fact, we may be hitting the basics too hard! Nancy Borkow, of National Institute of Education (NIE), cites evidence that the emphasis on basic skills has hurt the development of higher order thinking skills and helped bring down the test scores of high achieving students. Consultants for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) mathematics program blamed at least part of the decline in problem solving during the 1970's on the back-to-basics movement.

Amidst the rising rhetoric on public school education, there is a reality. It is not a simple reality; it is very complex. It is hard for people to comprehend the complexity of American public school education and how varied public school districts are. There are over 15,000 school districts in America ranging in size from under a thousand students to nearly a million students.

When we talk of bringing about change in American education, we need to understand that it is a complex and long-term venture. Effective school slogans and sayings, excellence recipes, and teaching formulas, do us all a disservice by suggesting that there are quick fixes and facile features to educational success.

Despite contradictory proposals and perspectives, a few consensual items emerged clearly from the reform movement: higher standards and expectations, sharper focus on academics, more math and science requirements, more attention to language and thinking development, improved teaching and better leadership, more community involvement, and development of a common core of learning for all students.

Many of the reform recommendations that have emerged are valuable; but they must be implemented with care and fitted properly within the total educational framework. For example, when we mandate more math and science requirements for high school graduation, we need to ensure that the foundation for such learning has been built at the elementary level and that these new courses are taught so that all students can learn.

Yes, the current dialogue over education policy and the rain of reform reports have been constructive and schools will be stronger. The focus on education has been and continues to be helpful. Many of the recommendations for change make solid sense. However, in the final analysis, the true test of this renewal effort will be in the careful crafting of the implementation of change in local school districts and in individual schools. Better schools will be built by teachers, principals, and other school staff who care deeply about children and about the future of this country. They will need to be supported by a public that values learning.

Significant Others

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

Bonnie Meath-Lang, Editor
National Technical Institute for the Deaf
Rochester Institue of Technology

The Icarus Image

By the time we see these words in print, the freighters will have scoured the seas for the last shard or remnant or bone; the cloned rows of expert panelists will have disappeared from our television screens; this high school, that town will have laid plaques for future generations to hurry past. Yet still I meditate on Sharon Christa McAuliffe, the teacher who flew too close to the sun on the wax wings of others' vanity and instrumental thinking.

However we may view the politicization and manipulation of Christa McAuliffe's dream by a government eager to market her adventure, we must, in the final analysis, return to the person and the hope. Go back to her essays and to what is left of her journal. Go back to her joy and wonder at the opportunity to seek a new kind of knowing and to communicate her experience to young people:

> In developing my course, The American Women, I discovered that much information about the social history of the United States has been found in diaries, travel accounts and personal letters. This social history of the common people, joined with our military, political and economic history, gives my students an awareness of what the whole society was doing at a particular time in history. They get

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> the complete story. Just as the pioneer travelers of the Conestoga wagon days kept personal journals, I, as a pioneer space traveler, would do the same.
>
> My journal would be a trilogy. I would like to begin it at the point of selection through the training for the program. The second part would cover the actual flight. Part three would cover my thoughts and reactions after my return.
>
> My perceptions as a non-astronaut would help complete and humanize the technology of the Space Age. Future historians would use my eyewitness accounts to help in their studies of the impact of the Space Age on the general population.[1]

Many commentators, at the time of *Challenger* disaster, noted the irony in politicians' definitions of Ms. McAuliffe as the "first ordinary citizen" in space, when, in fact, the adjective was anything but appropriate. Yet Ms. McAuliffe celebrated her own "average person" status as invaluable to her ability to observe and record:

> As a woman, I have been envious of those men who could participate in the space program and who were encouraged to excel in the areas of math and science. I felt that women had indeed been left outside of one of the most exciting careers available. When Sally Ride and other women began to train as astronauts, I could look among my students and see ahead of them an ever-increasing list of opportunities.
>
> I cannot join the space program and restart my life as an astronaut, but this opportunity to connect my abilities as an educator with my interests in history and space is a unique opportunity to fulfill my early fantasies. I watched the Space Age being born and I would like to participate.[2]

Perhaps in the way that abnormal responses to abnormal situations become defined as "normal", extraordinary actions by extraordinary individuals ultimately are classified "ordinary". Christa McAuliffe viewed history as a collective life, a fabric of interwoven actions and possibilities, and viewed herself in a much larger context while maintaining personal ties and recording an individual story. Her fall to the sea is the more poignant for our knowledge of her journal keeping, our desire to know what she would have said and did write in the final days of her drama. In an explosive moment, the public person became private.

Christa McAuliffe is not the only Icarus, though. For those who work with special, nontraditional, deaf, and minority students, the image is all-too-real, the metaphor too applicable. Our colleagues and friends engage in exuberant flights, T-minus-moments of anticipation as students discover and communicate the momentary strength of being different. These teachers and students write, however haltingly, letters to the world and to each other, hopeful of acceptance.[3] They often see themselves and their students as parts of communities (the Deaf community, the Hispanic community) with a shared history to explore and express. And frequently, they are immolated: by administrators, by collegial indifference, by parental misunderstanding, by their own burn-out and disillusionment.

Before they disappear from the sky, Icarians, on a stronger, brighter wing, must hold them up until the damage is repaired. For we, like our students, are members of a community, and as John Donne knew, are diminished and lessened by the loss of our fellow-travelers.[4] We in special and cultural education must nourish the explorers in our midst, who, like Christa McAuliffe, can be victimized by bureaucracy and indifference. And the lesson of her life—the lessons of our lives—will travel beyond the plan to the infinity of imagination.

* * * *

The debate on bilingual education shows no signs of abating. A county grand jury in the city of San Diego recommended in the past year to eliminate such programs from the local schools because they were "impractical, expensive, and... un-American." The County Board of Supervisors chose not to act on the decision.[5]

* * * *

Two views on bilingual education were quoted last November in a special education supplement in the *New York Times* which focused on the controversy:

In an address to a business group in Manhattan six weeks ago, Secretary of Education William J. Bennett argued the Administration's case for changes in the Bilingual Education Act. "As fellow citizens," he said, "we need a common language. In the United States this language is English. Our common history is written in English. Our common forefathers speak to us, through the ages, in English."

Not everyone agrees. "The first university in this hemisphere was in Mexico in the 1400s," said Gene T. Chaves, president of the Bilingual Education Association. "My ancestry goes back 400 years in the Southwest. My sense of history predates the landing on Plymouth Rock."[6]

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A new organization, Deaf Artists of America, Incorporated, is a new national arts organization dedicated to the support and recognition of hearing impaired visual and performing artists. Membership and subscription information is available for disabled/hearing impaired artists and supporters. Write to Deaf Artists of America, Incorporated. Post Office Box 2332. Westfield, NJ 07091.

Kaleidescope is a magazine committed to helping establish and expand a body of literature and art on the subject of disability and the disabled individual's perception of the world. For further information, please write to:

Kaleidescope/UCPSH
326 Locust Street
Akron, OH 44302

Reference Notes

[1]S. Christa McAuliffe, NASA Essay Competition. Quoted in the Associated Press, January 28, 1986.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See **JCT** notes on the work of Staton, Walworth, Albertini, and Cuneo in this section, Volume **6**, Number 4.

[4]John Donne, *Meditation XVII: Now this bell tolling softly for another, says to me, Thou must die.* In M. H. Abrams et al. (Eds.) (1968) **The Norton Anthology of English Literature.** New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

[5]**The New York Times: Education Supplement** November 10, 1985, page 46.

[6]**Ibid.**, page 45.

Pretexts

Pretext: Review of *The Shopping Mall High School: Winners and Losers in the Educational Marketplace*, by Arthur G. Powell, Eleanor Farrar and David K. Cohen. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.

Democracy, Free Enterprise, And The Curriculum

Stephen J. Thornton
University of Delaware

The Shopping Mall High School, by Arthur G. Powell, Eleanor Farrar and David K. Cohen, is an insightful book that leaves the reader with an altogether appropriate, albeit disturbing, feeling of incompleteness, a nagging desire for closure. It is the second report from A Study of High Schools, and follows Theodore Sizer's *Horace's Compromise* (1984). *The Shopping Mall High School's* portrayal of classroom life suggests—for anyone who has spent time in schools—that the authors have captured "what it is really like." In its lack of closure, we are forced to confront the fact that curriculum issues rarely, perhaps never, are subject to final resolution.

Nevertheless, it is not only the book's lack of closure that leaves this reader unsettled. Virtually everyone in the curriculum field learns to live with uncertainty and incompleteness—there simply is no "one best system" that resolves curriculum problems once and for all. No, it is something else; Powell, Farrar and Cohen do not raise, or quickly pass by, some questions which are central to their analysis. Like the blood on Lady Macbeth's hands, some problems are not so easily disposed of.

Before turning to these concerns, however, I will consider some of the substantive contributions to curricular understanding provided by this book.

The book's use of metaphor is arguably its greatest strength. Conceiving of high schools as shopping malls and specialty shops, entails appreciation that the curriculum caters to a wide variety of tastes. The metaphor also awakens us to the strong socializing influence of the high school—like shopping malls, high schools are places where youngsters spend time and learn cultural norms.

Following the consumer metaphor, Powell, Farrar and Cohen observe that most high school students are satisfied customers. Since the shopping mall curriculum provides something for nearly everyone, this consumer satisfaction is not especially surprising. Importantly, this reported satisfaction stands in stark contrast to recent, well-published reports on the need for curriculum reform. It seems that despite the criticism of academe and other learned bodies, students do not perceive their day-to-day curricular experiences as inadequate or substandard.

The substance of the book flows naturally from its central metaphors. For example, "special students," such as those in advanced placement classes and those protected by federal and state laws, enjoy a higher educational standard of living than the great mass of ordinary ("unspecial") students. Further, life in classrooms is generally unremarkable—it is orderly, seldom intellectually taxing, and teachers and students accept this scheme of things as natural. "Treaties," negotiated among teachers and students, assure that teachers are not too demanding and that students comply with the basic requirements of classroom management. At both the school and classroom level, curriculum decision-makers are responsive to consumer demands even though these consumers may be unaware of the range of possible goods. Concurring with Mortimer Adler, the authors feel that many students voluntarily downgrade their own education (Powell, Farrar and Cohen, 1985: p. 81; Adler, 1982: p.

21), and confront us with the sobering thought: Can we change the curriculum when there is such widespread satisfaction with it?

Much of the foregoing is familiar to anyone who reads the curriculum literature. John Goodlad's *A Place Called School* (1984), for instance, makes many similar observations and like this book includes a vast amount of data. The imaginative use of metaphor in *The Shopping Mall High School*, however, coheres its data and this makes it more readable than Goodlad's book. Moreover, rich descriptions provided in *The Shopping Mall High School* avoid the reductionism of the "effective schools" literature.

In any book that spends more than 300 pages dissecting the existing curriculum, it is reasonable to expect some clear guidance for curriculum improvement. To be sure, Powell, Farrar and Cohen do tell us something of how to effect educational change. For example, they wisely point to breaking down the professional isolation of teachers. The authors, however, have surprisingly little to say about the *content* of the curriculum they would like to see replace the shopping mall model. I identified three major clues to their vision: the curriculum should "take all students seriously" (p. 297); it should be preactive —designed by teachers prior to instruction (p. 320); and it should "cultivate those qualities long valued in educated men and women—the ability to read well and critically, to write plainly and persuasively, and to reason clearly"(p. 308). While these seem reasonable goals, they are so general that they provide little guidance for curriculum decision-makers. One is left wondering, "Where do we go from here?"

Deficient pedagogy is linked to deficient curriculum when Powell, Farrar and Cohen posit a relationship between the shopping mall curriculum and the quality of teaching, arguing that "because the schools have embraced so many purposes, they have impeded the development of a body of professional knowledge about how to teach well" (p. 308). Nevertheless the authors fail to specify the ways in which this "body of professional knowledge" has been impeded. Establishing that the shopping mall model impedes good teaching does not necessarily imply that otherwise there would exist a "body of professional knowledge." Moreover, what would constitute this corpus of knowledge? Efforts to identify a systematic body of pedagogical knowledge have, thus far, not met with much agreement. Furthermore, Powell, Farrar, and Cohen, may unintentionally create the impression that such knowledge would solve our existing educational problems virtually overnight. This seems to me to raise unreasonable hopes—to promise what cannot be delivered. As Philip Jackson has observed, what good teachers "know about how to educate, most other educators know as well. The determination to *act* on that knowledge is another matter entirely." Jackson concluded, rightly to my mind, there are "few, if any, secrets to divulge" (1981, pp. 94-95).

Although Powell, Farrar and Cohen are correct that students come to accept "ersatz intensity" (p. 103) in place of intellectual engagement, they provide little in the way of "images of the possible." A few outstanding teachers are profiled, but they tend to get lost in a book of this size. Even in private schools, which are closely examined and praised for the most part, the life of the mind plays a small part in the curriculum: "most private school classes emphasized... academic engagement rather than intellectual engagement" (p. 215). The reader, again, is left wondering, "To what might we aspire?"

My final concern is the most troubling: What relationships can, or should, exist between education and democracy? It is here that the parts of the puzzle—that the authors so painstakingly lay-out—must fit together. They do not. Although the authors may not disagree with what follows, their comparative silence is confusing.

I take the pieces of the puzzle to be: socialization, education, and democracy. The authors argue that schools, and shopping malls, succeed well as socialization agencies. The free enterprise system, at work in both institutions,

yields customer satisfaction. Yet, this satisfaction is shallow, erstaz, not the right stuff. Education, as opposed to socialization, is at once tougher and more fulfilling. The paradox left for the reader is: are not consumers freely choosing what they want? If so, and Powell, Farrar and Cohen seem to think so, is this not democratic? Would it not be undemocratic to restrict consumer choice? These seem sensible questions given the consumer and shopping mall metaphors.

Of course, the issue is not that simple, but that is where Powell, Farrar and Cohen leave it. The authors might have consulted John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* for some guidance on this issue. Dewey observed that socialization and education are proximate in a *democratic* community (1966, p. 83). It is when the shadow of communal democratic life, not its substance, predominates that socialization and education are desperate and undemocratic. Dewey was at pains to point out that democracy is more than just universal suffrage and representative government. He said, democratic life entails "more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (1966, p. 87). Life is undemocratic, he continued, whenever people "are engaged in activity which is socially serviceable, but whose service they do not understand and have no personal interest in" (1966, p. 85).

In other words, Dewey believed a democratic community is an inquiring community. Socialization and education would be one integral process in such a community. That Dewey has been widely misunderstood on this issue—some have claimed he advocated socialization rather than education (see Egan, 1983: pp. 195-214; Thornton, 1984: pp. 43-47)—does not diminish the power of his insight. As Dewey saw, socialization is inevitable; its relationship to education depends upon the nature of the community. By Dewey's standards, we do not live in an inquiring community.

If one accepts Dewey's reasoning, then the true problem with the shopping mall curriculum is that it honors what the society honors: consumption, not quality of life; a form of government, not a mode of associated living. This problem is at the heart of the shopping mall dilemma. Periodic appeals for a more academically-oriented curriculum conspicuously failed to change the curricular course charted by schools—regardless of whether the academic appeal is tied to pleas on behalf of the democratic ideal. In this respect, Powell, Farrar, and Cohen are faced with the same limits to their analysis as were Robert Maynard Hutchins (1952) and Mortimer Adler (1982). The latter two argued that education, to be truly democratic, must take precedence over socialization; this can be accomplished, they felt, by providing the right kind of curriculum and teaching. While Powell, Farrar and Cohen plainly are less optimistic than Hutchins and Adler about the prospects for educational change, the fundamental problem remains unaddressed. The school, alone, cannot negate the influence of a consumption-oriented society where democracy is seldom participatory. To turn George Counts (1932) on his head, the school alone cannot build a new social order. As Plato put it, "What is honored in a country, will be cultivated there."

Now, I do not wish, and hope I have not painted too dark a picture of the prospects for educational change. Rather, I want to point out that the shopping mall is well-entrenched—as I am sure Powell, Farrar and Cohen would agree—and that far-reaching educational reform surely involves clear explication of how socialization and education are related and what this means about the nature of American democracy. While the authors imply that "education and democracy" (p. 321) have some relationship, it needs to be clearly articulated if we are to move forward. As long as the life of the mind is regarded as suitable for the few, not the many, then the socialization-education dichotomy will persist. Schools cannot be democratic as long as our society confuses rising

consumption with quality of life. Tightening "academic" demands on students, does not, and cannot, alone undo the broader life experiences of today's youth. The shopping mall curriculum is a *wholly* understandable outgrowth of society-at-large—a society that values socialization over education, that values limited democracy and consumerism over Dewey's democratic communal life.

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Letters

INTRODUCTION

An ardent opponent of centralized government, Alexis de Tocqueville celebrated the "town spirit" in the making of *Democracy in America.* "[A]lthough everything moves regularly," he wrote, "the mover can nowhere be discovered. The hand which directs the social machine is invisible." For Tocqueville, this invisibility was not due to the hegemonic power of a few exercised in corporate boardrooms but the democratic authority of the many living in the small towns dotting America. Despite the dwindling number of people living in rural America, most citizens are celebrants of this icon of the American town. We avidly read about life in Lake Wobegon and listen to the lyrics of John Cougar. This journey down Main Street USA, though, has a Disneyland quality to it as images of Grover's Corners and Mayberry overlap those of Cummings, Georgia and Hawkins County, Tennessee. Parker's poem and Marshall's letter suggest a critical examination of these images and our distance, as curriculum workers, from these residents (in mind or body) of small towns.

J.T.S. (1/87)

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J.T.S. (1/87)

* * * *

Judging a town
Walter C. Parker
University of Texas at Arlington

I was wondering why I was
In the less comfortable of
The two chairs again and how
I was sitting there, wondering
Again if the how question was more
Important somehow than the why question,
Wondering next why (or is it how?) I
Felt so ready to write after
Putting down the pencil but so
Harassed (or is it harnessed?)
During the writing and
Wondering what Sartre really thought
About chestnut trees anyway and
What Will Rogers said about being able
To Judge the character of a town
By the quality of its chili and
What Dilthey said about language being
The only way out (or was it in?) and
What Lao Tzu said about understanding
Being the booby prize, its
Distance from the middle so great.

* * * *

One Curriculum Worker's Dream

School textbooks made the national news this summer in a story with a new twist on an old, old complaint. As a "curriculum worker" interested in textbook decision making, I find some intrigue in this particular schoolbook protest. I can't wait to see how it turns out in the end.

In Greenville, Tennessee, seven fundamentalist Christian families have brought suit against Hawkins County School District officials. The families claim that the

district's required reading series (published in 1983 by Holt, Rinehart & Winston) contains stories in conflict with their religious beliefs. Herein lies the old, old complaint: the schools are teaching the values of "secular humanism."

The religion of secular humanism has evolved over the last quarter of a century. It rests upon the philosophies and writings of many, including John Dewey and B. F. Skinner, as well as members of the early 1960s Supreme Court and a host of "liberal thinkers." Many conservative religious and political leaders, including the Reverend Tim LaHaye, one of the founders of the Moral Majority, and Senator Jesse Helms, have been instrumental in coalescing this variety of perspectives into a single but still nebulous construct called secular humanism. When elements of it are found in school textbooks, violation of the First Amendment's separation of church and state can be claimed.

So this summer, this old, old complaint has reached Federal District Court in Tennessee. The fundamentalists ask a simple question: "[D]o parents have the right to shield their children from public-school teachings that violate their religious beliefs?"[1] Never mind that few folks around Hawkins County appear to be terribly interested in the controversy. Never mind that the woman who claims responsibility for initiating the suit took her child out of the public schools two months after school began in 1983 and has her enrolled in a Christian school. Local realities are not at issue here. This is a principled contest with precedent-setting possibilities.

But I mentioned at the outset that this battle brings a new twist to this tale—one of potential interest to curriculum workers. Typically, the motives of schoolbook protesters can be slotted rather easily into one of two categories: censorship or consciousness raising. According to Edward Jenkinson, a noted scholar in the field of Textbook censorship, "When persons involved in consciousness raising call—either overtly or covertly—for the removal of books, they have crossed the line and have begun acting like censors."[2] Fundamentalist protesters are routinely seen as

censors, while the NEA and various groups who protest the treatment of women and minorities in textbooks are routinely identified as consciousness raisers. The twist in this Tennessee case (and a similar one due to be heard in a Mobile, Alabama court in October) is that the fundamentalists are *not* asking that the reading series be removed from the schools, nor are they asking that the publisher alter the texts in any way. Rather, they are petitioning the court to require Hawkins County schools to provide alternative texts for their children (and presumably any others who would wish to use them) which do not teach the "religion" of secular humanism.

It's a novel move indeed. Those who follow schoolbook protests might have seen it coming. During the 1981 Texas textbook selection and adoption process, a bevy of citizens protested virtually all of the reading series being considered for adoption. Their arguments were standard: too much violence, anti-American sentiments, absence of traditional values, etc. Their wrath was spared, however, on one particular series which was heavily phonetic in its approach. When this "acceptable" reading series was not selected for adoption by the State Textbook Committee, the Commissioner of Education arranged a "special call" for phonetically-based readers. He argued that some schools may prefer this system over those more commonly used and that Texas schools ought to have a wide spectrum of textbooks from which to choose. People involved in that event believe that the protesters had a lot to do with the special adoption.[3] Whatever the case, the shift in emphasis from wanting parts of books changed or entire books removed to wanting books added to reflect a variety of methodologies for teaching reading was noteworthy. In the end, Texas schools did get a phonetic reading series included on their approved list of textbooks. This summer's Tennessee case takes the fundamentalists one step further away from their old ways. Here, they are asking not for the right to remove or alter textbooks nor for the right to have their favored textbooks included in the curriculum decisionmaking process. Rather they are calling for the

inclusion of multiple textbooks in the classroom. So much for the blackness and whiteness of textbook censorship!

So how will the defense argue? The school district will not argue that what these parents want is to bring particular religious teachings into the schools and that that is unconstitutional. Nor will they argue that their schools do not teach secular humanism and, thus, are not violating the religious beliefs of their accusors as alleged. No, the district is arguing "that accommodating the parents [who brought suit] could seriously disrupt classes and, as state Advocate General William Farmer testified, potentially 'destroy the public-system as we know it.' It will be up to U.S. Dist. Judge Hull to draw the line between the parents' right to exercise religion without interference and the state's right to operate orderly schools."[4] Incredible.

A decision for the plaintiff in this case would be a curriculum worker's dream. No longer would classrooms be constrained to one textbook publisher's scope and sequence. Publishers would eventually deliver texts and series reflecting clear differences in their treatment of such things as religion, cultural mores, and social values. In time there might be three, or five, or eight different textbooks used in every subject area, and *all* students, through classroom lessons and discussion, would at least be exposed to multiple versions of reality. Parents and teachers, both proponents and opponents of the new textbooks, would start paying attention to the curriculum in ways that most of us have only dreamed about. And everyone affected by or responsible for the formal curriculum would end up arranging the sorts of collective discussions regarding curriculum matters that all our curriculum books advocate. Imagine the possibilities.

These Tennessee fundamentalists want students to have a choice, and they've gone to the courts to get what they want. They ask that the public schools serve as a marketplace for ideas. They desire a broadening of the formal curriculum to include information reflecting different attitudes and beliefs. Frankly, I find myself unable to root for the defendants.

P.S. Too bad that this is just a dream. The fundamentalists won't win this case because they haven't got the power to change the way schools handle ideas or the way people think about curriculum or textbooks. In that respect they're similar to curriculum workers.

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[1]A Reprise of Scopes, **Newsweek,** 28 July 1986, 18.

[2]Jenkinson, Edward B. **The Schoolbook Protest Movement** (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1986),23.

[3]For a more detailed account of this story see John D. Marshall, "The Politics of Curriculum Decisions Manifested Through the Selection and Adoption of Textbooks for Texas" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 263-373.

[4]Reprise to Scopes, 19.

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