

Encyclopedia of the
SOCIAL and
CULTURAL
FOUNDATIONS
of **EDUCATION**

Volumes
1-3



Editors
Eugene F. Provenzo
John Phillip Renaud

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CULTURAL
FOUNDATIONS
of EDUCATION

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About the Editors

General Editor

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., is a professor in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning, School of Education at the University of Miami, where he has taught since 1976.

While continuing his duties as a professor, he served as the research coordinator and then as Associate Dean for Research for the School of Education, University of Miami, from May 1986 to June 1988.

He is the author, coauthor, or editor of over sixty books on schools, society, and technology, including *Critical Issues in Education: An Anthology of Readings* (2006); *Critical Literacy: What Every Educated American Ought to Know* (2005); *Du Bois on Education* (2002); *Schoolteachers and Schooling: Ethoses in Conflict* (1996); *Hurricane Andrew, the Public Schools and the Rebuilding of Community* (1995); *Schooling in the Light of Popular Culture* (1994); *Video Kids: Making Sense of Nintendo* (1991); *Religious Fundamentalism and American Education: The Battle for the Public Schools* (1990); *History of Education and Culture in America* (1983, 1989); *Beyond the Gutenberg Galaxy: Microcomputers and the Emergence of Post-Typographic Culture* (1986); and *The Complete Block Book* (1983). He is also the editor of Sage's four-volume collection *Foundations of Educational Thought* (2009).

Collaboration is integral to Provenzo's work. He sees himself as someone who learns through the process of research and writing. Undertaking various research projects with people in related fields of inquiry has played a critical role in his postgraduate education. For him to work effectively as a teacher, he feels that it is essential for him to combine his teaching with research, reflection, and writing. In October 1991, he

won the university wide undergraduate teaching award at the University of Miami, and in 2008, the Provost's Award for Scholarly Activity.

Provenzo's research on computers and video games has been reviewed in the *New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Mother Jones*, and *The London Economist*. He has been interviewed on National Public Radio, *ABC World News Tonight*, the *CBS Evening News*, *Good Morning America*, BBC radio, Britain's Central Television and Britain's Channels 2 and 4, as well as Australia's *LateLine*. In December 1993, he testified before the U.S. Senate joint hearing of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice and the Government Affairs Subcommittee on Regulation and Government Information on the issue of violence in video games and television and in March 2000, before the Senate Transportation and Commerce Committee on issues of children and interactive technology. In December of 2003, he and his research were featured in *People* magazine.

In his spare time, Provenzo writes novels and is an assemblage and collage artist. He lives part of the year in central Virginia, where he is restoring a circa 1860 house with his wife and frequent coauthor, Asterie Baker Provenzo.

Associate Editor

John P. Renaud is Head of the Acquisitions Department for the University of Miami Libraries. He joined the libraries in 2002 as Education and Psychology Librarian and has also held the positions of Electronic Resources Librarian and Assistant Director of Collection Development. He has served on the Teaching Methods Committee of the Association of College and Research Libraries.

His areas of professional interest are the impact of journal and electronic resource price structures on library collections, the long-term costs of maintaining different types of library acquisitions, preservation of electronic acquisitions, and the development and support of alternative, sustainable modes of scholarly communication. He represents the libraries on the University of Miami Faculty Senate and has served as United Way Ambassador for the libraries and is part of the libraries' team in the annual Corporate Run to Benefit the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society.

Renaud has worked in the field of education since 1996. His career path includes working in alternative programs for at-risk middle and high school students and teaching English and history at college preparatory schools. He earned a BA in philosophy and political science from The American University and studied at St. Catherine's College, Oxford. He holds a master's degree in education from the University of Vermont and a master's degree in library and information studies from the University of Rhode Island.

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Introduction

This is an encyclopedia of the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education. It is intended to provide a comprehensive background for those interested in issues involving schools and society. The Social and Cultural Foundations of Education is an interdisciplinary field, including disciplines (to name just a few) such as history and sociology, as well as topical areas such as globalization and technology.

More than any other field in education, the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education reflects many of the conflicts, tensions, and forces in American society. Perhaps this is inevitable, since the area's focus is on issues such as race, gender, socioeconomic class, the impact of technology on learning, what it means to be educated, and the role of teaching and learning in a societal context.

What constitutes the field has been open to considerable debate over the years. The Council of Learned Societies in Education defines the foundations of education as follows:

Foundations of Education refers to a broadly-conceived field of educational study that derives its character and methods from a number of academic disciplines, combinations of disciplines, and area studies, including: history, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, religion, political science, economics, psychology, cultural studies, gender studies, comparative and international education, educational studies, and educational policy studies. . . . The purpose of foundations study is to bring these disciplinary resources to bear in developing interpretive, normative, and critical perspectives on education, both inside and outside of schools. (From Council of Learned Societies in Education, "Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education,

Educational Studies, and Educational Policy Studies," 2nd Edition [San Francisco: Caddo Gap Publishers, 1996]. Retrieved from <http://members.aol.com/caddogap/standard.htm>)

In a comprehensive essay, found in the third volume of this encyclopedia, titled "Toward a Renewed Definition of the Social Foundations of Education," the project's General Editor explores at length the evolution of the field and its current status. It is the philosophy and perspective outlined in this essay that has largely shaped the development of the overall work.

In creating the encyclopedia, eleven disciplinary and conceptual areas upon which the field is largely based were identified. Each of these areas has been assigned an anchor essay that has been written by an expert in that area. These include disciplinary areas such as comparative education, educational anthropology, educational sociology, the history of education, and the philosophy of education. Topical areas include cultural studies and education, ecojustice education and cultural studies, globalization and education, multiculturalism, policy studies, and technologies in education. Many of the topics overlap. Some represent emerging areas that are important to the field such as cultural studies, globalization and education, ecojustice, and technologies in education. Others are more traditional and have a longer history such as the history of education and the philosophy of education. Arguments could be made for including additional areas or for precluding some of the topics that have been included. Part of the editorial work has involved a careful examination of the field and a rationalization for the categories selected.

Content and Organization

This work consists of three volumes. The first two volumes include more than 400 A–Z entries. The third volume contains 130 biographical entries on important men and women in education, as well as a visual history of American education. This history is organized into 25 chapters and contains images from the colonial period through the 1950s. An overview of the encyclopedia's content is provided by a reader's guide that appears at the beginning of each volume. It lists all of the entries in the encyclopedia under one or more of the following topical areas:

- Arts, Media, and Technology
- Biographies of Important Figures in Education
- Curriculum
- Economic Issues
- Equality and Social Stratification
- Evaluation, Testing, and Research Methods
- History of Education
- Law and Public Policy
- Literacy
- Multiculturalism and Special Populations
- Organizations, Schools, and Institutions
- Religion and Social Values
- School Governance
- Sexuality and Gender
- Teachers
- Theories, Models, and Philosophical Perspectives

As mentioned earlier, a detailed essay by the encyclopedia's General Editor in Volume 3 outlines the history of the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education, its current status, and its possible future direction. In doing so, it seeks at a very general level to draw the connections between the various areas delineated in the first two volumes of the encyclopedia.

How This Work Was Created

The creation of the encyclopedia involved the following steps:

- The General Editor, Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., was approached by the publisher to consider the possibility of putting together the work.
- A list of possible topics and headwords was developed.

- Leading specialists in different disciplinary and topical areas were contacted about joining the editorial board and were asked to review and contribute to the headword list.
- Potential contributors were identified by the editor-in-chief and members of the editorial board.
- Invitations to contribute to the project were sent. These invitations included basic guidelines and instructions regarding the articles.
- Electronic notices were sent through professional organizations and listservs asking for contributions to the project. As a result, many new headwords emerged—ones that reflected the interests and concerns of individuals in the field. Additional invitations were then sent for these new headwords.
- A group of special contributors emerged from the field. These were individuals who not only contributed significant articles, but also helped identify additional subjects, as well as potential contributors. As a result of their contributions, a final round of invitations to contribute to the project went out.
- The General Editor and the managing editor reviewed all of the articles and, in conjunction with developmental staff, asked for revisions of articles when appropriate.
- The content of the three volumes were compiled and finalized.

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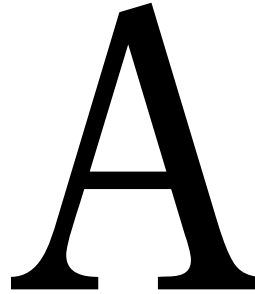
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ABSTINENCE-ONLY SEXUAL EDUCATION

Abstinence-only sexual education (also “abstinence education” and “abstinence-until-marriage education”) refers to a group of sexual education curricula intended to teach children that they should abstain from sexual intimacy with another individual until they become adults and usually until they are married. Many U.S. state and local boards of education have adopted these programs, which typically focus on sexual activity as inappropriate and/or impractical for adolescents and which avoid discussion of the specific details of sexual activity, contraception, and sexual disease prevention. These omissions have been protested by parents and civic organizations, who argue that adolescents must be informed with up-to-date and accurate information regarding sexuality so that they can make informed decisions about whether or not to engage in sexual activity.

While teaching about sexual abstinence has always been a salient part of sexuality education in the United States, only in the last decades of the 1900s did the idea of teaching sexual abstinence to the exclusion of other components of sexuality become the dominant discourse in sexuality education. For example, for fiscal year 2005, the U.S. federal government allotted \$167 million for abstinence-only sexual education programs to be administered by state health departments, school districts, hospitals, religious organizations, and “pro-life” organizations. This amount was

just over twice the amount allotted for such programs in 2001, but still over \$100 million less than was proposed by the president.

Proponents of abstinence-only sexual education argue that teaching children about sex and contraception encourages them to engage in sexual behaviors and undermines the authority of their parents. They suggest that effective abstinence-only sexual education programs delay initiation of sexual activity, thus preventing teenage pregnancy and the transmission of sexual diseases.

Critics of abstinence-only sexuality education cite the lack of evidence of the effectiveness of abstinence-only programs, while arguing that some sexuality education programs that involve instruction in abstinence as well as contraception and disease prevention have been shown to have statistically significant results in delaying sexual initiation. Abstinence-only programs have also been criticized for confounding religion and science and for inaccurately presenting scientific evidence to exaggerate or misstate the effectiveness of contraception as a means of pregnancy and disease prevention. While some critics have allowed that particular abstinence-only programs have led to small delays in sexual initiation among young adolescent participants, they also cite evidence that suggests that many of these same individuals are less likely to use contraceptive devices when they do have sex and less likely to seek medical assistance if they contract a sex-related disease.

Wm S Boozar

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Moral Education; Sex Education; Sexuality, Gender, and Education

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Academic freedom refers to teachers having freedom to teach and students having freedom to learn without interference from within or from ideological conflicts outside the institution. Understanding the rights and responsibilities of teachers is essential in public discourse on academic freedom. This entry provides the historical background of the concept, its interpretation in the law, and current challenges.

Foundations of Academic Freedom

In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, university faculties were representatives of the church and state. Peripatetic educators taught within the parameters of church doctrine. However, Peter Abelard, author of *Sic et Non*, was condemned for failure to adhere to church doctrine. Medieval universities were corporations or guilds of scholars. In 1200, the University of Paris received royal recognition from King Philip Augustus, placing masters and scholars under clerical rule rather than under harsh secular courts. In 1231, the university received further recognition from the pope, allowing the university to establish control over lectures and disputations. The resulting university autonomy has been, with exceptions, the model for colleges and universities since medieval times.

The modern concept of academic freedom originated in Germany, in Prussia, and with the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810. *Lehrfreiheit* was the freedom to teach, engage in research, and distribute results without interference, and the freedom of students to learn without interference. The changes of the Enlightenment influenced the universities of

Germany more than those of other countries, and canonical text became a scholarly, systematic lecture focus.

In the United States, John Hopkins, a research university, was the first to adopt the German concept of academic freedom. Throughout American history, faculty and administrators have been terminated or criticized for expressing views that have offended some individual, business, or legislative body. Educational reformer John Dewey received many complaints about university faculty members being dismissed for statements made in class that offended powerful interests or were taken out of context. Arbitrary and capricious administrative action was common.

When noted economist Edward Ross lost his job at Stanford University in 1909 because Mrs. Leland Stanford did not like his views on the gold standard, professors across the nation were alarmed. In 1915, Arthur C. Lovejoy of John Hopkins University, E. R. A. Seligman and John Dewey of Columbia University, and others wrote *The General Report on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure* for the American Association of University Professors (AAUP).

American universities have changed, but there was a cultural lag in the implementation of necessary academic freedoms. Dissident professors were often the victims; trustees and administrators were the culprits, the power of dismissal was the weapon, and loss of employment the wound. The 1915 report laid the foundation for job security, academic tenure, and due process. The report did not prohibit faculty from speaking out on issues foreign to their specialties, but the university could disown everything its members said, then let them publish whatever they pleased.

The threat to academic freedom is constant in higher education. Subtle infringements on academic freedom tend to occur, especially when faculty members speak publicly on controversial issues. McCarthyism occurs when donors, politicians, business, and religious leaders call for university investigation and dismissal of faculty who have controversial views. Criticism of faculty is particularly intense during periods of internal stress, social fragmentation, and global conflicts. University administrators feel a dual pressure to respond to external forces as well as

to protect the freedom to learn and to teach on their campuses.

The American Association of University Professors developed a Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure in 1940. The purpose of the statement was to ensure that higher education institutions are conducted for the common good, not to further the interest of the individual teacher or a particular institution. Academic freedom in teaching and research is fundamental to the advancement of truth and to the protection of the teacher's rights in teaching and the student's freedom in learning.

The governing bodies of the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges met in January 1990 to adopt several changes that removed gender-specific references from the original text. The AAUP statement on academic freedom includes the caution that teachers should be careful not to introduce controversial matters which have no relation to their subject. Limitations on academic freedom because of religious or other institutional aims should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the teacher's appointment. College and university teachers are citizens, and when they speak or write as citizens, their unique position in the community imposes special obligations. Faculty should be accurate, exercise appropriate restraint, show respect for the opinions of others, and indicate that they are not speaking for the institution. To meet emerging standards of academic protocol, the document continues to be updated. It provides a model and guide for universities as they strive to protect freedom of inquiry and teaching.

The Law and Academic Freedom

Federal court decisions indicate that academic freedom is used to denote both the freedom of the academy to pursue its ends without interference from the government and the freedom of individual teachers to pursue their ends without interference from the academy.

The Supreme Court underlined the importance of academic freedom in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957). The Court reversed a contempt judgment against a professor who in refusing to answer questions about a

lecture he had given at a university, articulated the rationale for academic freedom.

The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self-evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any straitjacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our nation. No field of education is so thoroughly comprehended by man that new discoveries cannot yet be made. Particularly is that true in the social sciences, where few, if any, principles are accepted as absolutes. Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study, and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise, our civilization will stagnate and die. (354 U.S. 250)

The Supreme Court has consistently reinforced the vital necessity for freedom of speech in a democracy. It has used *Sweezy* as well as *Shelton v. Tucker* (1960) and *Keyishian v. Board of Regents* (1967) to reaffirm the special role of academic freedom in the academy. The Court notes that our nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned. The classroom is peculiarly the "market place of ideas."

The Court found in *United States v. Associated Press* (1967) that the nation depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth from a multitude of tongues, rather than through any kind of authoritarian selection.

Current Challenges

In the twenty-first century, there are a number of challenges to academic freedom. There is a growing trend of increased private financing and decreased public funding of higher education. The trend increases the risk of conflicts of interest with corporations and other sponsors of research. The new operating environment requires clear guidelines for transparency in such

dealings and protections for the academic freedom of researchers to share their results within the scientific community. The market dictates that research results are to be treated as proprietary, to be sold not given away, for the public good.

The Internet

Thomas Jefferson's academic village has been supplanted with wired campuses and cyberspace information systems. In an Internet age individuals may use hate language against faculty and administration under the cloak of anonymity. Disinformation, misinformation, and groundless dogmatic authoritarian assertions made using a faculty member's identity can destroy careers. Identity theft in all its forms is part of our era. Explosive advances in technology are a challenge to providing standards for academic freedom.

The Internet culture is a moving target. In the cyberspace age, electronic and digital communications within our community of academic discourse have changed the way faculty, students, and administration engage in teaching and scholarship. The methods by which information is obtained and disseminated, the means of storing and retrieving such information, the speed at which wider audiences are reached, and the transition from familiar and tangible physical space to virtual space all make issues of academic freedom an open-ended challenge.

Curtailling offensive information might be detrimental to researchers. Protecting intellectual property rights becomes more difficult with the cyberspace age. The classroom is no longer limited to traditional classrooms, but is represented by Web sites, home pages, bulletin boards, and listservs. Requiring passwords and changing them periodically provides a safety network for computer networking. Controversial opining should include disclaimers that such views do not reflect those of the institution. Campus speech codes and verbal harassment rules can target digital or electronic hate messages as well as similarly spiteful print messages.

The AAUP revised text adapted by the association's council in November 2004, "Academic Freedom and Electronic Communications," stresses the importance of developing safeguards that will be applied to all

areas of electronic communications within the campus community. This includes sensitivity to privacy needs in many situations where unauthorized disclosure of electronic messages and materials could jeopardize personal reputations and other vital interests, and ultimately deter free and open communications within the campus community. All these factors will require careful and extensive study by each institution and the tailoring of specific responses consistent with institutional needs and values, as well as with state and local laws. Academic freedom in an era of litigation, cultural wars, and social fragmentation, today as in the past, faces multiple challenges.

Tenure

Academic freedom requires protection from interference with the unfettered search for knowledge and truth in the academy. Tenure provides institutional commitment and support for teachers to be free to conduct their research, teaching, and service without fear of reprisal or dismissal for taking a controversial stand on issues and trends in their subject matter area. Tenure protection includes due process rights for tenure track probationary and tenured faculty.

Some new institutions do not have tenure. Also, there are a growing number of untenured adjunct and part-time faculty. Court decisions assure them First Amendment free speech protections. Academic freedom is essential in higher education and the strength of its protection depends on each college and university's faculty contracts as well as institutional custom and usage. Faculty have a responsibility for professional ethics and conduct in their institutional teaching, research, and service. Tenure, with exceptions, assures continued lifetime employment contracts.

James J. Van Patten

See also Democracy and Education

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ACCOUNTABILITY

The word *accountability* exploded onto the educational scene in the early 1980s following the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk* report. The language of accountability has been ubiquitous ever since. Almost all popular writers on education today use the term. They do so, however, without careful definition of what they mean when they use the language of accountability.

Accountability language may be used as a substitute for serious discussion of the purpose of American education. Early in the twentieth century, the language of “efficiency” and “social efficiency” sometimes served this same role. During the age of industrialization, efficiency became an end in and of itself rather than a means to a greater ideal for American education. This same phenomenon may be happening today, when accountability becomes an end in itself instead of a means to a higher end. This entry describes three

main uses of *accountability* and then seeks to identify the common elements in these three popular uses of the term.

Economic Accountability

Economists use the term *accountability* in strictly financial terms. They apply the language and concepts of banking and the stock market to critiquing schools for not producing what they believe schools should produce. The purpose of education to economists, who by definition focus exclusively on the production and consumption of goods, is to produce skilled workers for businesses. In the eyes of economists, schools should be held accountable for producing the workers that businesspeople want.

The best “bottom line” that economists can determine for schools is test score production. To these thinkers, schools exist to produce test scores, which they have seized upon as a means to the production of skilled workers. Economic-minded thinkers then focus on producing elaborate accountability systems that they believe will determine who is to blame for not producing the workers that corporate executives want.

Political Accountability

Accountability in a more strictly political context is more difficult to define. The common theme in accountability language, however, is blame. To “hold someone accountable” is to blame that person for not fixing a problem when he or she has been labeled as the person responsible for fixing the problem. In this simplistic approach to teaching and learning, education is stripped of its moral dimension in the rush by public leaders to find someone to blame for the fact that all of our society's problems have not been fixed.

This view of politics stretches back to the beginning of the modern era in the West, to thinkers such as Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), and John Locke (1632–1704). The current emphasis on accountability stems from the realization that the modern project that began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has not produced the perfect society its adherents, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1788), Denis Diderot (1713–1784),

and others, promised. In the wake of what some people believe is the failure of this modern project, someone must be blamed for the imperfect human nature that has been with us all along. The political game of blaming one group or another for what is a natural problem takes place under the guise of accountability driven political rhetoric.

Moral Accountability

Other people who use the language of accountability, however, focus almost exclusively on its moral element. People who use *accountability* in a moral sense are concerned about moral decline in American society. Accountability, to these individuals, takes on the urgency of a crusade to eradicate immoral behavior through education. The purpose of accountability to morally driven reformers is to root out what they believe are social problems, such as voter apathy, sexual immorality, and drug use. These reformers believe that bad education has given rise to a culture in which people are no longer accountable for their actions. Accountability and responsibility are closely related concepts to these reformers, but using accountability provides them with more leverage than using responsibility, because it allows them to identify and blame the people they wish to hold accountable for returning America to a perceived age when citizens were more responsible. They believe that accountability is the means by which principles such as respect for elders, love of country, and individual responsibility can be reinstalled in American youth.

In the language that surrounds modern discussions of education, these three meanings of accountability are intertwined. They are quite difficult to separate in the language of popular educational reformers. These three themes of economic, political, and moral accountability, however, always can be found in the public language of educational advocacy. The most popular accountability driven reformers manage to deliver speeches that integrate all three of these different conceptions of accountability, despite the fact that they are fundamentally at odds with one another. Public audiences are left with a vague sense that accountability is a good thing, but without any substantive meaning of what accountability is about.

Accountability driven reformers also tend to agree that “student achievement” is an idea that corresponds closely with accountability. Much like accountability, however, *student achievement* is a term that can be interpreted to correspond with economic, political, and moral purposes for schools. Questions such as “To what end should we hold people accountable?” and “To what end should we increase student achievement?” are rarely asked in the heated world of educational rhetoric. The unquestioned and too-often hollow rhetoric of accountability ultimately avoids the real question of purpose, which alone could give meaning to accountability as well as American education in general.

J. Wesley Null

See also Educational Reform; *Nation at Risk*, A; Politics of Education

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ACHIEVEMENT GAP

The *achievement gap* is defined as the disparity that exists between the test scores of White American students and African American and Hispanic or minority students. Test results indicate that White students score higher than minority students (except Asians) on measures of achievement. This gap is measured by test scores on a variety of instruments measuring intelligence, achievement, and aptitude. These include the National Assessment of Educational Progress, SAT, Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, and other instruments administered in the public schools of the United States.

The achievement gap is a major concern to policy makers and educators alike, and much research has

been done to discover the cause of this test score difference. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the achievement gap between Whites and African Americans is between 0.80 and 1.14 standard deviations. Between Whites and Hispanics, it is between 0.40 and 1.00. According to NAEP data, this gap exists both in reading and in math. The educational, social, and economic implications for minority students are huge. The dropout rate for minority teens is higher than for White teens, the high school graduation rate lower, and as a result, opportunities in the job market are substantially limited. Education is purported to be the great equalizer, but this gap persists and points to a significant problem in the educational system in the United States. This entry looks at the question: What is the cause of this achievement gap, and can the gap be closed?

Possible Causes

In 1954, the Supreme Court decision reached in *Brown v. Board of Education* stated that the educational system in the United States was “separate and unequal.” African American and other minority children attended class in dilapidated buildings, with limited funding and resources. These conditions and their inherent discriminatory practices contributed to the early gaps in test scores between White and minority students.

In more recent times, test bias has been alleged by theorists who claim that the contents of achievement tests are biased in favor of White students, and thus the tests discriminate against minorities. Others have said minority students are inherently inferior intellectually and the achievement gap is proof. There has been no clear-cut evidence to support this claim, however, though it has been made throughout the last few centuries by various pundits.

In addition to these assertions, the research has investigated many other factors that may contribute to this gap. These include race, socioeconomic status, culture, teacher expectations, instructional practices, parent level of education, parent involvement, cultural capital, and various societal elements, even rap music. Basically, there is no evidence suggesting a cause of the achievement gap in education.

While definitive causes may not be available, landmark research conducted by Betty Hart and Todd Risley offers insight into what may be the origins of the problem and as a result, likely solutions. These researchers studied children from ten months to three years old in families from three socioeconomic backgrounds: welfare, middle class, and professional (specifically college professors’ families). Their study, which looked at the quantity of conversation in families as counted in words, suggests that for some children, the achievement gap begins before they enter the educational system.

They found that the average welfare child heard about 616 words per hour, compared to 1,251 words per hour for the average working-class child, and 2,153 words per hour for children in professional families. In four years of such experience, an average child in a professional family would have heard almost 45 million words, an average child in a working class family 26 million words, and an average child in a welfare family 13 million words. Thus, by the time the children enter school, their experiences are vastly different, with potential consequences. For example, a student who arrives at school having heard, let’s say, the word *marvelous* 1,000 times will most likely know that word and its usage, as compared to a child who had only heard it ten times or not at all. Experience with language offers a decided advantage. These findings moved the government to fund and implement a comprehensive preschool system, Head Start, aimed at closing the gap for children born into poverty.

Possible Solutions

Since researchers can’t come to a conclusion about why the achievement gap exists, they have sought solutions to decrease it. According to the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP), this goal was achieved for a period of thirteen years as indicated by data showing that the gap narrowed between 1975 and 1988. From 1990 to 1999, however, the gap remained the same or grew. In fact, according to the Education Trust, by the time African American and Hispanic students reach twelfth grade, their English, math, and science skills are similar to the skills of thirteen-year-old White students.

A Nation at Risk

What factors contributed to the narrowing of the achievement gap in the 1980s? Again there are many explanations espoused by the researchers. Title I supplied much needed government funding to economically depressed schools. Also, in 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report *A Nation at Risk* served notice on the entire educational system that the United States was lagging behind the nations of the world. The commission set forth the following recommendations:

- Graduation requirements should be strengthened in five *new* basics: English, mathematics, science, social studies, and computer science.
- Schools and colleges should adopt higher and measurable standards for academic performance.
- The amount of time students spend engaged in learning should be significantly increased.
- The teaching profession should be strengthened through higher standards for preparation and professional growth.

This prompted swift action as professional educational entities such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Council of Teachers of English, National Science Teachers Association, and the International Reading Association scrambled to raise the standards of academic achievement in our nation's schools through the establishment of national standards. These standards were meant to offer strong content-based curriculum practices intended to increase student achievement through content.

The report, which focused on the test scores of the general student population, and its subsequent reaction by the educational community, seems to have had the positive effect of narrowing the achievement gap, according to a 2006 article in the *American Journal of Education* by Douglas Harris and Carolyn Herrington. The authors also stated that during the 1980s, when *content* and *time* standards (what is taught, and the amount of time spent teaching and learning) were improved, the achievement gap narrowed. They added, however, that during the 1990s, the gap remained the same or grew at the onset of the accountability focus in the form of high-stakes tests, school takeovers, vouchers,

charter schools, and other government- and market-based accountability programs.

Teacher Quality

Another factor said to narrow the achievement gap is teacher quality. Highly qualified teachers can narrow the achievement gap just as incompetent teachers can widen it. Research indicates that high quality teaching can have lasting effects on student achievement. Unfortunately, poor quality teachers are concentrated in low performing schools. According to research, this is no coincidence. Being taught by a poor quality teacher can seriously affect student achievement. Among other findings, Steven Rivkin, Eric Hanushek, and John Kain found that high quality instruction in primary school may offset disadvantages associated with low socioeconomic background.

Quality Reading Instruction

Additional measures have been employed to improve overall student performance and combat the widening achievement gap. In 2000, the National Reading Panel issued a meta-analysis detailing the "big five" of the instructional reading process: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary and comprehension. The panel determined that systematic phonics instruction leads to significant positive benefits for students in kindergarten through sixth grade and for children with difficulty learning to read. They also found that professional development for teachers is necessary to improve the quality of reading instruction.

No Child Left Behind

No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary School Education Act, was signed into law on January 8, 2002. The U.S. Department of Education stated that the law helps schools improve by focusing on accountability for results, freedom for states and communities, proven education methods, and choices for parents. One of the primary objectives of the legislation is to close the achievement gap, as stated in Title I, Section 100-Statement of Purpose,

The purpose of this title is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging State academic achievement standards and state academic assessments. This purpose can be accomplished by . . . closing the achievement gap between high- and low-performing children, especially the achievement gaps between minority and nonminority students, and between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged peers. . . .

Various programs and projects, such as Reading First; Prevention and Intervention Programs for Children and Youth Who Are Neglected, Delinquent, or at Risk; Family Literacy; Drop-Out Prevention; Advanced Placement Programs; and Comprehensive School Reform are funded through NCLB.

With any new government initiative, however, comes debate. NCLB is no exception. Many believe the program has inordinately increased stress on teachers and students through the use of high stakes testing to measure goal compliance. In general, a great deal of spirited conversation surrounds the effectiveness of some of the NCLB's stipulations. Are the accountability measures improving teacher quality and academic achievement among all student groups? Is the achievement gap narrowing? Only time and data will be the judge.

Yvonne Perry

See also African American Education; No Child Left Behind Act

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Web Sites

National Reading Panel: <http://www.nationalreadingpanel.org>

No Child Left Behind, U.S. Department of Education:

<http://www.ed.gov/nclb/landing.jhtml>

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Achievement tests are used to assess the current knowledge and skills of the person being examined. Achievement tests include those administered to students in elementary or secondary schools and those administered to candidates for certification or licensure in a professional field. In elementary and secondary schools, content areas assessed by achievement tests include reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Licensure and certification examinations include test items that assess the knowledge, skills, and abilities that are required for professional practice. For example, a teacher licensure examination might include items on child development, curriculum, instructional methods, and assessment.

This entry describes achievement tests of various types and how they are developed, describes their uses, and provides some guidelines for selection of specific tests.

Test Formats

The most common item format used in achievement tests is multiple choice. Other item formats used in

achievement tests are constructed-response items that require examinees to write a short response and extended-response items that require lengthier responses, such as essays. Also, the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards incorporates a portfolio as one component of its examination used to certify teachers as being “accomplished.”

A majority of achievement tests are group administered. Some achievement tests, however, are individually administered. An example is the Woodcock Johnson-III Tests of Achievement, which assesses examinees’ knowledge in language and mathematics skills. Also, some achievement tests are administered by computer. The Measures of Academic Progress produced by the Northwest Evaluation Association is a computer-adaptive test of reading, mathematics, and science that is used by school districts throughout the United States. An example of an Internet-based assessment is the South Carolina Arts Assessment Program in the visual and performing arts, which is administered to fourth-grade students.

Typically licensure and certification tests are national in focus, whereas, most achievement tests in primary and secondary schools are administered at the school district or state level. However, a nationwide achievement test administered in the United States is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which administers tests in such areas as reading, writing, mathematics, and science, to a national sample of students in Grades 4, 8, and 12. An example of an achievement test administered internationally is the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, a literacy test administered in thirty-five countries or regions.

Types of Scores

Interpretations of scores from achievement tests are typically norm referenced or criterion referenced. Norm-referenced scores allow the comparison of a local examinee’s performance to a group of peers from across the nation. To achieve this, during test development, a test company recruits a group of examinees from across the nation to take the newly developed achievement test. These examinees are referred to as a norm group. The achievement tests are administered

and scored, and the scores of the members of the norm group are converted to percentiles. A percentile rank indicates the percentage of the norm-group members scoring at or below a test score. The percentile scale ranges from 1 to 99, with the fiftieth percentile being considered average.

When a local examinee takes the test, his or her test score is compared to the scores of the norm group to determine the percentage of the norm group who scored at or below the local examinee’s score. A local examinee scoring at, for example, the sixteenth percentile scored below average as compared to the norm group; whereas a local examinee scoring at the eighty-fifth percentile scored well above average. Given that a local examinee’s performance is being compared to members of a norm group, if the percentile ranks are to be meaningful, then the norm group should be similar to local examinees in terms of demographics.

Criterion-referenced interpretations compare an examinee’s score to some benchmark or performance level. In the case of high school exit examinations, licensure tests, and certification examinations, criterion-referenced scores typically indicate whether an examinee’s score is pass/fail or mastery/nonmastery. At the elementary and middle school levels, states often use criterion-referenced scores that indicate a student’s performance level (e.g., Advanced, Proficient, Basic, Below Basic).

Development of an Achievement Test

The process of developing an achievement test begins with an expert committee that identifies the important content in a field. In education, for state-level tests the committee reviews the subject-matter content standards developed by the state education department. For commercial, national, and international achievement tests, panels of experts review standards developed by national organizations (e.g., the International Reading Association) and the standards, curriculum documents, and texts used in a district, state, or region for which the test is being developed. In licensure and certification, the credentialing body completes a study to identify the knowledge, skills, and abilities critical to professionals in the conduct of their duties. Experts then determine what the test should include.

Based on the review, the test company or agency prepares a test blueprint that details the skills and content of the achievement test as well as the proportion of items devoted to each content area. Test personnel work with experts in the subject area or the professional field to draft test items. Subsequently, various expert committees review the items for appropriateness, clarity, and lack of bias. After the review, the developers field test the items by administering them to a sample of examinees. When the items are returned, protocols for scoring the items (e.g., multiple-choice and constructed-response) are established. After scoring, statistical analyses of field test items are completed in order to examine item quality.

The test blueprint is then used to assemble final test forms using the items that passed quality control. If the achievement test is a norm-referenced test, then the final forms of the test are administered to age- or grade-appropriate norm groups. If the test will provide criterion-referenced scores, then panels of experts review the test items to establish the scores required for passing or classification at a certain performance level. At the end of this process, the developers publish the test and a test manual that provides technical information.

Uses of Achievement Tests

A common use for achievement tests is for monitoring student progress across years. Achievement tests also are used to make high stakes decisions about examinees, such as testing for licensure or testing for placement into a gifted program or a special education program. Another purpose of achievement tests is to compare the performance of examinees within a school setting or in educational programs. As an example, achievement tests are used in some program evaluations to determine the effectiveness of an instructional technique.

Achievement tests are also used for accountability purposes to inform the public about how well examinees are performing. In education, state testing programs, as well as the federal testing program NAEP, classify students into performance levels based on the degree of achievement the student has demonstrated

in regard to either state or national standards. By reporting the percent of students who are classified into each performance level, achievement tests are used to inform policy makers and the public of the status of education. With the federal No Child Left Behind legislation (NCLB, Public Law 107-110), the use of criterion-referenced tests for policy-making purposes increased.

How to Select an Achievement Test

In education, school districts and states sometimes select a commercially produced test rather than develop a test. In selecting such an achievement test, decision makers should review the test to determine the degree to which the test content is appropriate for their curriculum. Selection of a standardized test should consider relevance of the test items; the recency and representativeness of the norms; the conorming of the achievement test with an aptitude test; the testing time required; the ease of administration; the articulation of the test across grade levels; and the costs of test materials, scoring, and score reports. In adopting an achievement test, users should also review potential test items to assure they do not promote racial or gender stereotypes.

The test user should also determine if the score of the examinee is reliable over time. Reliability is concerned with the question, "If the examinee were to retake the examination (or an examination with parallel content), would he or she be likely to receive the same score?" In determining if a test is reliable, the test user will also want to determine the error (i.e., unreliability) that is associated with a test score.

Finally, in selecting an achievement test, users should determine if the test has been validated for the intended use. To that end, test users should investigate what types of validity evidence are provided to support the interpretation of the test scores for a particular use. For example, information should be provided to the test user regarding the content that is being tested and how that content is related to the construct of interest.

Robert L. Johnson and Christina Schneider

See also High-Stakes Testing; Standardized Testing

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ACTION RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

Action research in education can be traced back to the 1940s and the work of Stephen Corey at Teachers College, Columbia University. Corey and his collaborators maintained that every teacher is a potential researcher and that participating in group research was necessary for good teaching. Action research fell out of popularity in the late 1950s, as policy makers began to depend on experts to create new educational knowledge and curriculums.

Interest in action research was renewed in the early 1980s when Donald Schön published his book *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983). In this work, Schön argued that professionals such as teachers must look beyond prescriptions and formulas to guide their instruction. According to him, in the real world of educational practice, problems that need to be addressed by teachers are not simply givens, but must be constructed from the reality that exists. This reality is often “puzzling, troubling and uncertain.”

Schön’s notion of the teacher as reflective practitioner set the stage for reconsidering Corey’s earlier ideas concerning action research. Specifically, Schön called for teachers and other school personnel, including counselors and administrators, to do research about the settings in which they worked—to do research as participant observers. In doing so, it was assumed that they would, in turn, be able to reflect, further on their practice.

What are the basic elements of action research? According to education author G. E. Mills, action research involves four areas: (1) identifying a focus of research, (2) the collection of data, (3) the analysis and interpretation of what is found, and (4) the development of an action plan based on one’s research. Action research can include both qualitative and quantitative data collection. It does require, however, that teachers become active observers of what they teach and how their students learn.

Action research as a model significantly complements the social and cultural foundations of education since it empowers teachers to better understand the classrooms in which they work. It also encourages them to use knowledge gained through observation and other data collection techniques to reflect upon their work and what they do in their work in schools. In particular, action research has the potential to help teachers contextualize what they actually do, and to better understand the reality that surrounds them in their day-to-day lives in the classroom.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Teachers College, Columbia University

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ACTIVE LEARNING

Active learning is an educational approach in which teachers ask students to apply classroom content during instructional activities and to reflect on the actions they have taken. Teachers who employ active learning approaches can have students solve problems, work as part of a team, provide feedback to classmates, or peer-teach as ways to put new content to work. Active learning requires students to operate at high cognitive

levels, to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate during instructional tasks. This entry looks at how active learning works and what research says about its outcomes, as well as some criticisms and challenges.

Method and Rationale

When students take notes quietly during a lecture, they are operating as passive learners. Lectures invite student passivity, and research shows that passive students learn less. Lectures are teacher-centered activities that require only the instructor to process the academic content. Active learning approaches, on the other hand, are student centered, requiring students to manipulate academic content during the lesson and placing the teacher in an advisory role. The bottom line in active learning is, in order to learn, students must do more than simply listen. With an active learning approach, teachers design instruction that invites students to take action and to reflect on the skills and/or the knowledge required to complete a task.

Active learning takes a variety of forms because no single application or set of strategies comprises an active learning approach. At a rudimentary level of instructional planning, instructors can ask students to discuss a question with a classmate or to compare notes with a partner during a break in a lecture. Of course, active learning applications can reflect more sophisticated planning as instructors ask students to perform a skit, respond to a case study, or otherwise apply classroom content.

With constructivism as a prevailing theoretical framework in schools, active learning is present in a variety of contexts, particularly in secondary and higher education settings. Biology, chemical engineering, and medical school classrooms are among the array of cross-disciplinary contexts where active learning is increasingly present. Technology affords new opportunities for active learning in classrooms. Wireless laptops hold the promise of increasing opportunities for student-centered lessons. A lecturer can invite students to problem solve independently or in small groups from their seats in the lecture hall, making a computer lab unnecessary.

A handful of well-known instructional approaches fall within the parameters of active learning. Cooperative

learning, problem-based learning, and collaborative learning all require students to be the primary manipulators of content during a lesson. Active learning hinges on the consistent benefits of assigning students to small, collaborative groups for solving a problem.

Research Findings

Research on active learning has shown improved academic performance, or at least no evidence of diminished learning among students from active learning classrooms compared to students taught in traditional, teacher-centered contexts. Studies have also shown evidence of positive attitudes to active learning. Students who possess the attributes associated with active learning environments are very attractive to employers. These students exhibit improved team skills, as well as an ability to formulate questions and to devise unique solutions, traits that are not as prevalent in students from teacher-centered classrooms.

Teachers who have employed active learning approaches report better time management as well as increased opportunities to collaborate with others (teachers, administrators, and community members) in planning and delivering lessons. All in all, teachers who employ active learning approaches feel that the lessons they develop are more creative.

Critique and Challenges

Instructors are finding active learning approaches to be increasingly accepted and expected. Because active learning is student centered, it highlights the teacher's role as a planner. Teachers seeking to remake their teacher-centered lessons will require time to revise their lectures into active learning scenarios. These teachers must create a climate to cultivate active students willing to take risks. In addition, teachers must develop their own repertoire of active learning strategies with which they are comfortable and that are effective for teaching the content in their content area.

That said, when an instructor designs active learning lessons, he or she may face criticism from colleagues who are rooted in a more traditional teacher-centered philosophy. Or, some students may resist active learning approaches. Having grown accustomed to being

passive receptors of information in teacher-centered classrooms, students may balk at teachers' requirements that require a greater responsibility from students for their own learning. Students may refuse to engage in higher order thinking or to function as members of a team.

In addition, even though the literature supports active learning as an effective way to increase student learning, teachers may not be receiving appropriate training to incorporate these methods. Active learning may not be the focus of sustained teacher professional development, or active learning approaches may not be being modeled during training sessions. Teachers who desire to create an active learning environment should spend additional energy devising the cooperative, risk-free climate in which students can work.

Students face concomitant adjustments in a classroom where active learning approaches are employed. Because the focus of active learning is less about transmitting a particular body of content and more about acquiring operational skills and cognitive abilities, students may feel unsure about whether they are receiving all the essential information about a subject that they believe they need.

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See also Constructivism; Cooperative Learning

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ACTIVISM AND THE SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

The people who established the social foundations of education during the 1920s and 1930s—William H. Kilpatrick, John Dewey, George S. Counts, and Harold Rugg—were all committed to social activism. This was particularly true during the 1930s and the Great Depression, when they developed a philosophy of “social reconstruction,” whose goal was to overcome the failure of the capitalist economy system by establishing a more just and equitable economic and social system.

Perhaps nowhere is the concept of a social foundations scholar being engaged in social activism more clearly articulated than in the work of George S. Counts. In his 1932 book—*Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*—he called for teachers to act as conscious social agents. As educated and concerned citizens, he felt that they could point the students whom they taught and the communities in which they lived toward a more democratic and just model of society.

This theme was repeated again in various articles published by Counts and his followers in the journal *The Social Frontier*, as well as in courses such as the Education 200 F, the introductory social foundations course at Teachers College starting in the mid-1930s. In the 200 F course, Counts and Rugg argued that teachers and administrators in the schools had the obligation to act for the social betterment and improvement of their students and the communities in which they lived. In general, the social foundations professors at Teachers College saw their students as future activists and leaders, who needed to be prepared for “enlightened action” and “statesmanship.”

Counts felt strongly that teachers needed to throw off what he saw as the slave psychology that had dominated the teaching profession since antiquity, and, through their actions, bridge the gap between school and society. The concept of teachers taking a more proactive role in social change has been a persistent theme in the social foundations of the education field.

During the late 1980s, for example, Henry Giroux argued in *Teachers as Intellectuals* that teachers need

to function as “transformative intellectuals.” According to him, they should combine reflection and action in the interest of empowering students with the skills and knowledge needed to address injustices and to be critical actors committed to developing a world free of oppression and exploitation. For Giroux, such intellectuals/educators should not just be concerned with raising the test scores of their students and promoting the individual achievement of their students, but they should also be concerned with empowering students so that they can critically read and change the world when needed.

Currently, the social activist tradition in the social foundations of education most clearly manifests itself in the tradition of social justice, which calls for the conscious creation of a more just and equitable society, in terms of race, gender, and socioeconomic class. While such efforts are certainly worthwhile, they are largely theoretical. If social activism is to play a truly meaningful role in the social foundations of education, new ways need to be found to create meaning through practice, ones that are consistent with the type of social action outlined by the founders of the field.

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See also Social Justice, Education for

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ACTIVIST TEACHERS

While their causes may vary widely, activist teachers are generally understood as instructors who engage social justice issues and incorporate these ideas into their teaching practice. Democratic ideals are at the heart of an activist teacher’s practice, in that the

concept of social equality is paramount. Activist teachers’ intentions lie on a spectrum between the needs of the individual and of society in general; their actions may involve collaboration and participation within and outside of schools. Activist teachers have historically been social reformers-suffragists, labor activists, and civil rights advocates, and their work with individuals seeks to create democratic change in society.

Activist teachers work toward creating places where individuals from various cultures meet and provide a space for these individuals to respectfully inform one another. The teachers are aware that schools can be sites of social reproduction but work against this dynamic. They facilitate and situate questioning of the status quo. They have a multifaceted relationship with their students. Activist teachers may use one or more of the following concepts in their teaching:

- Social justice
- Equity including race, class, and gender
- Facilitate and question the status quo
- Cultural sensitivity
- Interactive and creative methodology
- Democratic classrooms
- Critical pedagogy
- Feminist theory
- Politically progressive ideology
- Dialogic methodology
- Reflection

Women have been prominent in the development of educational activism as they have incorporated social reform issues, including suffrage, labor, women’s rights, and civil rights into their practices as educators. Jane Addams (1860–1935) and Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) were two of the founders of the Settlement House Movement, the Women’s Club Movement, and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), educational endeavors that helped to establish community networks to support racial and gender equity. These endeavors challenged prevailing educational methods that were aimed at social efficiency and compartmentalization.

George S. Counts (1889–1974), an American educator and sociologist, was well known for his assertion

that teachers should be agents for social change. In 1932, during the Great Depression, Counts combined three speeches into one volume titled *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*. In it he asserted that some form of democratic collectivism should replace traditional capitalism in American society. Further, he believed that teachers should be agents of social change in that they should shape their students to be receptive to the idea of collective control of the economy. Thus, schools would become the birthplace of cooperative endeavors and democratic ideals. While this approach was criticized as indoctrination, Counts believed that in essence all education is indoctrinating and therefore should be used to move toward a more fair and equitable society.

Activist teachers strive to be sensitive to the interconnectedness of race and gender in classrooms. This idea is highlighted by many current feminist activist educators, including bell hooks (1952–).

An activist teacher's classroom practice includes interactive methods and democratic ideals. It is aimed at balancing the needs of individuals and society as a whole. All members of the group must have shared activities and equal opportunity to give and take. These ideals are predicated on the work of John Dewey (1859–1952). Like Dewey, an activist educator would denounce rote learning for a more interactive and experiential approach to teaching and learning. Just as Dewey advocated, an activist teacher would also place emphasis on thinking, reflection, democratic ideals, and on the value of community.

In addition, action is linked with certain values. For activist teachers, education should be centered on lived experience and should have an emphasis on dialogue that enhances community in that it leads people to act in ways that would support justice and encourage human potential. Paulo Freire (1921–1997) is associated with this type of educational activist practice.

The Highlander School, founded by Myles Horton (1905–1990) and Don West (1906–1992), is an example of activist teaching in practice. Horton and West believed that education should lead to action. Their original mission was to educate rural workers to lead the way to a new social order. This mission was expanded to teach leadership skills to those who would challenge segregation and other oppressive aspects of society. In the 1950s Horton and his

colleagues established the citizenship schools movement, an effective literacy campaign that emphasized the right to participate in a democratic society.

Currently in the United States, several organizations exist to support the endeavors of activist teachers. These include the Center for Anti-Oppressive Education, Teaching for Change, and Rethinking Schools.

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See also Activism and the Social Foundations of Education; Democracy and Education; Highlander Folk School; Social Justice, Education for

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ADAPTIVE TECHNOLOGY

Adaptive technology, or assistive technology, is defined as the use of devices to increase, maintain, or improve the capabilities of a person with disabilities by providing physical and sensory access, for example, through the use of a wheelchair or Braille. When used with computers, adaptive technologies are also called adaptive hardware or software. The term *adaptive technology* has now broadened to include instructional technologies used to meet special teaching and learning needs in classrooms, including those of students identified as at risk of school failure and those identified as gifted and talented. This entry looks at how adaptive technology contributes in an educational setting.

Providing Help

Adaptive technology can potentially help individuals with disabilities achieve greater independence and

self-confidence. The field of special education historically has had an interest in technology, specifically in assistive as well as instructional technologies that extend an individual's abilities in classroom environments and beyond.

Various assistive technology laws have been passed to provide guidance, funding, and standards for the development and distribution of these devices. Among these, the reauthorization of the Assistive Technology Act of 1998 (Public Law 108–364), a grant program, increases the availability of funding and access to assistive technology for states to continue implementing their technology-related assistance programs. Another important piece of legislation, The Rehabilitation Act of 1973, was amended in 1998 to include Section 508, which requires federal agencies to make electronic and information technology accessible to people with disabilities. Section 508 addresses the uses of special keyboards, touch screens, and closed captioning, for example, to facilitate access to electronic information.

Even with the efforts of the federal government and individual state programs to provide this type of assistance to the disabled, challenges remain. Standards for providing access, training, and support related to adaptive technologies can vary from state to state. Further, lack of resources, trained professionals, and timely acquisition and delivery of assistive devices can hamper successful implementation of these programs.

Despite these challenges, professionals working with the disabled can maximize individual success when using the devices by being knowledgeable about the needs and abilities of the disabled with whom they work, as well as by continuing to learn about adaptive technology and how to create a good fit between it and the user. Educational preparation programs and continued professional support are key to maintaining the best practices in the field.

Since the 1990s in public schools at the K–12 level, there has been a move toward inclusive classrooms in which special needs students receive instruction alongside children in the mainstream program. Because of this, teachers and other school professionals, for example, must be able to identify technologies that support all students and be able to adapt those technologies to meet the specific needs of students with disabilities who often encounter difficulties in

meeting the demands of the school and classroom environment.

Adapting Computers

Working at a desk using a traditional QWERTY keyboard and a mouse is the most common way of interacting with a computer. However, this set-up is not useful for all. Adaptive input devices can help special needs students to send information to the computer. Standard keyboards can be adapted with Braille or raised character caps attached to the keys, or the auto repeat function can be disabled. Alternative keyboards are specifically designed for individuals with limited motor skills. These usually are larger in size than standard keyboards, have larger keys with increased spacing between them, and offer increased sensitivity. The letters and numbers are often arranged in sequential order and marked with pictures.

For individuals unable to use the traditional computer mouse, touch-sensitive screens, joysticks, and head-operated devices activate and control cursor movement with less demand on the user. A puff switch, for example, activates mouse functions as the individual puffs or sips through a tube. Other input devices include voice recognition software that can convert spoken words into text on the screen as well as replicate mouse functions. Students with limited mobility also can use an electronic pointing device operated by a headset that translates eye and head movement into cursor movements.

Similarly, output devices, such as computer screens and printers, can be adapted to produce large text and graphics, including Braille characters. Black type on white background screens can be reversed to show white characters on a black screen. Large print keyboards and oversized monitors are also helpful to the visually impaired. Speech output is possible with synthesized speech that can generate an unlimited amount of vocabulary and digitized speech that records and digitizes real voices but which is limited to words previously recorded.

Other Issues

In addition to computer hardware and software, other technologies assist a student with basic life activities

such as standing and sitting straight, holding a utensil or pencil, or elevating his or her head. Seating and standing products such as therapeutic seats and active standers help persons with disabilities to sit or stand comfortably and safely, while maintaining or improving their health. Walking products such as canes and walkers, and wheeled mobility products such as wheelchairs and electric scooters, allow the physically challenged some freedom of movement.

Students with learning or language disabilities can use technology to help them experience success in classrooms. Students with learning disabilities, who often struggle to organize their thoughts and produce written documents, benefit from software features that help with outlining, spelling, and grammar. Word processors with speech output help students with writing tasks by reading out loud the students' writing. Software programs are also available to assist with hand-eye coordination, study skills, and cause and effect.

Presently, advocates for the disabled support the idea of universal accessibility, or universal design of devices and technologies to achieve excellent usability by all—persons with disabilities benefit from the design and the typical user can also benefit. For example, curb cuts in sidewalks, which allow a smooth and gradual transition from the sidewalk to the street level, help persons using wheelchairs and also those pushing baby strollers, carrying wheeled luggage, or skating. Recently, universal design concepts have been applied to computers in order to include disability accessibility software as part of the operating system so that access would be readily provided and not require specialists to make modifications to the computer before a disabled person can use it.

Universal design concepts are also being applied to learning—to support students with disabilities in gaining access to the general education curriculum. While modifications to instruction and materials occur regularly for these students, the changes are usually reactive, and students will tend to experience lag time in achieving access to the curriculum. Universal design seeks to change this by providing a proactive way of thinking about access.

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See also Blind, Education for the; Deaf, Education for the; Disabilities, Physical Accommodations for People With; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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ADULT EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Historically, adult education and literacy have evolved outside the formal system of education. Adult education and literacy programs have often been referred to as nonformal education. Typically, formal education stresses the development of academic skills, while informal education stresses the development of skills learned in the workplace, or the community at large.

Approaches

Several theories and philosophies guide adult education and literacy. This entry focuses on two well-known and distinctively opposed approaches: technicist-vocational and popular liberating education. The technicist-vocational approach targets mostly working class adults and stresses a utilitarian approach in which the learner gains essential knowledge and skills in reading, writing, and computation for effective functioning in society. The main concern is to help the participants fit into the existing socioeconomic structure, particularly jobs at the lower end of the economy.

The alternative approach to technical and functional adult education and literacy is adult popular education for social transformation. This approach, typified in the work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, is aimed at enhancing human potential and

dignity while working for a better world—that is, a more humane, just, equitable, and sustainable society. Adult education as popular education for social transformation is built upon a critique of the technicist functional approach, and looks toward expanding and enriching the narrow view of the latter.

The focus of this type of popular education is the poor, oppressed, and disenfranchised. Freire and Donaldo Macedo define *literacy* as “reading the word and the world.” Accordingly, adult literacy takes place by adults reading and writing their own reality. From these theorists’ perspective, no one is completely illiterate, and no one is completely literate. The popular knowledge coming from people’s daily lives and experiences is valued and used, as well as challenged. Adults study not only what their reality is but also how this reality should and can be transformed. In doing so, they embrace education as a tool for their own empowerment.

Adult Education for Social Transformation

Education for social transformation involves a language of critique or denunciation, and a language of possibility or annunciation. Freire argues that all education is political and that participants in the educational process should be tactically inside and strategically outside the system. According to him, adult learners need to demystify the reality constructed for them through the mainstream media by those in power. The adult education curricula should be built with the participants by using their own experiences and realities to help them understand whose “reality” is constructed through the media, including textbooks. In addition to learning basic skills, they should be made aware of how public consent is manufactured. As citizens who contribute to the transformation of the world, adult learners should not merely learn basic skills but should focus on understanding the world so that they can contest hegemonic social practices and systems. In Freire’s model of education, adult educators assist learners in unveiling the everyday taken-for-granted realities and prejudices that result in oppressive practices and inequity.

Goals of Adult Education for Social Transformation

According to Freire, embracing adult education for social transformation should lead to an understanding of how the dominant culture works and should thus provide a basis for joining forces toward transforming the oppressing conditions in which these adults and their families and communities live. Curricula should be developed by involving participants in dialogue in the context of democratic relationships between adult educators and adult participants. Participatory adult education should include theories of human and social sciences in addition to the enhancement of their job and life skills. Thus, participants learn both techniques, and the whys and the what for, from their own point of view and for their own benefit.

Denying the human and social aspects of adult education is detrimental to learners and their growth. Adult education for social transformation should go toward building counter-hegemonic power through collective action and solidarity. In brief, it is aimed at creating critical collective consciousness and action toward a better world from the point of view of the adult learners themselves.

Implementation

Engaging in adult education for social transformation implies two major goals: achieving critical consciousness and moving to work collectively toward improving life conditions, starting with those of participants themselves. Critical consciousness may be promoted, nourished, and supported through dialogue in culture circles, an idea introduced by Freire in adult literacy programs in Brazil in the early 1960s.

To promote participation and interaction, a culture circle has no more than fifteen participants. Dialogues among the participants are facilitated by tutors. The tutors are people from the community and/or very close to participants. They are prepared to understand the core notions of democratic liberating education, and to devise opportunities for the adult participants they are working with to understand more deeply and broadly their realities and to build an understanding of the whys of their situation and why the world is the

way it is. Tutors also are prepared to carry out with the participants thematic research about the topics that are going to compose the curriculum. This way of developing a curriculum increases the possibility that it will be culturally relevant and socially responsive to participants and is essentially democratic.

Not all the topics that compose the curriculum come from adult participants; the adult educator also brings some that may help in the process. Freire always stressed the topic of culture. In the culture circle, adults are assisted to understand that culture is created by people, and that people like themselves are able to change those elements of culture that are harmful to themselves. Through dialogue, adult learners can discover what elements exist that need to be changed.

From the perspective of popular adult education for social transformation, genuine participatory democracy facilitates adult participants in bringing to the classroom the topics that really matter to them, and thus assures that adult learners have a purposeful and meaningful understanding of them. Dialogical participation means that the realities of the adult participants are part of the curriculum building and development, which is opposed to the top-down curricular decisions of the technical-functional model of adult education and literacy. An example of this is given by Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel, who used the language/vocabulary of participants' fears, problems, hopes, and dreams as the basis for learning reading and writing in culture groups. In addition, the work of Erich Fromm in *The Revolution of Hope* helps us to clarify what should be the primary values and goals of society and consequently of education in general and adult education in particular. Indeed, the end should be human well-being and the enhancement of quality of life, not "efficiency" (to produce more and consume more) as an end in itself. Adult popular education and literacy thus should aim at human fulfillment and collective enhancement of life conditions as the primary goal, overshadowing the technical goal of preparation for entering the labor force. Adults as humans are not the means for meeting the needs of industry, which are driven by profit; on the contrary, labor is the means for human fulfillment and transformation of the world for the benefit of humankind and

the environment. From a sociohumanist view of life and education, human beings are always the ends in themselves, never the means; and the ends never justify the means—even when those ends are very noble and altruistic.

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See also Social Justice, Education for

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans; Chapter 14, Immigration and Education; Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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ADVERTISING IN SCHOOLS

Advertising has contributed to the fabric of education in America on many levels. Students willingly carry corporate logos on their bodies and learn in rooms with advertising on wall posters and from books with cartoon advertisements on the covers. Their teachers tell them to quietly watch Channel One, then go to their next class through a hallway lined by vending machines with exclusive rights. They leave school on

a bus with advertising on the ceiling and come back to school for the football game on the billboard-lined stadium. They sell raffle tickets for a new car and coupon books for hundreds of local businesses.

Advertising in American schools gained legitimacy and rose to prominence during the twentieth century. Corporations desire partnerships with school systems in order to market directly to teachers, students, and community members. Schools favor partnerships with corporations because corporate sponsorship may increase the school's ability to fulfill certain needs.

There are other aspects of school advertising. Many private and charter schools, for example, use billboards, radio, and television to let the community know about their work and often send promotional material to other schools. In a time of accountability, public K–12s are also required, by No Child Left Behind (NCLB), to advertise school proficiency test scores. NCLB also has provided military recruiters with as much physical space as afforded colleges and universities. Military access to students has been challenged in high schools and colleges. Parents and students may attempt to “opt out” of military contact, but generally must do so on a yearly basis.

The greatest debate over school advertising, however, involves corporate advertising to teachers and students. The question is whether the benefits of revenue, technological equipment, or instructional assistance linked to corporate partnerships outweigh the potential detriment to students who may become more accepting, and less critical, of commercial messages.

The Education Market

The members of American schools are a large portion of the population and are seen by corporations as a likely partner. To corporations, eager to gain hold of a vast and powerful market, teachers represent the largest single-occupation market in America. School employees may be solicited by insurance agents, lending institutions, politicians, and unions within school walls. Beyond their large numbers, teachers also influence school boards in the selection of textbooks, which are the single largest portion of book sales in America. They make decisions on billions of dollars of classroom materials and fundraising options. Teachers often

receive “tie-in” curricular materials to supplement the viewing of current television shows and movies. Administrators and teachers are often expected to use marketing messages on students in order to increase the budget through partnership opportunities.

Students themselves influence billions of dollars of consumer purchases in America. Due to compulsory education, American students represent a “captive market” during school hours. Students may be discouraged from questioning advertising messages presented to them by their teachers or schools. Some teachers have discouraged students from obscuring advertisements on book covers because the advertisers who donated the book covers to the school expect the recognition.

American students are exposed to corporate logos, commercial icons, and other forms of subtle advertising on a daily basis. They are often encouraged to bring in cereal box “points” to raise money for their school. Some students are forced into selling promotional materials, such as pizza cards, magazines, theater tickets, or other consumer goods that promote partnerships between schools and corporations. Students may be perceived as undocumented representatives of the corporation, rather than representatives of the school. Many students see this as a necessary part of their school experience.

Opposing Views

Opponents of advertising in schools argue that students are encouraged to trust their teachers, and therefore, students may believe that all products advertised within their school are “good” and needed. Research suggests that advertisements in schools may also lead to an overall increase in consumeristic attitudes in students. A clear example of a powerful advertising-driven partnership can be found in Channel One, programming that reaches nearly one third of all students every school day. Channel One offers two minutes of commercial advertising per day. Each commercial spot is worth millions of dollars to corporations lining up to get their message to communities all across America. Proponents of Channel One, and much of the advertisement in schools in general, claim that students are already exposed to these commercial messages at home, and

therefore, they should not significantly affect the student's learning experience.

Research has demonstrated that students in low-income communities are more likely to be exposed to advertising partnerships, such as Channel One, even though the students are often least able to purchase the advertised products. This may cause psychological damage, or an increase in frustration and consumerist attitudes. Proponents of Channel One claim that because low-income schools have such a great need, a partnership is the best way to help the schools get the latest technology and instructional equipment. Cash-strapped schools, which have only a small amount of money to spend on instructional materials, are often eager to find opportunities to supplement their budget.

Textbooks in America rarely contain methods of deciphering or evaluating the elaborate forms of advertiser messaging. Opponents of unregulated advertiser access to students claim that this omission may leave students incapable of making responsible purchasing decisions. Textbook publishers are likely to be part of a multinational media corporation and unlikely to want to enable students to question their advertising.

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See also Channel One; Commercialization of Schools; No Child Left Behind Act; Technologies in Education

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AESTHETICS IN EDUCATION

Human knowledge is continually expanding and improving. Despite its growth and refinement, knowledge continues to be fragmentary and imperfect; areas of ambiguity and knowledge unattained remain. These

are areas for which current scientific methods have not yielded satisfactory answers. The humanities have been a source for exploring such realms of knowing, with their continual reinterpretation and investigation of the self and its lived experiences. Some aspects of human experience are not universal; they are particular and situational. These are the realms of the arts and imagination, and what has been termed *aesthetics in education*.

Aesthetics refers not only to art, but also to particular types of interactions with learning and the environment. Aesthetics is a part of education in three veins relevant to social foundations of education: education that itself is aesthetic, aesthetic education, and aesthetics as a necessary component of a moral and thoughtful life.

Education as Aesthetic Experience

Education that is aesthetic utilizes multiple interpretations, unexpectedness, spontaneity, and ambiguity. Such education embraces students' and teachers' own interactions with the object of study as students and teachers move beyond assumptions that the body must be separate from the mind's engagement in learning. This approach makes use of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's exploration of subjective and bodily experience as establishing one's knowledge of the world. Merleau-Ponty's articulation of the phenomenological harkens to Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's project of "the cultivation of the body" with its ability to perceive the world through its senses, which is discussed below.

John Dewey explicitly addressed aesthetics in his persistent concern for experiences within education. Much of his work explored experiences, mapping their terrain and describing what makes them complete. For Dewey, an experience is a complete, bounded, unified event that is achieved through the aesthetic. It is not a repeatable event, as each experience depends upon its context, history, composite factors, and a particular satisfaction (which is by definition aesthetic) that must exist for an experience to be complete.

This conception of the aesthetics of experiences explains Dewey's concern that all educational experiences be aesthetic, that is, consciously constructed and perceived by the intellectual, emotional, and

physical self. Educational experiences are aesthetic when students engage directly in the making, whether it is the production of an artwork, a historical investigation, or scientific exploration, rather than merely learning about what others have done. While students are involved in their learning, they are also actively aware of what they are doing, and reflect upon it.

An aesthetic experience occurs when the doing of something, and the perception of what is being created, are wholly in harmony. Students' engagement in real literature, active learning about the environment through a school garden, and solving real community problems exemplify potential aesthetic learning experiences. In contrast, the nonaesthetic experience is routine, mechanized, and conventional. Worksheets, standardized exams, and basal readers exemplify such routinization. According to Dewey, an aesthetic experience is intellectual, emotional, and physical; it connects to students' past and future activities in meaningful ways. These connections occur when the learner is aware of the real context of the experience. Aesthetic experiences occur in artistic creation, but can also exist in daily life when events are undertaken with consciousness and perception. Such everyday aesthetic experiences characterize a fulfilling life and should be the hallmark of educational practice.

Maxine Greene has expanded on Dewey's writings about aesthetic transactions with ordinary events in her repeated calls for "wide-awakeness" and attention to the darkneses and lights of our social lives. Like Dewey, Greene has argued for education and living that counteract tendencies toward the routine and unconscious. There is much in people's daily lives to which they pay little attention; schoolrooms are filled with actions taken without thoughtful intention or deliberateness. Schoolrooms instead could be locations of immediacy in which students and teachers engage in rich, meaningful activities and pay attention to their own unique responses to those activities. In so doing, the teaching and learning would be aesthetic, as aesthetic education embraces the particular meaning making those students and teachers create, meaning making which does not reflect an authoritarian assumption of knowledge. Aesthetic education, therefore, leads to the development of human freedom in democratic ideas and practice.

Aesthetic experiences often result from careful consideration of a work of art. Engaging with a work of art in the presence of others enables the viewer to be aware of how different people interact with an artwork. There is a strong correlation here between noticing how different learners make sense of an educational problem or topic and recognizing there are multiple paths to solving educational problems. Furthermore, because the arts are expressions of the range of human imagination, engagement with the arts enables a person to explore dimensions of human experience that may otherwise be inaccessible. The arts are expressions of the imagination and identify possibilities that may not exist in reality. What a person cannot directly experience may be explored through literature, music, dance, drama, and the visual arts.

Including aesthetics in education enables teaching and learning to be the development of active, independent thinking and questioning. Instead of taking another's statement as fixed fact, students of aesthetic education attend to their own experiences in addition to the diverse experiences of others. Hearing such diversity of opinion becomes part of the individual experience. Students' experiences may be informed by what others say, but the students remain free to challenge others' assumptions and stereotypes because their own unique experience remains valid. When expanded to society, these practices have profound implications—society's members freely think for themselves, rather than blindly follow authority.

It has been observed that much of education is notable for its lack of aesthetics when it involves a technocratic approach to teaching that does not accommodate the idiosyncrasies and individualities of teachers and students. Much of current society dulls the everyday aesthetic, and students and teachers must engage in aesthetic education to relearn how to fully engage in lived experience. Aesthetic education is about teaching and learning a way of living, of approaching the world. It is about fostering the imagination to the construction of all the possibilities therein. It involves teaching about how to experience art, and how to engage in any experience. The engagement with a work of art does not evolve naturally from the artwork itself, but from the ongoing

interrelationship (what Dewey termed a “transaction”) between the observer and the work of art.

Aesthetic education develops the ability to engage in aesthetic experiences. In contrast to the expansive stance described above, some art educators consider aesthetic education to involve learning a correct and agreed upon interpretation of a given work of art. This stance presumes that the uneducated eye will be unable to fully engage in a work of art because of its distance from common experience.

Aesthetic Education as a Discipline

Another approach to aesthetic education has been to consider it as its own field of study. Discipline-based art education (DBAE) exemplifies this approach, as it argues for teaching art through four topics: aesthetics, art history, art criticism, and the production of art. Promoted by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts in Los Angeles, DBAE presents aesthetic education as an intellectual subject of study necessary to fully understand the arts.

When aesthetics is a part of art education, it expands art students’ participation beyond the production, critique, and history of art. As a philosophy of art, aesthetics provides a means for students to ask critical, reflective questions about their own engagements with the work of art. While students may do so naturally on their own, they are more likely to pursue that avenue with a teacher’s guidance and thereby come to a greater understanding of the artwork’s value and significance for themselves and others. The influence of DBAE in the development of art education, particularly through the *Journal of Aesthetic Education* founded in 1966, has been considerable.

Aesthetics as a Moral Compass

Education that is aesthetic, as well as DBAE, draws from historical ideals of education, notably articulated by Plato, the ancient Greeks, and some Continental philosophers. Study of fine arts such as painting, poetry, and music completes the education of a cultured person because it enables individuals to conduct their lives with grace and harmony. The study of art entails learning to discern beauty as it is demonstrated in art,

and thereby evaluate creative expressions for their embodiment of beauty. The ancient Greek ideal of *kalokagathia* brought together the beautiful (*kalos*) and the good (*agathos*) in a moral statement that beauty is inherently good, and that the nature of good is beauty. If one is educated to appreciate and create beauty, then the individual and by extension society will be morally just. According to this approach, aesthetic education involves learning to discern what makes an object beautiful and how that beauty could be applied to one’s own life through contemplation of its higher values. Not only to ask, “What is art?” but also to identify the best qualities of art that exemplify beauty.

Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten reframed the term *aesthetics* to refer to a cultivated appreciation of art and the “science of sensory cognition.” He moved the study of art from one focused solely on the object to an inclusion of the perceiver’s interaction with the art object. Aesthetic instruction is necessary, argued Baumgarten, to develop one’s sensory perceptions in order to recognize beauty. Immanuel Kant advanced philosophical thinking about aesthetics by articulating the importance of the viewer’s perception, rather than qualities inherent in the work of art. Kant notably cleaved aesthetic judgment from moral judgment, identifying the former to be subjective and the latter universal.

The Greek conflation of the beautiful with the good gained further examination in a series of letters to a Danish prince by Friedrich Schiller. In these letters, compiled under the title *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, Schiller built on Immanuel Kant’s argument concerning the relationship between perception and art. The beauty and goodness of art would be, for Schiller, people’s liberation from the ignoble state humanity had suffered under since civilization’s pinnacle, ancient Greece. If people were surrounded by great art, or “symbols of perfection,” eventually the reality of their lives would come to resemble such noble beauty. Through an appreciation of art, Schiller argued, rationality and freedom would emerge. Without art, humanity would not be fully possible.

For the casual observer, “aesthetics” conflates with “beauty” and evokes ideals of harmony and grace in the arts. Classical ideals presume that students must be taught how to understand the magnificence of

a masterwork beyond a rudimentary awareness of beauty. This approach to aesthetics in Western schools often has privileged Western classical art. As such, the study of aesthetics often has been positioned as a largely elitist activity which remains separate from daily life.

Despite this, aesthetics remains relevant to all arenas of education. Scholars such as John Dewey, Maxine Greene, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Elliot Eisner, and Wolfgang Iser have persistently advocated a study and use of aesthetics that is available to all people and develops independent, critical thinkers. Aesthetics in education comprises the best of education both for the arts and for a society that values individuals capable of making their own judgments even while aware of the diversity of others' voices.

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See also Philosophy of Education; Social Justice, Education for

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historically been excluded based on various ascriptive and descriptive characteristics including "race," ethnicity, national origin, gender, religion, skin color, disability, age, and sexual orientation. Typically, organizations that benefit from federal funding are admonished to review their recruitment programs for compliance with equal opportunity laws and constitutional rights. Affirmative action regulations do not endorse quota systems and instead encourage use of pragmatic diversity initiatives that minimize intergroup conflict and maximize diverse talent contribution.

Affirmative action policies are recognized as proactive attempts to remedy historical and contemporary discrimination against subordinate groups who have been denied access to public and private benefits normally available to dominant groups. Though the emphasis of these policies is on creating subordinate group access to opportunity, the hope is that subordinate group representation will increase to better reflect their proportionate demographic profile. The methods used to achieve parity and the language used to convey the message to institutional gatekeepers are subject to selective perception and interpretation, thus opening the door to heated debate and controversy. This entry looks at the historical roots of discrimination, describes the initiation of affirmative action, and summarizes the response and current debate.

Record of Discrimination

Immediately following the Civil War in 1865, the American government took drastic measures to reconstruct a nation that had been torn apart, largely over the issue of slavery. The Constitution was amended to emancipate enslaved people of African descent, grant them American citizenship, and enfranchise them. The federal government established the Freedmen's Bureau to oversee the monumental task of assisting freed former slaves to find housing, *paid* labor, and medical care and to help provide for their basic needs of food and clothing. The Bureau set up military courts to adjudicate complaints between former slaves and their masters, but perhaps its most critical duty was building schools to teach newly freed men and women how to read and write. Of all the needs the Bureau addressed in the aftermath of the war, education

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In the United States, *affirmative action* refers to policies designed to increase social, political, economic, and educational opportunities for groups that have

efforts produced the most successful results. Literacy rates among newly freed slaves catapulted from lows around 5 percent in 1865 to upward of 70 percent by 1900.

The Reconstruction era lasted from 1865 to 1877, during which time Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, foreshadowing the modern idea of affirmative action. Terrorist groups like the Ku Klux Klan, however, effectively dashed the hope of many people of African descent to fully realize their freedom to enjoy first-class American citizenship as granted by government decree. The Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which established the separate but equal doctrine, ushered in the Jim Crow era and institutionalized legal segregation in American life.

Not until 1941 when President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, which outlawed segregationist hiring policies by defense-related industries holding federal contracts, did things begin to change. Black trade union leader A. Philip Randolph is credited with helping to achieve this goal. President Truman established the President's Committee on Civil Rights, through which he desegregated the U.S. military with Executive Order 9981 in 1948. A year prior, in 1947, major league baseball signed Jackie Robinson, opening the door for other Black athletes to play for major league sports teams. In 1954, another Supreme Court decision under President Eisenhower, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, overturned *Plessy* and legally ended America's efforts to maintain the racially charged "separate but equal" contract.

President John F. Kennedy made the first reference to "affirmative action" in Executive Order 10925, which established the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and mandated that federally funded projects take affirmative action to eliminate hiring and employment practices that may be racially biased. The next president, Lyndon Johnson, signed the most comprehensive civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited any discrimination based on "race," color, religion, or national origin.

In a commencement speech given at Howard University the following year, Johnson used metaphor to frame the concept of affirmative action by asserting that civil rights laws alone were not enough to fight

discrimination and produce equality. "You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: 'Now you are free. . . . You do not take a man who for years has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him to the starting line of the race, saying 'You are now free to compete with all the others.' . . ." A few months later, on September 24, 1965, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, enforcing affirmative action for the first time. It was amended a few weeks later to include discrimination based on gender. Public and private institutions and industries that used federal funding were now required to document their efforts to ensure equal employment opportunities along with the results or risk losing federal financial support and face other punitive consequences.

The Debate Begins

From its informal and formal beginnings, affirmative action has been highly controversial. Critics charge that such policies give preferential treatment to people based on their membership in a group and violate the principle that all citizens should be equal under the law. They argue the notion that contemporary Whites and men are made to suffer reverse discrimination at the hands of an overzealous government trying to remedy the effects of past discriminatory practices by their predecessors. Affirmative action advocates counter this rationale by noting that discrimination is, by definition, unfair treatment of people based on their membership in a certain group. Without effective strategies to systematically assist groups who suffer institutional discrimination, achieving an integrated society that affords equal opportunity regardless of group membership would be nearly impossible, they say. The language and the means used to implement affirmative action policies appear to inflame the critics, resulting in a plethora of lawsuits and legislative initiatives meant to define the scope and limitations.

Foremost among the challenges to affirmative action is the landmark Supreme Court ruling in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), which concluded that the work of remedying discrimination could continue—but not in a manner that results in what can be perceived as reverse discrimination. Strict quotas systems were effectively outlawed. Throughout

the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s the Supreme Court has been busy trying to balance the rights of the dominant fully represented groups with the rights of the subordinate underrepresented groups in business, education, and government arenas. *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (1980), *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education* (1986), *United States v. Paradise* (1987), *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson* (1989), *Adarand v. Peña* (1995), *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School* (1996), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2002) were all argued at the federal level. In 2003 the Supreme Court (5–4) upheld affirmative action in university admissions on behalf of the University of Michigan Law School by ruling that “race” could be one of the many factors considered by colleges because it furthers “a compelling interest in obtaining the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body.”

The debate over affirmative action is in many ways a philosophic one centering on a number of key questions that challenge a people’s collective sense of values, morals, ethics, and memory as a nation. Crucial questions must be answered: To what extent does systemic and episodic discrimination and bias still persist, and how does it affect the ability of historically oppressed groups to fully realize the benefits of first-class American citizenship? To what degree do Whites, particularly White men, lose privilege as a result of implementing affirmative action policies designed to create access for people of color, women, and other previously excluded groups?

Some civil rights advocates call America the “United States of Amnesia” because of what they see as the quick willingness to forget a painful past stained with blatant racism, classism, sexism, human exploitation, rape, lynching, theft, and other crimes against humanity. They believe that privileged critics of affirmative action, who are quick to disassociate themselves from the past, must reflect on the legacy of privilege they have inherited. Broadly speaking, Whites have enjoyed a normative system of “affirmative action” for nearly 400 years, whereas people of African descent, Native Americans, and women can count only about 40 tenuous years of affirmative action due to the ongoing court challenges that threaten its existence. The future of affirmative action looks a lot like its past, a continual struggle

to defend its necessity and society’s ability to level the playing field and provide equal opportunity access to all Americans regardless of skin color, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, creed, or disability.

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See also African American Education; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation; Educational Equity; Gender; Educational Equity; Race/Ethnicity; Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; Mexican Americans and Access to Equal Educational Opportunities; Minority Student Access to Higher Education; Privilege; Slave Codes and Literacy; State Role in Education; White Privilege; Women, Higher Education of

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AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

The long struggle of the African American community to secure the right to an education reflects the struggle of many other oppressed groups. The African American community, perhaps more than any other group, has worked diligently to obtain that highly regarded commodity only to encounter great opposition at almost every turn. Despite the vigilance with which their attempts were thwarted, the Black community has been able to make extraordinary strides and forever change the landscape of education in the United States. Characterized by oppression, resistance, and proactive

effort, the complex history of African American education is not only the study of a marginalized group but is central to a holistic understanding of the social and cultural foundations of education.

This entry unfolds primarily chronologically, beginning with African American education in slavery and moving through Reconstruction, segregated schools, and the move for desegregation before reflecting upon contemporary issues related to African American education.

Education in Slavery

Although art and culture had been an integral part of their lives in Africa, the Africans forcibly brought to the United States from 1619 on found opportunities to expand their minds were actively limited. While their technical classification at this time was as indentured servants, their journey was not voluntary, and, unlike White indentured servants, their term of service had no time limit. The fear that an educated Black population would be a rebellious one led to the proliferation of laws against educating Blacks across the South beginning in 1680 in Virginia.

By the mid-1800s most Southern states had enacted laws prohibiting Black literacy, which often applied to free Blacks as well. While much focus is on the South's role at this time, Black children attempting to enter White schools in the North often met with hostility and even violence. The *Roberts v. Boston* (1949) decision upholding school segregation in Boston would later serve as precedent for the Supreme Court's sanction of segregated public schools nationwide in 1896.

The concern over Black literacy in the South may have had some merit since many successful escapees and leaders of slave rebellions were literate. The penalty for learning to read and write varied, but included having a thumb or forefinger removed, being whipped, and in some cases, even death. The vigilance with which these laws were enforced merely served to strengthen the resolve among many Black people to learn to read and write. Across the nation many Black people learned to read and write in any way they could—often teaching themselves, learning secretly at night or in clandestine schools, and even

taking informal lessons from the school-age children of White slave owners. Booker T. Washington taught himself to read while enslaved, remarking that the prohibited nature of learning to read only further fueled his curiosity and tenacity to do so.

The Postwar Years and Reconstruction

After their emancipation and the end of slavery in 1865, the thirst for an education among the newly freed people was acute; however, the Black community quickly found that obtaining an education would still be a difficult task. The value of an education was well known to the Black community, especially when it came time to negotiate labor contracts and settle prices for their crops after harvest. The ease with which illiterate Blacks could be taken advantage of was another motivation to push for an education.

Although their position in the new market was often precarious, many Blacks made the provision of a schoolhouse and teacher a condition of their employment contracts. One of the biggest problems was that very few school facilities existed in the South, even for White children, as the former planter class strongly opposed the concept of public education. The Black community used their newfound political power as well as their collective resources in the early years of Reconstruction to campaign for state-sponsored education. These efforts were largely successful, and in a few short years every Southern state had a provision for separate public schools for Blacks and Whites, albeit with limited funding for additional resources such as buildings, teachers, and supplies for poor White and Black children.

By 1870 nearly one quarter of Black school-age children were enrolled in school. The majority of the support came from within their own African American communities, but they also relied upon support from the Freedmen's Bureau, the Rosenwald Fund, benevolent Northern missionaries, and Southern Whites. Many Northern missionaries came south looking to assist with this enormous project and taught in freedman's schools, but also found an extensive existing network of stable and self-sufficient African American education collectives.

The tremendous progress made by the Black community toward the provision of education was abruptly ended in 1877. Reconstruction was effectively over when the botched presidential election of 1876 led to the famed Compromise of 1877, which elected Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency in exchange for the removal of federal troops from the South. The former planter class had been campaigning to end Reconstruction efforts, particularly those directed toward education, because they threatened the hierarchical agrarian society integral to their continued rule. As they regained control of Southern governments, their efforts to thwart Black education became more entrenched.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Black community's drive to provide education to its members could not be reversed. Blacks saw education as inextricably tied to their true exercise of freedom. This unyielding passion eventually forced the former planter class to become more moderate in their views of education, especially as it became clear that without intervention it was possible for a literate Black population to emerge in the face of a largely illiterate White population. However, as the system of public education became more widespread, the money collected from all taxpayers was systematically diverted toward the provision of education for White students.

The Black community continued to rely on itself to provide educational resources for its schools, often imposing a system of "double taxation" on itself whereby after their tax money was diverted to White schools they would tax themselves again to provide financial and tangible resources to their own schools. The support did not end there, as the Black community also contributed many tangible resources as well, including buses (transportation), desks, land, fuel and other essential resources. They continued to provide these resources even as these materials were freely provided to White schools.

The Black community was largely committed to a liberal education that would prepare Blacks for economic and political independence. Many Whites, however, including those providing critical (although meager) financial support, saw more merit in the provision of vocational education that would prepare Black people for lower agricultural and technical

positions and facilitate the continued control of the planter aristocracy. They saw the schoolhouse as an opportunity to educate Black children to accept their place in the Southern racial hierarchy. Educational materials furnished to Black schools, including materials received from Northern missionaries, were often designed to foster feelings of racial subordination.

This debate over the purpose and direction of Black education was captured by two central Black leaders of the time. Booker T. Washington, a former slave, advocated for the uplifting of the Black community through vocational education at institutions—such as Hampton, where he was educated, and Tuskegee, which he founded—to foster widespread economic and political independence. Harvard-educated W. E. B. Du Bois felt strongly about a classical liberal arts education, particularly for an elite "Talented Tenth" of the Black community.

Jim Crow Segregation

While segregation by race was the norm in the post-war years, it was formally codified into law in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case where Homer Plessy, a man who was seven-eighths White, sued after being removed from the Whites-only car of a segregated train in Louisiana. He had intentionally sat in the car to challenge the constitutionality of the segregation law. To his surprise, the Supreme Court ruled that providing separate accommodations, as long as they were equal, was not a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

From here the Jim Crow era of segregation began and separate accommodations for Blacks and Whites were seen in every aspect of society, including education. However, while segregated facilities were common, they were seldom equal. For example, at the turn of the century, Mississippi's Black students comprised almost 60 percent of the school-age population yet received only 19 percent of the education expenditures. Alabama spent almost \$23 for each of its White students, but less than \$1 for each Black student. This trend continued throughout the era. In 1930 Alabama spent \$37 per White student versus only \$7 per Black student, Georgia spent \$32 versus \$7, Mississippi \$31 versus \$6, and South Carolina \$53 per White student

versus \$5 per Black student. Despite the glaring disparities in Black-White school expenditures, historians such as Vanessa Siddle Walker have documented the success some of these Black schools had in educating their students.

***Brown v. Board of Education* and School Desegregation**

In the late 1920s the fight against segregated schools began at Howard Law School under Charles Hamilton Houston. His vision was to train a cadre of Black lawyers who would go on, through what became the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to fight Jim Crow segregation in schools. After a successful attack on racial segregation in higher education, the team, now led by Thurgood Marshall, turned its attention to segregation in elementary and secondary schools.

The case argued before the Supreme Court was actually comprised of five separate cases from across the nation. These were *Briggs v. Elliot* in South Carolina, *Davis v. Prince Edward County* in Virginia, *Bolling v. Sharpe* in Washington, D.C., *Beulah v. Gebhart* and *Belton v. Gebhart* in Delaware, and the infamous *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which originated in Kansas and became the banner under which all five cases would be brought to court. The Supreme Court issued its ruling, after some delay, on May 17, 1954, marking a historic moment in U.S. education.

Chief Justice Earl Warren read the unanimous opinion of the Court, which held that separating students for instruction solely on the basis of race, even if facilities were equal, was a denial of equal protection rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. The doctrine of equal educational opportunity was created with this ruling. The Court offered a second ruling the following year as to the implementation of its decision. In this decision, referred to as *Brown II*, the Court held that these changes should occur “with all deliberate speed,” a ruling for which the Court has been criticized for inciting massive delays and resistance to its prior ruling.

Reaction to the decision from Whites across the South was swift and overwhelmingly negative. There was little support from President Eisenhower or Congress either. Delays using the courts were a

popular tactic in avoiding desegregation and at this time nearly 500 laws and resolutions to thwart desegregation efforts were undertaken across the South. Some schools opted to shut their public schools down entirely rather than submit to desegregation. In Little Rock, Arkansas, nine Black high school students, known as the “Little Rock Nine” faced opposition from the governor when trying to integrate Central High School and could only attend when President Eisenhower reluctantly sent in the National Guard.

Desegregation occurred very slowly, if at all, into the 1960s until the civil rights movement and a more favorable president and Congress enacted legislation containing the enforcement power to mandate desegregation without further delay. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, 1965 Voting Rights Act, 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, and the 1972 Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) all served to forward the cause of school desegregation. Further legislative and judiciary action in the next several years continued the forward progress and rates of desegregation began to rise significantly.

The *Brown* decision could address desegregation only in the places where it was codified by law, known as *de jure* (by law) segregation. In other places racial segregation was known as *de facto*, or due to circumstances not mandated by law, such as residential segregation. Therefore, some schools, particularly in the North, were not held to the *Brown* decision even though Northern schools were often just as segregated. The 1974 *Milliken v. Bradley* case addressed desegregation in the North, where it was common for predominantly minority urban centers to be surrounded by White suburban districts. In this case, a plan to integrate Detroit through an interdistrict, city-suburban desegregation plan was implemented. It was blocked by the Supreme Court, which ruled that unless it could be proven that the suburban districts were liable for causing the segregation in the city, they could not be held to the remedy. The inability to include suburban districts in desegregation plans proved to be a significant roadblock to achieving meaningful desegregation in the North.

The *Milliken* case marked the beginning of the federal retreat from school desegregation efforts. School desegregation rates continued to climb, but the federal

government increasingly backed away from these efforts. The tide of forward progress shifted drastically in the 1990s with three important Supreme Court cases, *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991), *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), and *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995). Collectively, these cases served to remove federal mandates for further desegregation, effectively allowing schools to return to segregated schooling options, and preventing many school districts from continuing desegregation plans on even a voluntary basis.

Contemporary Issues

With the reversal of support from the Supreme Court, a rapid rise in resegregation can be seen in schools today. Researchers from the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University have documented this change. Some school districts are actually more segregated than they were before desegregation was implemented, even as schools today are more diverse than ever. Black and Latino students are the most segregated students, and many of these students find themselves in “apartheid” schools where over 99 percent of the student body is Black or Latino.

In addition to these segregation issues, known as between-school segregation (or first-generation segregation), there is also a phenomenon of within-school segregation (or second-generation segregation), which includes tactics that perpetuate segregation at the classroom level. For example, tracking, abuse of suspensions and expulsions, and inappropriate gifted and special education placements are all methods that can segregate students by race. African American students are disproportionately represented in low-track and special education classes, as well as among disciplinary cases.

Today’s schools continue to struggle to best meet the needs of African American students. The legacy of the historical and contemporary disenfranchisement of these students can be seen in the achievement gap that exists between African American and, in particular, White and Asian students. It remains to be seen how schools will honor the legacy of passion for and dedication to education historically shown by the Black community and successfully support the learning needs of all students.

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See also Achievement Gap; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Desegregation; Educational Equity; Race/Ethnicity

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans; Chapter 13, Exhibit of American Negroes: *Exposition Universelle de 1900*; Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration’s Photographs of Schools; Chapter 25, Civil Rights

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AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION: FROM SLAVE TO FREE

The resiliency and determination of African Americans to become literate, as part of a long historical struggle against slavery and racism in favor of freedom and equality, gives testimony to the value they placed on education. During the period of slavery, the desire for literacy was in itself an act of resistance. The quest for book learning served as a direct challenge to the repressive law and social customs that strove to keep both enslaved and free African Americans illiterate, as literacy meant empowerment and freedom from enslavement.

Such appreciation for the written word was passed down for generations in the slave community until slavery’s abolition. After slavery, this cultural appreciation for book learning among freed Southern Blacks flourished and took on new forms. As an ideal, literacy still equated with freedom, only this time it related to the extension of personal freedoms as citizens in a democracy and it served as the foundation for citizenship and

individual and collective improvement for Blacks. This entry recalls that history.

During the Slavery Era

On the eve of the Civil War (April 1861), less than 5 percent of the 4.5 million African Americans living in the United States had ever attended school. Consequently, the vast majority of African Americans, 90-plus percent, were deemed illiterate. The primary reason for the lack of literacy and schooling opportunities among African Americans was slavery (4 million African Americans were still enslaved on the eve of the Civil War) and the various antiliteracy laws established to deny or restrict them from learning.

The Role of Literacy

Nearly every American colony, and later state, prohibited or restricted teaching free and enslaved African Americans to read or write. South Carolina was the first. As early as 1740, the colony enacted a law that forbade the teaching of enslaved African Americans. Thirty years later, colonial Georgia enacted a similar statute.

In the American South restrictions against African American literacy grew worse during the antebellum or pre-Civil War era. The laws against teaching enslaved African Americans to read and write during the first half of the nineteenth century grew out of a variety of fears and concerns, the most straightforward concern being the use of literacy as a means to freedom (such as the forging of passes for escape).

By 1840, the slave-sanctioning states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia imposed punishment such as fines, public whippings, and/or imprisonment on anyone caught teaching enslaved or free African Americans. Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee never legally forbade the teaching of enslaved African Americans, but public opinion against African American literacy had so hardened that the actual opportunities for enslaved Blacks and free persons of color to learn decreased as much as in states where illiteracy was legally mandated. Mississippi, Missouri, and Maryland never statutorily penalized anyone associated with teaching African Americans. Rather, they barred public assemblages of African Americans for educational purposes and

strongly discouraged Whites from assisting Blacks in “book learning.”

Harsh Repression

Local sentiment served as an additional impediment to Southern-born African Americans becoming literate during the antebellum era. Proslavery ideologues assumed only madmen would teach their slaves to read or mingle with literate free Blacks. Most believed that slaves should only receive instruction that would qualify them for their “particular station” in life. These sentiments were ingrained points of view by the 1840s, and they complemented the growing number of aforementioned laws banning or hindering literacy among African Americans. Similarly, they served not only as a rationale for the continued maintenance of hereditary slavery and *de jure* (by law) segregation of African Americans in a democratic society, but also to validate the pseudoscience of the day that determined African Americans to be by nature genetically inferior and accordingly incapable of learning.

Enslaved African Americans who aspired to become literate had to learn in secrecy or among individuals they trusted or assumed were uninformed of the law. Many learned firsthand the horrors that awaited a slave able to obtain some book learning. As a child during slavery, William Heard personally witnessed the punishment inflicted on a slave who secretly learned the rudiments of literacy. Heard starkly remembered that any slave caught writing would have his forefinger cut from his right hand. Disfigurement was to ensure that a literate slave never wrote again, because a slave able to write could literally write his or her own pass to freedom. Former slave Lucindy Jurdon had similar recollections. Correspondingly, Arnold Gragston of Macon County, Kentucky, recalled that when his master suspected his slaves of learning to read and write, he would call them to the big house and severely beat them. Still, despite the dangers and difficulties, countless slaves learned to read and write.

In fact, historians speculate that by 1860, 5 to 10 percent of enslaved African Americans had acquired some degree of literacy without ever attending school. Some would learn from the slaveowners themselves, or from a fellow enslaved person who learned to read

or write earlier in life, but most would learn to read and write from the slaveowner's children, who were not cognizant of the antiliteracy laws or local sentiment that discouraged teaching their young Black friends what they had learned in school.

The Civil War and Reconstruction

The fact that a small percentage of African Americans acquired a rudimentary education during enslavement was significantly important during and after the Civil War. These literate African Americans would serve as some of the first teachers to the masses of former slaves who aspired to become literate during enslavement but were not allowed because of slavery and the law. When various Southern states seceded from the Union to form the Confederacy, the nation no longer recognized the laws or sovereignty of these states; accordingly, the antiliteracy laws that hitherto denied African Americans opportunities to become literate or attend school became null and void.

Educating Themselves

Formerly enslaved African Americans throughout the South apparently were well aware of the changes. This was particularly true after 1863 when the nation ratified the Emancipation Proclamation. Liberated Blacks throughout the South immediately demonstrated their lifelong desire for acquiring an education by building and attending schools. Their goal was to use schooling as a means to obtain liberty and literacy for citizenship. But even before the Emancipation Proclamation, as early as 1861, free, freed, fugitive, and enslaved African Americans throughout the South established churches and schoolhouses for individual and collective improvement, and former slaves and freeborn Southern Blacks, literate and barely literate, served as these schools' first teachers.

All the same, the most impressive history of African Americans attempting to educate themselves came after emancipation. Between 1863 and 1870, countless former slaves rushed to the schoolhouse with the hopes of learning how to read and write. In his 1901 autobiography *Up From Slavery*, Booker T. Washington, a part of

this movement himself, described most vividly his people's struggle for education: "Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for education. . . . It was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn" (pp. 30–31).

Most attended what was called a freedmen school, or a school started by Northern teachers who migrated south to assist freedpeople in their transition from slavery to citizenship. By 1870, more than 9,500 teachers, with the assistance of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands—a governmental agency commonly referred to as the Freedmen's Bureau—taught nearly 250,000 pupils in more than 4,300 schools.

Freedom Schools

Another type of grassroots school that arose in the immediate emancipation years was what the late historian Herbert Gutman called "schools of freedom." "Freedom schools" were established, financed, and maintained by former slaves, with only the minimal assistance of others. These virtually self-sufficient schools arose in every locale following the Civil War and historians are finally giving them the attention they deserve.

The collective effort on the part of formerly enslaved African Americans in these freedom schools served as the catalyst for the aforementioned educational activities of Northern freedmen aid and missionary organizations. These agencies and organizations went south to "uplift" and educate former slaves only to find them already engaged in the processes of learning in every state they entered. This surprised some Northerners who maintained preconceived and generalized notions that all enslaved African Americans were downtrodden and in desperate need of guidance and assistance.

Nonetheless, the combined energies and educational activities of Northerners, freedpeople, and the Freedmen's Bureau, systematically educated a people who had been historically denied an education, so much so that by the end of the nineteenth century nearly 60 percent of all African Americans in the South over the age of ten were deemed literate. This

meant that in less than forty years literacy rates among African Americans had increased sixfold.

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See also Freedmen's Bureau; Slave Codes and Literacy

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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AFRICAN AMERICAN PRIVATE ACADEMIES

Dissatisfied with a second-rate education, Africans in America and African Americans historically have opened independent schools or private academies in attempts to either integrate segregated schools or gain influence over the policy, curriculum, and instruction of schools operated for them by European Americans.

In the 1800s, Black parents complained that private schools operated by White religious and benevolent societies did not expect enough of Black students. Frustrated, African Americans established charitable societies (African Woolman Benevolent Society, The Phoenix Society, and the Society for the Promotion of Education Among Colored Children, Savannah Education Association, the American Missionary Association), which in turn established over 150 thriving private academies.

These academies provided high quality education for Black youth in an inhospitable South where a poor establishment view of Black intelligence denied educational opportunity to African Americans. The instruction in academies was highly structured and inclined toward college preparation. In fact, this schooling led easily to college admission. The typical academy did not emphasize industrial education, but did focus on respect for the dignity of labor.

Today half a dozen private academies for African Americans are still in operation, forming the Association of African American Boarding Schools. The schools are Laurinburg Institute, Laurinburg, North Carolina; Piney Woods Country Life School, Piney Woods, Mississippi; Southern Normal School, Brewton, Alabama; Pine Forge Academy, Pine Forge, Pennsylvania; and Redemption Christian Academy, Troy, New York.

Paul Green

See also African American Education

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AFROCENTRIC EDUCATION

Afrocentrism is a multifaceted “racial project” that seeks to reorient how all children (though, most importantly, African American children) learn about the roots of Western civilization. Pointing to the miseducation that African Americans have received throughout the history of the United States, Afrocentrism aims to decenter Eurocentric biases in the standard social studies and history curriculum by establishing Black Egypt as the cradle of Western culture. Scientific discoveries, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, and art are said to have emerged in northern Africa and to have been stolen by the ancient Greeks, who then represented these accomplishments as their own. By teaching children a corrected history of their ancestors, Afrocentrism’s advocates intend to improve the educational achievement of African American children.

Based on the scholarship of several key figures, including Molefi Asante, Asa Hilliard, and Maulana Karenga, Afrocentrism is known as an “essentialist” philosophy of race, which argues not only that ancient Africa’s great accomplishments have been overlooked in the standard curriculum, but also that all descendants of Africa—no matter where they now live, following the Black diaspora—are essentially similar in terms of cognitive, cultural, and aesthetic characteristics. In keeping with this philosophy, Afrocentrists argue that African-descended school children must be taught new content about their history in the curriculum, using new pedagogical methods. Among the different teaching methods proposed are more cooperation than competition, an emphasis on rhythm, and repetition.

Afrocentrism differs from the more widely recognized multiculturalist curriculum supported by most educators. While multiculturalism has many variations, its proponents generally seek to infuse standard history and social studies curricula with a pluralist

appreciation of the contributions of all cultures, while also encouraging students to view history from multiple perspectives. Afrocentrists consider the reforms advocated by multiculturalists to be both inadequate for solving the problem of African American inequality and ideologically suspect. Rather than placing a few sporadic and disconnected items about African Americans into a fundamentally biased curriculum—the charge Afrocentrists make against multiculturalism—Afrocentrism’s supporters argue that public school curricula must be fundamentally transformed to emphasize the uniqueness of African peoples and the impact of African people on world civilization. Afrocentric scholars believe that their mission is revolutionary, rather than reformist, and as such, irreconcilable with the conventionally pluralist claims of multiculturalism.

A spate of Afrocentric curriculum challenges occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, mainly in school districts with majority African American students and teaching staff. Some of the most visible sites for challenge were in Washington, D.C.; Detroit, Michigan; Atlanta, Georgia; and Camden, New Jersey. The first district to seriously incorporate Afrocentric materials into its curriculum was Portland, Oregon, where the baseline essays attracted national attention, both from supporters and detractors. A related challenge also occurred in Oakland, California, where school district officials received widespread criticism for proposing to teach Ebonics (Black English vernacular) as a recognized language.

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See also Black English Vernacular; Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Multiculturalism, Philosophical Implications

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AFTER-SCHOOL EDUCATION

After-school education consists of structured time outside of formal schooling at youth-serving agencies that offer academic activities (homework help and tutoring, field trips, community service) as well as nonacademic activities such as cooking, sports, crafts, and unstructured playtime. Frequently aimed at low-income, minority urban youth, after-school programs incorporate both enrichment and protectionist aspects and function either independently of (or supplemental to) school activities. This entry recalls the history of after-school education and current issues related to practice.

Nineteenth-Century Programs

After-school programs began in the United States during the nineteenth century in response to the following social trends: (a) the increasing population of children, (b) the gradual decline in the need for child labor, (c) the growth of schooling resulting from the passage of compulsory education laws, and (d) immigration. There was, in particular, a growing fear of children who lived in tenements and slums who had nothing to do and nowhere to go except the streets. During this period, “the street” became known as a gathering place for working-class and immigrant boys and, eventually, girls.

Most early programs were informal, unstructured, and not particularly educational, although some provided religious and moral instruction along with a good dose of middle-class values such as cleanliness, punctuality, and honesty. During the Progressive Era, children’s out-of-school time made the transition from unstructured time spent on the street to semistructured opportunities created by social reformers intent on rescuing children from the physical and moral hazards of the streets.

Most after-school programs shared the following aims: to protect children and control their activities, to provide order and a safe space, to socialize children and enrich their lives, to Americanize immigrant children and support their pride in “home” cultures, to reinforce the work of schools, and to nurture

children’s individuality and help them adjust to societal demands. On the one hand, social reformers wanted to protect children and families from the rampant poverty, dangerous working conditions, and poor health that accompanied urbanization and industrialization. On the other, they were influenced by the child study movement, which, during the late nineteenth century, considered childhood to be a distinct stage of life. John Dewey and other Progressive educators argued that, as a result, children needed real-life problems and interaction with the social environment. In addition to focusing on the individual, Progressives expressed a concern for society. After-school programs were supposed to keep society safe from boys and girls who would otherwise engage in crime, sex, school truancy, and other socially unacceptable behaviors.

Boys’ and Girls’ Clubs

By the late 1890s, nascent after-school programs generally expanded to include playrooms and gymnasiums. Around 1900, continued worry about unsupervised and undersocialized working-class boys prompted the addition of “boys’ work” or manual training and shop classes. Between 1900 and 1920, boys’ and girls’ work continued to expand, sponsored by settlement houses, private sources, and churches. In 1905, approximately fifty local after-school programs in Boston formed a national organization that came to be known as the Boys’ Clubs of America, with reformer Jacob Riis as its first president.

By the late 1920s, 120 boys’ clubs in 87 cities were members of the Boys’ Club Federation. Most of the programs operated five or six days a week, from after school until the evening. A nominal membership fee was charged, and Saturday activities (particularly field trips) were common. Activities were arranged in terms of “classes” or focused group activity, or clubs (photography club, history club, science club, dance club, etc.). In order to keep children busy by involving them in constant activity, some classes lasted only twenty minutes. There was some attempt to separate older and younger children because of their different interests. Most boys’ clubs originally had playgrounds as well as a game room and other activity rooms. Then

as now, the gym was the center of activity and basketball was a popular sport.

By the early 1920s, girls made up as many as one third of the participants in some programs, although the activities were gender specific. First involved in drama, music, and domestic crafts such as sewing and cooking, girls began to engage in gymnastics and sports. Although girls were allowed to attend, the clubs were not coeducational. Girls' Club was a separate entity. When membership began dropping at both boys and girls independent organizations, however, girls were finally invited to join boys' clubs as full-fledged members. The Boys' Club would not officially acknowledge girls as members until 1990, when the organization's title was changed to the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Incorporated.

Postwar Growth

During the post–World War II period, after-school programs positioned themselves as a “safe haven” during a time when Cold War fears predominated. Responding to the national agenda, such programs focused on science clubs just as the federal government appropriated money to schools to promote science, math, and foreign language in the national interest.

It was also during this time that low-income children began to use the streets as a form of resistance rather than survival. The rise of urban housing projects—which were often high-rise apartments with no green (or play) space whatsoever—concentrated poor children into a different kind of tenement. The term *juvenile delinquency* began to be used to identify children who were poor, marginalized, and disaffected from school. Rather than situate clubs in areas away from racial minorities, clubs now moved toward them, often locating in storefront facilities in the middle of the inner city.

During the 1960s, the War on Poverty domestic policy declared by U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson stimulated modest growth in after-school programming. An emphasis was placed not only on preventing juvenile delinquency but also on equalizing educational opportunities. The 1966 Coleman Report suggested that the child's home and community environments and extracurricular experiences were as important as school

experiences in determining educational success. After-school programs began to focus on literacy and academic achievement. This caused a shift in funding from private sources (including individual donors, corporate donors, community chests, and United Way agencies) to federal sources and grants from philanthropic foundations. Spurred by the civil rights movement, programming addressed ethnic pride and identification and expanded opportunities for girls.

The role and purpose of after-school programs changed once again in the 1970s and 1980s. The programs became more involved in school-age child care because of an increase in single-parent households due to divorce and numbers of women entering the workplace. Children taking care of younger siblings or family members and lack of supervision left young children vulnerable to victimization and neglect.

Contemporary Challenges

The Back to Basics movement of the schools during the 1980s and 1990s tightened up accountability and administrative control and reemphasized basic skills and direct instruction. Once again, after-school programs were asked to address the problem of educational failure by concentrating on basic skills tutoring and homework help. After-school programs have generally resisted these attempts, citing their commitment to the development of “the whole child” while at the same time providing accountability to donors and sponsors. After-school programs once provided a safe haven from the drugs and gangs of the inner cities. More recently, clubs are considered to be a stable place for children living in poverty whose lives are marked by mobility and instability.

During the late 1990s, after-school programs were considered to be a partner in the effort to meet the needs of low-income children. Due to changes in the welfare laws, more children were left alone while the primary caregivers worked two or more low-paying jobs. Although the distinction is still made between being a day care center and an after-school program, more clubs are providing care for students below the age of five. Yet with economic downturns, some agencies have been forced to consolidate their activities because of shrinking donations.

Governmental entities that contribute to the operational funds of after-school programs are searching for ways to combine the services of programs and community centers in order to be cost efficient. The problem then becomes one of maintaining institutional identity. At the same time, higher education classes that require students to engage in service learning often approach after-school programs as a kind of laboratory or field experience. The end result is that after-school programs have become more burdened and bureaucratic and less free and unstructured.

Although the clubs could be a bridge between family and school, schools (both public and private) have been reluctant to mesh their activities with those of after-school programming and to capitalize on their knowledge of the child's environment. Club staff members are generally not credentialed teachers, are often part-time employees, and have short tenures with long hours and low pay. Schools criticize them for not knowing how to discipline children or for being too empathetic to them. Clubs and schools continue to disagree over the meaning and role of "play," and clubs continue to consider themselves to be more child-centered than schools.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Economic Inequality; Progressive Education

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Web Sites

Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Inc.: <http://www.bgca.org>

ALTERNATIVE ACCREDITATION FOR TEACHERS

Alternative certification allows individuals who have undergraduate degrees in fields other than education to obtain a teaching certificate through participation in

training and/or on-the-job learning experiences. These programs are usually shorter in length and more intense than traditional programs. They provide many different routes to certification, and are characterized by the fact that they offer individuals opportunities to teach without graduating from a traditional teacher-preparation program, fulfilling student teaching obligations, or passing certification exams. Many districts and states around the country are using alternative certification as a means of coping with growing teacher shortages, concerns about quality and quantity of teachers, increased student enrollment, mandates for smaller class size, and the lack of diverse teachers.

Alternative certification programs and the number of people choosing to pursue these avenues are growing. In 2002, forty-five states had alternate routes to teacher certification. Today, more than one in ten teachers enter the profession through alternative certification programs. According to the National Center for Education Information, there are more than 125,000 teachers today who were certified through an alternative certification program, which is three times what it was more than ten years ago.

In recent years, several organizations have provided leadership in the field of alternative certification. Perhaps the most well known of these organizations is Teach for America. Created by Wendy Kopp in 1989 as an extension of her senior thesis at Princeton University, Teach for America recruits recent college graduates, provides them with a five-week summer training session, and then places them in low-income U.S. communities where they agree to teach for at least two years. In the last ten years 5,000 individuals have participated in Kopp's program, teaching largely in urban and rural public schools. Based loosely on the model of the Peace Corps, Teach for America has been funded in part through President Clinton's National Service Initiative, Americorps, and most recently it has received funding through the Bush administration.

There have been many spin-offs of Teach for America, some created by Kopp or by former recruits or managers in the Teach for America organization. These include the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP), Knowledge Empowers You (KEY), The New Teacher Project, and TEACH! In addition to national programs, state programs are creating ways for teachers to obtain teaching certification in nontraditional ways.

In some cases, the requirements are very similar to those in traditional programs.

Some educators support whereas others oppose alternative accreditation programs. Some educators in favor of these programs suggest that colleges of education are producing mediocre teacher candidates; alternative approaches that allow people to become certified without graduating from these programs offer the opportunity to recruit highly skilled people from the private sector who have developed real-world experience, they say.

Critics of alternative certification argue that these programs deskill and deprofessionalize teachers by providing them with inadequate training and by taking the education of teachers out of the hands of colleges and universities. Critics view alternative accreditation as employment programs for liberal arts graduates on their way to a real job, and they fear that this rationale affords no protection to the pupils, who are often the most disadvantaged students. It is common for alternative-certificate holders to be assigned to disadvantaged neighborhoods where students are frequently subjected to substitute teachers and inexperienced, unsupported recruits, many of whom don't last a year in the classroom.

It is likely that opinions of accreditation programs for teachers differ because the programs themselves vary greatly—ranging from full-fledged education programs with stringent entry criteria to programs with nonexistent entry requirements that make unsupervised emergency placements.

Jodi C. Marshall

See also Deskillings

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ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

Throughout its history, American education has included alternative forms of schooling that provide choices to parents, students, and teachers. Over the years, alternative schools have provided opportunities beyond those offered by traditional public, religious, and independent schools. In many different formats and motivations, they have met evolving needs.

Public schools did not exist during the Colonial Period (1607–1783). Lawrence Cremin has described the period as the golden age of alternatives. These alternatives ranged from formal Latin grammar schools to academies, dame schools, moving schools in the South, the use of tutors, and the apprenticeship system, reflecting the strong religious beliefs of the colonists.

Following the formation of the United States, the focus was on nationalism and patriotism. During the National Period (1783–1876) of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization, the common school movement was publicly supported and controlled. Private academies attracted the wealthy. Experimental educational ideas were part of the newly created utopian communities. Examples are Robert Dale Owen's vocational education in New Lanark, Scotland; Joseph Neef and William McClure's Pestalozzian School in New Harmony, Indiana; and Brook Farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, which offered an idealistic form of schooling within a utopian community. Catholic parochial schools also developed during the nineteenth century as religious alternatives.

During the Progressive Period (1876–1957), the individual student became the focus of alternatives to public schools. Parents, teachers, and communities utilizing Dewey's progressive teaching ideas led these efforts. Examples include the Walden School and Caroline Pratt's play school in New York and the Park Schools in Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cleveland.

During the social and political ferment of the 1960s and 1970s, parents demanded choices in the schooling of their children. These alternative schools were not state accredited or funded. An alternative schools directory listed about 350 schools with about 15,000 students and 3,000 staff. These schools symbolized the radical reform movements of the time.

They focused on changing the structure and process of education, influencing public schools. The spectrum ranged from schools as part of communes in rural settings to urban-centered, storefront schools. The middle-class White community was seeking unstructured opportunities for their children to acquire traditional academic skills.

People of color emphasized their culture and parental involvement. Examples were the Harlem Prep School, Born Free, the Unschool, Someday School, and the Sante Fe Community School. They ranged from suburban to rural, Black inner-city to multicultural schools. They could be found in churches, storefronts, homes, and old barns. Such notables as George Dennison, Nat Hentoff, and Jonathan Kozol were leaders in the movement. Kozol ran a free school in the Roxbury ghetto. Learning also began to take place within the community, like at the Cleveland Urban Learning Community, a school without walls. "Schools within public schools" were started, like that at the New School in New York. More recent efforts have focused on such alternatives as homeschooling and voucher and charter schools.

Alternative schools since the 1970s have taken on many guises, including school choice programs and independent and home-based education. They not only provide a test bed for innovation, but an alternative choice for those parents and children not interested in more traditional models of schooling.

Sally H. Wertheim

See also Charter Schools; Free School Movement

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AMERICAN EDUCATION, THEMES IN THE HISTORY OF

Since the institution of schooling directly reflects a culture's essential characteristics, there are meaningful and recurrent patterns—persistent themes—in the history of American education. An understanding of these key themes, which are described in this entry, helps to explain the social and political issues that shape public schooling.

One defining theme is nationalism. Teaching children how to be "Americans"—and, indeed, defining what this means—has been a consistent fundamental purpose of public schooling. Since the early years of nationhood, influential Americans have viewed the school as a primary agency for training in citizenship, loyalty to the state, and personal identification with the national heritage, mythology, and interests. Early American intellectuals (such as Noah Webster and Benjamin Rush) realized that the United States lacked a traditional, distinctive culture, language, and historical identity, and had grown out of a national ideal or ideology that needed to be deliberately instilled in each new generation.

The common school initiatives of the mid-nineteenth century gained support in large part because the rise of immigration seemed to threaten this national identity. The launching of the *Sputnik* satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 galvanized school reform in the interest of national defense, and the landmark 1983 report *A Nation at Risk* zealously restated this theme, charging public education with the task of safeguarding the very survival of the American nation.

Schooling has also been shaped significantly by the distinctive features of the economic system of capitalism. In essence, capitalism is a social order based on meritocracy—a presumably open competition in which winners achieve high status, wealth, and influence and losers are expected to accept the conditions of their roles as employees and consumers. Capitalism measures success primarily in economic terms (profit, income, gross national product, etc.) and tends to push aesthetic and spiritual concerns to the margins of the culture. Education is consequently defined in terms of effective management and productivity.

Since the 1840s, when Horace Mann persuaded the emerging industrialist elite to support public education because it would provide a supply of dependable, sober, disciplined factory workers, schools have been used to cultivate a compliant and productive workforce. Increasingly since the start of the twentieth century, business leaders and policy makers have steered education toward values of “social efficiency,” standardization, and management of what is often called “human capital.” The testing, grading, labeling, and ranking of students reflect a competitive, materialistic, production-oriented economic system. Many young people and their families value education above all else for the vocational opportunities it can open for them, if they are successful in school.

Historically, the rise of capitalism was linked to the modernist philosophy of scientific reductionism, which views the world from a materialist and utilitarian perspective. Nature is best understood, according to this perspective, through objective observation, measurement, and abstract reasoning. Complex, holistic processes are reduced to their most basic components and discrete functions. Through such analysis, modern society can develop powerful tools and technologies to manage natural resources, and human energies are viewed as such resources. In the early years of the twentieth century, social scientists and educators began to apply this technocratic approach to social institutions, especially schooling. Intelligence tests, behaviorist psychology, “scientific management,” and other presumably objective techniques were developed and increasingly used to provide more consistent control of teaching and learning.

At the same time, American culture has been shaped by a religious ideology that has resisted the secular worldview. What might loosely be called a Puritan theology draws a firm distinction between the natural, material world and the realm of the divine or sacred, and sees humanity as “fallen” or sinful because we are immersed in the physical world. Only through personal religious faith can one be “redeemed” or spiritually rescued. American religious life is complex and diverse, and this theology has been expressed through numerous forms, sects, and beliefs. Together, they constitute a powerful element of

American culture that has influenced educational philosophy and policy.

Ongoing political arguments over evolution and creationism, the role of prayer or Scripture in schools, and the teaching of morally controversial subjects or texts demonstrate this influence. On a more subtle cultural level, the view of the child as an intellectually and morally empty vessel, needing instruction and discipline in order to properly mature, is at least partly rooted in this theological heritage. In addition, historians have shown how Puritan morality was closely aligned with capitalist values of individual initiative and the virtue of the “work ethic”; in this view, success and wealth naturally flow to deserving individuals. Schooling is then construed as a public arena for testing and grading to determine who deserves success.

Interwoven with these cultural themes in American history is an ongoing struggle for democracy. The *ideal* of democracy, expressed in soaring notions such as “freedom,” “liberty,” “equality under the law,” and “government of the people,” is widely venerated, but the implementation of this ideal has been irregular, due to social, political, and economic conflicts that have led to an inequitable distribution of opportunity and privilege. Race, class, gender, ethnic, or religious identity and other human differences have been exploited to permit some individuals access to higher status and to deny such access to others. Paradoxically, the success of capitalism, although rooted in an ideal of fair competition, has led to substantial disparities of wealth, status, and influence that provide significant advantages to a minority of society.

Schools have been greatly affected both by the democratic ideal and by the failure of American society to fully attain it. From Thomas Jefferson to Horace Mann and down to recent times, public education has in part been conceived as a mechanism for attaining a more fully participatory, democratic society—a way to equalize opportunities for personal advancement. Yet throughout the history of American education, democratically oriented policies and reforms have faltered against the biases and interests that perpetuate social divisions and inequality. Segregation of the “common” schools by race and class, even when legally banned, has continued due to patterns of neighborhood settlement and distribution of property taxes. Some of the

most intractable, and sometimes violent, conflicts over education have arisen over different interpretations of, or commitment to, the democratic ideal.

Ron Miller

See also Democracy and Education; Philosophy of Education; Politics of Education

See Visual History Chapter 4, The Common School Movement; Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was founded in 1916 by classroom teachers who believed that the National Education Association (NEA), founded in 1857, did not represent teachers who were interested in negotiating for better salaries, professional working conditions, and the protection of basic civil rights such as free speech and political participation. Early organizational efforts were led by activists in Chicago, such as Margaret Haley, and by Henry Linville in New York City. Linville became the first president of the AFT, and John Dewey became an honorary member. The AFT became a union under the broad umbrella of the American Federation of Labor led by Samuel Gompers. Today, it is an affiliated international union of the AFL-CIO with more than 3,000 local affiliates nationwide and 43 state affiliates.

The ineffectiveness of efforts within the NEA to democratize its organization and give a stronger voice to classroom teachers provided an impetus for the newly formed AFT. The NEA scorned the practice of collective bargaining and considered affiliation with working-class unions to be unprofessional.

It maintained an organizational structure that was controlled by school administrators who were unsympathetic to teacher-defined initiatives.

Nevertheless, early growth of the American Federation of Teachers was slow, although some organizational success was achieved in larger urban areas and in cities and towns that had histories of labor organization. The AFT adopted a platform of social progressivism that some teachers found too liberal. During the 1930s, the AFT was scandalized by the presence of Communists in their association. Though these individuals were eventually rooted out under the union presidency of George S. Counts, organizational growth had been damaged by the public perception that the AFT was a radical organization.

Societal events of the later 1950s and 1960s had an impact on teacher organization. The crush of the baby boom generation on the schools led to severe problems with overcrowding, inadequate school facilities, and difficulty in attracting teachers into careers with poor pay and benefits. The AFT's successes in collective bargaining successes enhanced its growth. The 1961 New York City strike of teachers, organized by the United Federation of Teachers and its president, Albert Shanker, closed down the city's schools and established the ability of a teachers union to carry out a work stoppage. State court rulings that removed classroom teachers from the "critical health and public safety employees" category, which included police officers and firefighters, meant that injunctions against teacher union strikes were no longer easy to obtain. One by one, the states introduced laws allowing teacher strikes. Shanker led the AFT until his death in 1997.

The NEA's adoption of collective bargaining, its inclusion of classroom teachers in the administrative structure of the organization, and its political influence through the political action committees of its state affiliates stole some of the thunder that historically had belonged to the AFT. Today, NEA membership stands at 3.2 million, while AFT membership is 1.4 million.

William Edward Eaton

See also National Education Association

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Web Sites

American Federation of Teachers: <http://www.aft.org>

AMERICANIZATION MOVEMENT

Americanization has been defined as the instruction of immigrants in the English language and U.S. history, government, and culture. The push to Americanize immigrants has continually been a part of American society and education. However, at no time in the history of the United States was this effort as widespread as in the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly between the years 1914 and 1924, an interval referred to as the Americanization period. This entry looks at the roots of assimilationist ideas, the proponents and opponents of the movement, and the implementation and goals of Americanization.

Historical Roots

Americanization has been a key educational issue since Horace Mann's early nineteenth-century introduction of the concept of the common school. Mann believed the central and fundamental purpose of the public school was to teach good citizenship and democratic participation in order to produce a common culture for the good of society.

The first manifestation of Americanization occurred in the 1850s when large numbers of Catholic, Celtic, and Teutonic immigrants arrived in Protestant, Anglo-Saxon America. Nativists, Americans advocating stricter immigration laws, called attention to the increasing numbers of "undesirables," predominantly Irish and German immigrants. The "Know Nothings," named for their refusal to answer questions about their

group activities, worked to prohibit undesirable immigrants from acquiring citizenship. Political Nativism reached its peak when supporters of the movement gained control of several state legislatures in the mid-1850s. However, interest in Nativist groups waned as national attention turned to the pre-Civil War debate over slavery and secession.

Immigration numbers did not increase dramatically until the first decade of the twentieth century. Immigration reached a historical high between 1901 and 1910, with 8,795,386 immigrants recorded. The next decade saw the second highest number of immigrants (5,735,811) despite the advent of war, with 93 percent of those immigrants coming from Eastern, Southern, and Central Europe. This influx of European immigrants, whose customs, languages, and traditions were different from those practiced in America, raised concern among the citizenry. Anglo-American citizens responded to their suspicion, fear, and wartime hysteria with a new nativistic movement. Americanization was seen as the way to strengthen the country by compelling immigrants to assimilate and become naturalized citizens.

The height of the Americanization period began with World War I and ended with the enactment of the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924. The beginning of war in Europe precipitated a return of U.S. resident aliens and naturalized citizens to Europe for the purpose of supporting those countries they considered their homelands. This exit caused many Americans to question the loyalties of all immigrants. The purpose of the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924 was to strictly curtail the number of immigrants from any one country.

Movement Proponents

Americanization was advocated by citizens in all levels of government and social strata. As early as 1904, Theodore Roosevelt used assimilation as a theme in his campaign for president, stating, "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language . . . and we have room for but one soul loyalty and that is a loyalty to the American people." Woodrow Wilson, in a speech to new citizens in 1915 contended, "You cannot become thorough Americans

if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American.” Calvin Coolidge in his state of the union address in 1923 said, “America must be kept American.” Elwood P. Cubberly, Dean of the Stanford University School of Education, defined the purpose of the movement as that of breaking up ethnic groups and helping individuals assimilate to American culture, thereby instilling in them an understanding of the concepts of law and order propagated in Anglo-Saxon countries, as well as a respect for the democratic form of government.

Beginning in 1915, citizens were urged to turn annual Fourth of July celebrations into a celebration of American citizenship. The National Americanization Day Committee sponsored by *The Immigrants in America Review*, a quarterly publication, along with the U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration Service, urged communities across the country to organize local Americanization Day celebrations for the purpose of dissolving the boundaries between native-born Americans and newly naturalized citizens. The event, advertised through foreign language newspapers, was promoted as an opportunity for native-born citizens to honor naturalized citizens.

The Americanization theme took different forms. Royal Dixon, Vice President of the League of Foreign Born Citizens and author of *Americanization* (1916), urged the Americanization of both recent and not-so-recent immigrants. Emory Bogardus, author of *Essentials of Americanization* (1919) and a professor at the University of Southern California, advocated the Americanization of minority groups, including American Indians, Negroes, and Appalachian Mountaineers. Gino Speranza, author of *Race or Nation: A Conflict of Divided Loyalties* (1923), urged a return to the nation’s original Anglo-Saxon Protestant principles. In *Reforging America: The Story of Our Nationhood*, Lothrop Stoddard, a professor at Harvard University, urged all citizens to unite with one national loyalty.

Perhaps the most prolific writer and strongest advocate of Americanization was Frances Kellor, lawyer, settlement worker, editor of *The Immigrants in America Review*, secretary of the National Americanization Committee, and unofficial spokeswoman

for myriad committees, divisions, and bureaus. Kellor promoted Americanization for both citizens and immigrants, clarifying America’s immigration policy as one of racial assimilation. She also interpreted the immigration influx as an economic asset, but proposed strict immigration policies and subsequent naturalization of immigrants in order to lessen exploitation.

Autobiographies from the period were replete with the Americanization themes of freedom and opportunity based in hard work and perseverance. *The Autobiography of Edward Bok* tells how an immigrant from the Netherlands rose from a modest beginning to become the long-time publisher of *The Ladies’ Home Journal*. Bok made reference to his desire to take advantage of all America had to offer, no matter how much work was involved, while relying on honesty, perseverance, speaking English, giving back to the country, and patriotism to bring him success.

In a similar vein, autobiographies by Mary Antin, a Jewish immigrant from Russia, and Michael Pupin, a Serbian immigrant and eventual professor at Columbia University, told of the “American Miracle.” For Antin, the United States provided the miracle of free education, the beneficence of the police, and the equality of all. Pupin recounted his amazement at being treated with respect and kindness by a farmer, which taught him more about the spirit of democracy than any classroom. He learned more about the democratic election process when he saw the peaceful resolution of a disputed presidential election.

Culturally Pluralistic Ideas

Many, however, objected to the all-out assimilation of immigrants, and called for the unification of diversity, not its obliteration. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House saw Americanization as an opportunity to help disadvantaged immigrants attain a higher standard of living. Immigrants could learn English at Hull House, but were encouraged to maintain their native languages and unique cultural practices. Addams contended that a person’s character should be valued above his or her ability to assimilate cultural norms. Addams and Starr hoped to see American society become more cosmopolitan through the convergence of old and new cultures.

Similarly, Horace Kallen and John Dewey saw Americanization not as assimilation, but as an opportunity to combine cultures. Dewey rejected the concept of the American race, noting that no single culture could provide a standard of conformity for other cultures. Kallen coined the term *cultural pluralism* to describe the United States as a commonwealth of combined cultures seeking common goals. He believed that ethnic diversity could enrich American civilization, and argued that one's cultural heritage could not be abandoned in the manner that one might change one's clothes, politics, or religion. Dewey and Kallen saw the American as a person who had successfully integrated two cultures to form a distinctly new culture.

Opposition to the Americanization movement hardly impacted popular opinion. The Americanizers were able to strike a chord in the hearts of the American public, convincing them that the assimilation of the immigrant was necessary for the well-being of the country. However, disorganization at the national level prevented the movement from attaining its goal of reaching all immigrants.

Implementation

The general consensus of government agencies was in favor of the Americanization movement; however, no single agency was given full control over the establishment of a nationwide Americanization program. A bill enacted in 1915 provided federal monies to any organization, public or private, that desired to provide Americanization classes and established the National Americanization Committee, which organized the first Americanization Day. However, this committee was not given authority to coordinate the organization of classes at the national level.

There were at least ten governmental agencies and thirty private agencies that provided some form of Americanization training for immigrants, but without federal guidance, these agencies became rivals in the establishment of programs, often overlapping in services provided. Eventually, in 1924, at the same time the Johnson Immigration Act was passed, Congress made the Americanization movement official, with the U.S. Bureau of Education leading the program. The National Americanism Committee and the Division of Americanism were established by the

Bureau of Education for the purpose of providing Americanization education for all immigrants.

Despite its leadership role in the waning days of the movement, the federal government did not attempt to manage the details of all Americanization programs, choosing to leave most plans and decisions to the local agencies that already had established Americanization programs. State and city governments as well as private organizations sponsored Americanization classes and were allowed to dictate their own standards for teaching English, democracy, and citizenship.

Church groups, civic organizations, local boards of education, and industries offered classes for the adult immigrant, while immigrant school-age children were immersed in mainstream American school classrooms, without the opportunity for special language programs. Publishers and authors, both private and public, offered many new textbooks designed to teach adult immigrants to read and write English in order to become naturalized American citizens. English language instruction was considered to be the quickest and most effective route to assimilation, "a door into your souls through which American life may enter" as noted by Judge Charles F. Amidon, while passing sentence on sedition.

Goals

The aim of the Americanization movement was to impose assimilation of all things American on immigrants, requiring them to abandon the cultures and languages of their homelands in favor of American culture and language. Three elements were considered necessary for immigrants to assimilate. Immigrants were expected to change the precepts within themselves that determined their attitudes and actions in order to adopt a spirit of democracy. In addition to inward change, immigrants had to change outwardly, putting on the habits and lifestyle of typical Americans. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly they had to learn the English language and use it regularly in all dealings, both public and private.

Full and complete assimilation was accepted as outward proof of an inner allegiance to the country. The goal of Americanization was to create a nation solidified in purpose and aspiration, which would allow the country to be impregnable to its enemies.

The purpose of Americanization classes was to mold immigrants into politically, culturally, and linguistically ideal Americans in order to become part of the American race.

Annis N. Shaver

See also Immigrant Education: History

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AMERICAN LABOR COLLEGES

The independent labor colleges represented the most radical form of workers' education in the early twentieth century. Work People's College (1903–1941) located in Duluth, Minnesota; Commonwealth College (1925–1939) in Mena, Arkansas; and Brookwood Labor College (1921–1941) in Westchester County, New York, earned the most notoriety. They grew out of the American noncommunist left, namely the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, which flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Educational progressives also provided intellectual support by serving as trustees and guest lecturers. Although uniquely American, labor college students and teachers knew about the workers' education efforts of their British counterparts.

The labor colleges maintained two educational goals: creating a new social order and preparing worker-students for active service in the labor movement as organizers, lawyers, and writers, not as labor bureaucrats. Full-time studies at these residential labor colleges involved classroom work as well as experiential learning. Instructors generally came from the ranks of agricultural and industrial workers themselves. The formal curriculum fell into two categories: theoretical (or background) subjects and tool (or utilitarian) courses. The former critiqued capitalism in classes like labor history and economics. Guided by the notion of direct action, the latter gave students practical, organizing skills through journalism to publish newspaper reports on working conditions and strikes, public speaking to communicate with large crowds, proletarian drama (borrowing the agitprop tradition) to raise the consciousness of workers, and organizing experience through field work among sharecroppers and unskilled factory workers. The labor colleges made no explicit claims about cultivating a communal environment, but nevertheless they did. Teachers and students worked together to construct and repair buildings, cook meals, launder clothes, maintain gardens, and wash dishes, among numerous other tasks.

The labor colleges provided many of the leaders who organized the Congress of Industrial Organizations during the 1930s. Longstanding internal stresses combined with this newfound visibility contributed to their demise. Usually restrained, dogmatic differences between socialist and communist students and instructors became strident during the fluid 1930s, spawning school strikes and irreparable political and personal divisions. Because of their anticapitalist views and labor organizing activities, local and federal law enforcement agencies monitored the schools, ultimately pressuring them to close.

Richard J. Altenbaugh

See also Highlander Folk School

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AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE

In the early twentieth century, most schools for the deaf across the nation used the “natural” sign language, now called American Sign Language (ASL). Most of the administrators and teachers who ran these schools were deaf. Not until 1880, after an international conference in Milan, Italy, did educators decide that the oral approach was the best way to teach deaf children. The rationale was that to assimilate the deaf children into the society of hearing people, the children must learn to speak and understand the language of their hearing community and to read and write it well.

From the perspective of many deaf communities, this reflects a dark period of deaf education. One by one, schools for the deaf all over the nation abolished ASL, forced deaf educators out of their jobs, and radically changed the classroom atmosphere forever. Deaf students in the classrooms were forced to speak and write in English only. Oralism continued well into the twentieth century; ultimately, however, the effort to teach deaf students to speak, read lips, and be literate was a dismal failure. Today strictly oral schools are rare; however, oral methods are still used to teach students to become bilingual and bicultural.

In the 1960s William Stokoe, a scholar of ASL, was instrumental in shifting perceptions of ASL from a sub-standard form of English to a thriving, complex natural language of the deaf with a rich syntax and grammar. For the first time, ASL was deemed an important and viable mode of communication for deaf students. While it was recognized that manual communication was essential in educating deaf students, hearing professionals created sign systems that mirrored oral English rather than using ASL. Many believe this occurred because manually coded (oral) English is easier for the hearing individual to use than to learn a new language for educating deaf students. The next thirty years promoted educating the deaf through total communication—the use of sign systems and oral methods. As a result, ASL became influenced by these other sign systems and many deaf individuals experienced language confusion

as they graduated from school and became socialized into the deaf community.

In 1988, the deaf community organized a rally, Deaf President Now (DPN), to protest the newly appointed hearing president of Gallaudet University, the world’s only deaf university. The protest quickly became a national platform for the deaf community to raise public awareness about the rights and abilities of deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals. In the years following the protest, many bills and laws were passed that advanced the rights of deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals to include the recognition of ASL as the natural language of the deaf.

Today, many colleges and universities accept ASL as part of the foreign language requirement, and interpreting programs have been established. According to recent reports, ASL is the fourth most-used language in the United States and thirty-five states officially recognize ASL as a language. As well, the push to accept ASL as a viable mode for teaching deaf students has been advanced through the bilingual-bicultural (bi-bi) movement, whereby deaf students are taught first in their native language and learn oral English as a second language. The goal of this approach is to create fully literate deaf students who are proficient in ASL and written English.

Barbara J. Dray and Lee Dray

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling

See Visual History Chapter 21, Students With Special Needs

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ANNA T. JEANES FOUNDATION

The Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, also known as the Negro Rural School Fund, was established by Quaker heiress Anna T. Jeanes in 1907. She directed that her estate of \$1 million was to support the “rudimentary

education” of African Americans in the rural South. The foundation or fund, administered by the Rockefeller Foundation’s General Education Board, supported special supervisory teachers who offered guidance to Black rural school teachers, who might be poorly trained and lacking other support. More than one half of the salary was paid by the fund, and the remainder was paid by the county board of education. The initial plan was to employ a Jeanes teacher at a demonstration center in the county, one who would also serve as a supervisor of the rural Black schools within the county school system.

But it was the work of one Black teacher, Virginia Randolph, in Henrico County, Virginia, that would ultimately define the role of the Jeanes teacher. The daughter of slaves, Randolph began teaching at sixteen after she graduated from high school. She then established her own Mountain Road School where she paired the teaching of industrial arts of cooking and sewing with the moral values of cleanliness and orderliness. Jackson Davis, Henrico school superintendent, applied for a grant from the Negro Rural School Fund and adopted Randolph’s model for the rural Black schools. The leaders of the fund were so impressed with Randolph’s work in Virginia that they hired her as the first supervising industrial teacher in 1908.

Randolph’s instructional model became known as the Henrico plan and formed the basis for the work of the fund in each of the Southern states that allowed Jeanes teachers into their Black rural schools. For Jeanes teachers, education was about the whole community and its welfare, with the school as the agency that would teach people how to live better. Under the guidance of the Jeanes teachers, Black schools came to resemble settlement houses where students and their parents learned more than just “the 3Rs”—they learned about health, sanitation, and nutrition, and homemaking skills as well. The teachers also worked outside of the schools by consulting with ministers and speaking at churches on school-related issues, and they lobbied White politicians on school boards for financial support of Black teachers and their students.

By 1911, the fund employed 129 teachers across the South, most of whom were Black women; the first group of Jeanes teachers had no college training. By the mid-1930s, 45 percent had obtained their bachelor’s

degrees, paid for by the fund, through summer courses at Hampton Institute. While the number of Jeanes teachers had grown to about 500 by 1950, their role was being impacted by the societal and cultural changes occurring across the nation. The *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision declared segregated schools unconstitutional; the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act provided funding for vocational education at rural high schools; the civil rights movement had begun; and industrial training for African Americans was viewed as outdated. The fund and its teachers stopped their work in 1968.

Louise Anderson Allen

See also African American Education; African American Education: From Slave to Free

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ANTIRACIST EDUCATION

Antiracist education, also referred to as antiracism education, has emerged within the broader field of multicultural education. Its explicit focus on power relations, institutional structures, and identity distinguish it from more traditional forms of multicultural education. Antiracist education emphasizes the need to address systemic barriers that cultivate and sustain racism, particularly within educational settings. Similarly, at the theoretical level antiracist education seeks to support social justice and equity by understanding and dealing with the complexity of identity and the intersection of diverse forms of difference and marginalization, including social class, gender, ethnicity, ability, linguistic

origin, sexual orientation and religion, among others. This entry addresses the theoretical, conceptual, and applied aspects of antiracist education.

The Context

Antiracist education was born in the UK over two decades ago in response to an anti-immigration backlash from right-wing conservatives. Key figures that shaped the field were Barry Troyna and Bruce Carrington, and there was some important work in schools by David Gillborn. In the United States, antiracist education has direct links with the civil rights movement and has been advanced by a number of contemporary educational scholars who adopt a critical stance toward multicultural education; influential researcher activists leading the field include James Banks, Cherry McGee Banks, Christine Sleeter, Carl Grant, and Sonia Nieto. Their focus is on honoring difference and correcting differential learning experiences and outcomes, especially among minority and marginalized students. This has also been referred to as “antibias” or “antioppression” education, following Kevin Kumashiro, and there is an explicit connection to various forms of difference in social justice education in the United States.

The term *antiracist education* is more contested than *multicultural education* because it specifically mentions the word *race*, now understood to have no biological significance. While race no longer holds salience as a genetic concept, society has long been organized around categorizations of people based on perceived racial identity. The fact that Aboriginal peoples have lived on the land known as North America for some 20,000 years underscores the antiracist vantage point that power relations and identity need to be problematized within the context of colonization. Similarly, the infamous legacies of slavery, segregation, Jim Crow and myriad discriminatory laws, policies, and social practices have divided the United States along racialized lines. The reality that more African American males are in prison than in university, combined with the illustrative socioeconomic and educational context, are further evidence of the effects of discrimination based on racial identities in contemporary American society.

Antiracist education seeks to correct inequities within this social context. On the one hand is the

concrete reality of underachievement, marginalization, and discrimination, and on the other is a pervasive ideology of individualism, merit-based achievement, and an education system that has historically ignored social justice issues. For the past two decades, the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) has been one of the leading organizations articulating a vision for antiracist education, and it includes social justice and the struggle to eradicate inequity and discrimination in its official definition of multicultural education.

The Foundation

In their conceptualization of antiracist education, Canadian scholars George Sefa Dei and Agnes Calliste have questioned the notion of a color-blind society and argue in favor of a more transparent and equitable sharing of power. The history of race relations is never neutral, and antiracist education requires surveying and critiquing textbooks, curricula, policies, outcomes, and general conditions related to education to better understand and take action on inequity and racism. As Paul Carr and Darren Lund’s recent work concludes, this must include recognition of Whiteness, the understanding that White people have acquired and exercised power and privilege based on their racial identity. The role and implication of White teachers in classrooms with diverse student bodies has been a growing area of interest for antiracist educators, including Gary Howard in the United States.

The premise of antiracist education is that excellence and equity are intertwined. To achieve equity, explicit and implicit efforts, strategies, and resources must be concentrated and activated in a coherent manner. Frances Henry and Carol Tator have written about the “colour of democracy,” documenting how supposed democratic structures and systems work to support racism. For antiracist education to be realized, it is imperative that systems, structures, and institutions are critically assessed and reformed.

Neo-Marxist antiracist theorists have linked racism and marginalization in society with capitalism and the economic exploitation of the working class and marginalized groups. Following the work of Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux and others have promoted the need for

political literacy and critical pedagogy, widely considered important elements of the antiracist education movement. Antiracist education, therefore, seeks to cultivate critical thinking and an appreciation among students for the lived experiences of all people. Giving voice to those who have traditionally been marginalized is a key step in making schools more inclusive and representative.

Antiracist education seeks to develop an inclusive curriculum that encourages critical reflection and action, infused throughout subject areas and school culture. As Julie Kailin has argued, all teachers must be able to present concepts, examples, lessons, and activities that foster social justice and equity, and that support high academic achievement. Antiracist educators understand that all education is political, and their approach to inequity includes the need to address power imbalances for the benefit of all students.

Complementing the field of antiracist education are a number of group-specific disciplines, including Latino/a Studies, Asian American Studies, African American Studies, and Aboriginal/First Nations Studies, all of which deal with the legacy and implication of race playing a role in histories, cultures, and social conditions.

Moving From Multicultural Education to Antiracist Education

While critical pedagogues and scholars in the United States usually refer to multicultural education, this differs from conceptualizations of the term in other English-speaking countries, namely Canada, Australia, and the UK. In Canada in the mid-1990s, Earl Mansfield and Jack Kehoe characterized the multicultural-antiracist schism by noting that multicultural education is usually focused on intergroup harmony, celebration of diversity, and cultural heritage and pride, while antiracist education attends to educational disadvantage, systemic racism, power relations, politics, and critical analysis. Likewise, Stephen May has been critical of the unfulfilled promises of multicultural education, particularly the limited perspective on inequitable power relations. He has taken aim at the Eurocentric curriculum that pervades teaching and learning, and calls for broader understanding of the social context shaping the education experience.

Antiracist education raises issues that often elicit discomfort and tension, and its supporters understand this conflict as a necessary part of the learning process. They believe that education should not avoid dealing with systemic issues but, rather, should require that students become engaged in understanding and acting on controversial issues. Antiracist education presupposes a commitment to the praxis of education—the intersection of theory and practice—extending earlier practices of multicultural education that were limited to fostering tolerance and respect.

Antiracist education critically analyzes both the development and implementation of educational policy. While the process for developing policy is important, antiracist education considers closely the outcome of such policies. For example, the dropout—or as George Sefa Dei calls it, the “push-out”—rate of Black/African American students in education must be problematized at several levels. Rather than pathologizing the role of the Black/African American family, antiracist educators are critically focused on how teachers, principals, education officials, and decision makers are complicit in this situation.

Antiracist Education Policies

A number of jurisdictions, particularly in Canada, the UK, and Australia, have developed school-based antiracism policies. However, the overall commitment and emphasis on antiracism appears to take place in a patchwork manner, with some school boards and provinces or states embracing the approach more than others, as results from large nationwide studies by Patrick Solomon and Cynthia Levine-Rasky in Canada have shown. Antiracism policies are often fraught with the very issues that they are intended to dismantle, namely systemic discrimination, passive resistance, and marginalized status in competition with a curriculum focused on achieving high academic standards. In addition to the formal policy articulating guidelines for action, jurisdictions with such policies customarily provide resource documents, training, and dispute-resolution mechanisms to monitor and support progress.

In the United States, there are numerous initiatives addressing academic underachievement. The No Child Left Behind legislation requires data collection based on race, but this has been critiqued because

school boards have flexibility in reporting differential outcomes. There are a number of research centers, resources, initiatives, programs, grants, and projects targeting racism in the United States, many of which form part of the antiracist education movement. With the debate over the utility and legality of affirmative action, in light of *Brown v. Board of Education*, race remains a controversial issue in education circles. Despite the achievement gap in education between racialized groups, there is still much resistance to adopting antiracist education as a means to advancing educational outcomes for all students.

Criticism of Antiracist Education

Some criticize antiracist education as being too overtly political and, moreover, as focusing too narrowly on race. Others refute the notion that White people universally oppress Black people, arguing that antiracist education often distorts the complex lived reality of people within diverse demographics. The emphasis on race is also criticized for subverting other forms of difference, especially gender, social class, and culture. Similarly, critics contend that the overidentification of race may reinforce negative stereotypes related to racial identity.

Antiracist Education Programs

Some common features to groups, schools, institutions, and researchers developing antiracist education approaches and pedagogies include the following:

- The notion that good teaching must take into account the varied perspectives and experiences of diverse student-bodies and society
- The need for a full analysis of school climate, diagnosing and remedying systemic barriers
- The importance of robust involvement and engagement from all sectors forming the school culture, including teachers, principals, guidance counselors, psychologists, lunchroom and custodial staff, parents, and others
- The need to problematize how questions of race, culture, and identity in relation to differential educational outcomes and experiences

Antiracist education seeks to infuse learning with an explicit social justice agenda that reinforces

academic achievement. It is concerned with accessibility, power imbalances, identity, and reversing the perception that students from marginalized groups constitute a “deficit culture.” Antiracist education more directly focuses on race and the intersections of identity than has traditional multicultural education. There are many commonalities and convergences between antiracist and multicultural education that depend on conceptual, jurisdictional, and ideological factors, in addition to the specific groups involved. Through the meshing of various tenets, strategies, resources, and leadership, antiracist education, in collaboration with more critical forms of multicultural education, aims to render schools and educators better equipped to deal with equity issues in rapidly changing demographic and social conditions.

Paul R. Carr and Darren E. Lund

See also Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Multicultural Education

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ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY COLLECTIONS ON EDUCATION

Archives and library collections for the field of education vary widely in purpose and scope. While different archives and collections may be housed in the same building at an institution, students and researchers use them to achieve a variety of goals. This entry looks at some of these institutions.

Archives and Special Collections

Archives hold records from persons or organizations. Archival documents are unique, for they are typically unpublished collections of papers, records, or manuscripts. For instance, the College of Charleston acts as the archive for the Charleston High School, one of the oldest public secondary schools in the United States, and holds the school's papers dating from 1843 to 1976. The Boston College Libraries are home to the archives of the Citywide Coordinating Council of Boston, an organization involved in the desegregation of Boston public schools.

Special collections, which may be administered by the same department as the archives at an institution, focus on specific subject areas, formats, time periods, or other factors to create comprehensive collections. Examples include materials on John Dewey and other Progressive educators in the Special Collections Division of the Morris Library at Southern Illinois University; manuscript, textbook collections, and other materials about the education of women in the United

States in the early nineteenth century at Mt. Holyoke College Library; and the Marguerite Archer Collection of historical children's books at San Francisco State University.

Extensive historical textbook collections can be found at the Library of Congress, the Monroe C. Gutman Library at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University, the Plimpton Collection of textbooks at Columbia University, the Nila Banton Smith Historical Collection in Reading in the Joan and Donald E. Axinn Library at Hofstra University, and the Nietz Old Textbook Collection at the University of Pittsburgh Library.

Holdings in archives and special collections can be especially enlightening for scholars doing original research. While many materials in archival and special collections may not appear in library catalogs, great efforts at digitization have brought publicity to many of these previously hidden collections. Due to the nature of these collections, they are often not available through interlibrary loan, meaning that one must visit their depositories in person to utilize these materials.

Research Libraries

Research libraries hold collections of books, journals, databases, datasets, and other materials to support a broad range of intellectual discourses and discovery of new knowledge, while good small college libraries focus on supporting the course work at their institutions. The first efforts at building collections specifically to support teacher education began at colleges and universities in the United States in the late 1830s. Today, many colleges and universities collect materials in dedicated education libraries.

Columbia University led the way in this regard with the establishment of the Milbank Memorial Library at Teachers College in 1887. This remains the largest education library in the world. Other examples of this type of library include the Cubberley Library at Stanford University, the Peabody Library at Vanderbilt University, and the University of Illinois Education and Social Science Library.

Other libraries house education resources within their main libraries. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and Syracuse University provide examples of

very strong education collections contained within the main library. Education librarians, usually professionals with degrees in both library and information science as well as education or a related field, work to build collections in this subject area and provide guidance for students and researchers.

Assessment of collections and other forms of library support is a complicated process, making it difficult to directly compare these resources at different libraries in a general way. However, as schools of education are accredited by regional or national bodies, the quality of library support for their programs is invariably considered as part of that process and can meaningfully impact the perception of a program's quality.

Most libraries at institutions with teacher preparation programs house juvenile and young adult literature to support courses in these areas. Persistent questions with these collections include the shelving and retrieval problems that arise when these books are housed according to the classification systems at use in college and university libraries. This is especially problematic in the Library of Congress classification system which is used at most university libraries, because most children's books will be given call numbers beginning with PZ, representing the class juvenile literature. That can make it difficult to locate a particular title within the collection.

Textbook adoption collections are also often found at universities with schools of education. Textbook adoption collections hold textbooks in use or under consideration for use at either the local or state level in K–12 school districts. The intent of these collections is to give students in education an opportunity to examine and create curriculum around textbooks they will likely encounter in schools.

Education curriculum collections are distinct in that they house materials not specifically designed for scholarship or research for students of education, but rather for use in K–12 classrooms. These collections may include multiple copies of readers, workbooks, models, and toys for teaching and learning, as well as DVDs and videos. Depending on the administrative structure and library system, curriculum libraries can be administered by their respective schools of education or through the library system. Innovative programs in

this area include attempts to create online curriculum collections.

John P. Renaud

See also Libraries, History of; Schools of Education

See Visual History Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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ARTS EDUCATION POLICY

Arts education policy refers to the decisions that legislators, funders, and administrators make with respect to teaching and learning in the arts. Policies on arts education address not only in-school course work in art, music, drama, and dance, current attention is also aimed at out-of-school arts programming offered by community organizations and arts providers. In the last two decades, proactive policy related to arts education has become increasingly important as accountability and high-stakes testing prompt mandates for school learning that exclude time for the arts.

This entry looks at the primary policy issues facing arts education in four topic areas: (1) equity in access and opportunity for the arts in diverse communities; (2) preparation and training for in-school arts teachers, visiting teaching artists, and performing artists who work in schools; (3) the roles and responsibilities of external providers and community organizations; and (4) students learning in arts-specific instruction and integration of the arts.

Equitable Access

Policy in arts education is informed by the engagement of ethnic communities in urban school districts that advocate for the inclusion of arts history and culture in the curriculum. Local museums and performing

arts organizations in urban and suburban school systems often have incentives through private and public funding options to partner with public schools and offer services to school children and their parents. Groups that traditionally have had reduced access to arts curriculum, including those in rural and isolated areas, now have more opportunities through Web-based and distance learning. The content of arts curriculum that addresses the histories and cultures of diverse populations of students and their families is increasingly essential in a multicultural society. Equity in access represents a consistent issue for policy makers at the local, state, and national levels.

Preparation and Training

A consistent debate that affects policy decisions in the field focuses on who should teach the arts. Recruitment and retention of arts teachers for arts-specific instruction remains an issue, particularly for school districts in which funding has been directed away from arts teaching and toward reading, math, and science content. In this climate of diminishing resources, arts councils and school districts are also considering the merits of integrating the arts into the existing math, science, social studies, or literacy curriculum. Classroom teachers and visiting teaching artists then teach the arts, often without the support of a certified arts teacher in the building. This practice has raised questions about how to advocate for more arts funding while supplying arts education through classroom teachers.

Endorsement, certification, and other means of licensure required by states and school districts for artists and arts teachers working in schools remain a topic for policy makers. Just as in nonarts subject fields, there are persistent questions about teachers' content expertise, experience in making and performing art, and preparation for teaching in and across art forms. How and whether noncertified teaching artists can contribute to arts curricula in schools is a focus for research and evaluation. There is a need for research that addresses the interrelationships and continuity of arts teaching and learning from preschool through higher education. Policy research can only be addressed if funders are willing to support such initiatives.

Outside Providers

A third arena for policy discussion focuses on the role of external providers, particularly in the major metropolitan areas of the United States. It is not clear whether the engagement of theater companies, symphony orchestras, dance companies, and museums has contributed to learning in the arts disciplines or to students' nonarts academic achievement. As community arts organizations form partnerships to deliver arts curricula in schools, they are increasingly involved in providing evidence that what they offer contributes to student learning.

Arts and the Curriculum

Has arts integration, implemented by noncertified visiting artists or nonarts classroom teachers, enhanced specific learning in nonarts disciplines as defined by state standards? Has arts integration maintained the integrity of the art form engaged? Some arts education proponents claim that increasing arts integration in financially strained districts is a means of avoiding hiring of faculty specialists in the arts. Others claim that arts integration programs raise the visibility of the arts in communities, thereby encouraging more arts-specific programming in schools.

Arts education proponents are being asked to document how the arts contribute to nonart learning through questions such as, "What is the effect of the arts on literacy?" Arts researchers are also raising the inverse question, "What is the effect of literacy on the arts?" Indicators of student learning in the arts are examined by researchers and program evaluators in response to the demand for accountability. Government-funded programs and private funding agencies continue to support research that examines the impact of arts education on student learning. As compelling research emerges that underscores the important role of teacher expertise on student learning, arts educators are also considering how teacher learning through arts-based professional development contributes to student achievement. Both research programs suggest the challenge and opportunity for balanced curricula in an era of teacher shortages, resource scarcity for the arts, and standards-based learning in schools.

Researchers and program evaluators are informing policy makers, district administrators, arts administrators, and teachers about arts learning, using mixed methods that include intensive multimedia documentation, teacher action research on arts practices, and assessments of student achievement through performance. The development of research programs that investigate the possible transfer of student learning in the arts to nonarts academic achievement and social development continues. The question of what is convincing, yet also authentic, research regarding arts curricula and effective teaching in school and after-school programs remains a challenge.

Gail Burnaford

See also Politics of Education; Teacher Preparation

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ASIAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Asian American education has changed from a time when Asian American children were often not welcome in U.S. public schools to a time when they have become the mythic “model minority.” As in other areas, education has been an arena where Asian Americans have often had to fight for their rights. In addition, their diversity of origins reflects a broad range of educational achievement. This entry looks at the demographic and historical background and

current educational attainment of Asian Americans and some research studies focusing on this population.

Historical Background

Asian American education can be divided into three historical periods. In the first (1850–1941), Chinese and Japanese settled mainly along the West Coast and Hawai‘i. Between 1882 and 1941, state and federal laws restricted immigration, voting rights, land ownership, and educational rights for Asians in America. Persons of Asian descent born in the United States successfully challenged discriminatory citizenship regulations in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898) and *Weedin v. Chin Bow* (1927), though courts upheld restrictions on foreign-born Asians in America in *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922) and *Bhagat Singh Thind v. U.S.* (1923).

Racial segregation of Asian Americans in public schools followed national trends in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Chinese students were barred from public schools in San Francisco in 1859. Their parents responded by opening a private “Chinese school,” which later admitted Korean and Japanese students. The California Supreme Court ruled in *Tape v. Hurley* (1885) that San Francisco public schools must admit Asian Americans, though the state legislature created a parallel “Oriental School” system the same year. In Hawai‘i, Japanese, Chinese, and other Asian Americans were discouraged from attending schools by plantation owners, and were generally segregated from Whites until Hawai‘i became a state in 1959. Asian American school enrollment matched that of Whites by 1920, and exceeded that of Whites by 1930.

The second period, between 1941 and 1965, began with wartime hostilities, which led to the incarceration of over 100,000 West Coast Japanese Americans in ten detention camps in 1942. Through 1945, tens of thousands of Japanese Americans attended ill-equipped camp schools, though some were allowed to attend a university away from the West Coast. After World War II, Asian Americans benefited from the slow integration of public schools and the expansion of postsecondary institutions. Economic growth also helped propel second- and third-generation Asian Americans into professional occupations at rates higher than the national average.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 initiated the current period of Asian American education. After 1965, immigration increased rapidly from the Philippines, China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and India. Many “second-wave” immigrants were well educated and prosperous in their home countries. However, immigrants from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam were often war refugees with few educational credentials or financial resources. Unlike the Japanese and Chinese immigrants of the late nineteenth century, many second-wave immigrants brought children, who enrolled in public schools unprepared for linguistic and cultural diversity. Chinese Americans in San Francisco challenged local segregationist practices and limited language and course offerings in the late 1960s. As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) that the city’s lack of bilingual programs prevented 1,800 Chinese American students from “meaningful participation” in public schools.

Over time, bilingual and culturally appropriate courses expanded across California and the United States. Also, in the wake of the civil rights movement Asian American Studies programs were established, primarily in the Pacific states, and later in the Midwest and Northeast.

Asian American students have generally not benefited from race-based admission criteria. In the 1980s, several elite universities were criticized for tightening admissions criteria for Asian American students. By 1990, Asian Americans were being portrayed along with Whites as victims of affirmative action for Black and Latino students, reinforcing the “model minority” myth. In *Ho, Wong & Chen v. SFUSD* (1999), Chinese American plaintiffs successfully sued for the end of a 1983 desegregation consent decree that used race as a criterion for measuring integration. Critics have argued that this action will lead to a racial resegregation of San Francisco schools and hurt poorer students.

Educational Attainment in 2000

Asian Americans trace their ancestry to East, Southeast, and South Asia. According to the 2005

American Community Survey (ACS) conducted by the Census Bureau, 5 percent of the U.S population, or 14.4 million people identified as Asian American. The same year, 13.1 million people, or 4.4 percent, identified as “Asian alone.” The Asian American population increased 21 percent from 2000 to 2005. A majority of Asian Americans live in California, New York, and Hawai‘i, and 95 percent of Asian and Pacific Island Americans live in metropolitan areas.

Because the U.S. Census does not disaggregate for nationality, figures on the Asian American and “Asian alone” categories obscure the educational attainment within and among Asian American communities. According to the 2005 ACS, 49 percent who identified as “Asian alone” aged 25 or older had completed a bachelor’s, graduate, or professional degree, compared with 27 percent of the same U.S. population. However, 10.68 percent of those who identified as “Asian alone” had reported less than a ninth-grade education in the 2000 Census, compared with only 7.55 percent of the U.S. population. Female Asian Americans both registered higher post-secondary education completion rates and were more likely to have completed less than nine years of formal schooling. Studies that have disaggregated data by ethnicity have consistently found that school completion and educational attainment rates for Southeast Asian Americans are lower than for other Asian Americans.

These data are far more complex than myths about a model minority, which developed after World War II as a result of educational and economic attainment

Table 1 Ten Largest Asian American Populations, 2000

Chinese (except Taiwanese)	2,734,841
Filipino	2,364,815
Asian Indian	1,899,599
Korean	1,228,427
Vietnamese	1,223,736
Japanese	1,148,932
Cambodian	206,052
Pakistani	204,309
Laotian	198,203
Hmong	186,310

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 2000.

among some—but not all—Asian Americans. Despite its generally positive nature, this myth obscures the educational underachievement of many Asian Americans, and reinforces beliefs about African American and Latino failure.

Recent Research

Studies in the 1980s attributed Asian American success to the convergence of Asian and middle-class U.S. cultural characteristics like ambition, persistence, delayed gratification, and social mobility. Other studies suggested limited and selected immigration in the early twentieth century and the “middleman minority” thesis as explanations. Cultural, familial, and even genetic explanations of Asian Americans’ achievement remain popular explanations for Asian American success.

Contrary to the “model minority” myth, research has shown that many Asian American students struggle in school. One study found that overworked parents and limited social capital contributed to working-class Korean American students’ leaving school. Another study found that Chinese American parents’ participation in the mainstream economy helped them to secure the social, cultural, and human capital necessary for their children to attend and achieve in high-performing schools. In contrast, the same study found that low-income Chinese American parents had less opportunity to exploit network connections and lacked the means to relocate for educational opportunities. High educational expectations from parents can be a source of motivation and of conflict for Asian American students. A study of two Chinese American families found that children in both lower and upper income households became estranged from their immigrant parents because of the dissonant cultural expectations about money and appropriate adolescent behavior. High expectations among Korean and Chinese Americans may also be a tactic to avoid racism.

Research on Southeast Asian American students finds much higher levels of poverty than other Asian groups, and some of the lowest per capita incomes in the United States. Though many Southeast Asian American

students are successful in school, studies show that significant numbers are isolated from American culture and are more likely to join gangs. Cambodian and Lao students, in particular, are more likely than Vietnamese students to struggle with English, score lower on standardized tests, and leave school.

Another area of research has focused on Asian American career choices. A 2000 study found reticence among Asian Americans, especially recent immigrants, to enter the teaching profession. Another study argued that Asian American overrepresentation in the hard sciences stems from family expectations and attempts to limit awkward social interactions.

Research has suggested that isolation and stereotypes create social pressures for Asian American students, who are sometimes reluctant to seek special services because of the stigma of the “minority” label. Administrators have been shown to neglect focused services, courses, and programs for Asian American students because of the stereotype of overachievement.

Christopher J. Frey

See also Bilingual Education, History of; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues; Immigrant Education: History; Japanese Detention Camps, Education in

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ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGY

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 2004 (IDEA) defines assistive technology as devices and services, such as visual aids, communication tools, and specialized equipment for accessing a computer, that are used to increase, maintain, or improve the functional capabilities of children with disabilities, allowing them to benefit from special education and promoting their independence. Other examples of typical assistive technology include Braille readers, wheelchairs, augmentative communication devices, electronic dictionaries/spellers, alternative keyboards, and computer software programs. IDEA mandates that assistive technology be considered in the development of individualized education programs (IEPs) for all students with disabilities, with special emphasis on facilitating students' access to the general education curriculum.

In addition to IDEA, two additional pieces of legislation relate specifically to technology for individuals with disabilities. The Technology-Related Assistance for Individuals with Disabilities Act of 1988 (known as the "Tech Act") provides states with funding to develop comprehensive programs to meet the assistive technology needs of individuals with disabilities. In this law, Congress noted that there have been significant advances in technology, that technology benefits all individuals, that technology is a necessity for some individuals with disabilities because it enables them to engage in life's tasks, that using assistive technology devices and services with exceptional individuals ultimately can reduce the overall costs of disabilities, and that many individuals with disabilities lack access to the assistive technology devices and services requisite for their functioning in the school and community at a level commensurate with their abilities. Because of these concerns, Congress identified a number of objectives in this legislation, including increasing awareness of the needs of individuals with disabilities for assistive technology devices and services; improving the availability of, and funding for, assistive technology; expanding the knowledge of well-organized applications of assistive technology devices and services; and promoting collaboration among state agencies and

public and private entities that provide assistive technology devices and services.

The Assistive Technology Act of 1998 (ATA) expands its predecessor and affirms that technology is a valuable tool that can be used to enhance the lives of individuals with disabilities. It also confirms the role of the federal government in promoting access to assistive technology devices and services for individuals with disabilities. The ATA is intended to support states in strengthening their ability to address the assistive technology needs of individuals with disabilities. It requires states to engage in public awareness programs that provide information on the accessibility and benefits of assistive technology devices and services, facilitate interagency coordination that improves access to assistive technology for individuals of all ages who have disabilities, and provide technical assistance and outreach support to statewide community-based organizations that provide assistive technology devices and services.

Technology supporting students' progress may be high or low tech. Computers or other complex devices using multifunction technology may not always be needed, depending on the students' presenting characteristics and needs. Often, relatively low-tech supports (such as pencil grips, calculators, and graphic organizers) can greatly facilitate the learning of children with disabilities. Regardless of the level of technology offered, these supports enable students to communicate, receive instruction, and participate in the academic, recreational, and social activities of school and the community, ultimately promoting independence.

Instructional and assessment accommodations, which may involve some form of assistive technology, are required by IDEA for all students with disabilities, and these accommodations must be described on each student's IEP. Any number of instructional and assessment accommodations may be employed for students, depending on their unique needs. These accommodations may relate to the types of instructional methods and materials used (e.g., highlighters, diagrams, graphic organizers, books on tape), testing arrangements (e.g., using a computer to have items read aloud, allowing students to respond orally, using a calculator), and use of specialized communication systems (e.g., augmentative communication boards).

These are just a few of the accommodations whereby assistive technology can enable students to access the same material as their nondisabled peers.

Innovations in technology continue to shape how educators can better meet the needs of their students with disabilities. Assistive technology can be skillfully incorporated as a part of instruction and delivered to enhance the education and life functioning of individuals with disabilities. This technological enhancement, called the “great equalizer” for students with disabilities, requires that educators keep in step with new developments in the technology for the betterment of the exceptional students they teach.

Juliet E. Hart

See also Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; Least Restrictive Environment; Mainstreaming; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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ATHLETICS, POLICY ISSUES

The influence of the sport industry on the social, moral, and economic makeup of American society and its schools has rapidly expanded in the last quarter century. From the incorporation of sport-related terminology into everyday speech to the acceptance of athletic apparel as daily wear, to the role of sports in

creating school identity and conformity, the impact of the sport industry is undeniable.

Athletic programs mirror the values and beliefs of the society. In doing so, sport reflects things that are good about U.S. society, as well as its problems. In this context, it is important that those interested in social and cultural issues in education identify key issues that shape athletic policy in school settings. Three themes that are of critical interest to educational policy makers are the value of participation and competition; the state of inclusiveness in sport; and the concern for the well-being of participants in sport.

Value of Participation

From its inception, sport participation and competition has been touted as an accelerant for the development of desirable character traits. Throughout history, governmental leaders have pointed to the inclusion of sporting activities and accompanying competition as a means of developing desirable character traits in future leaders. Previous research has been divided regarding the actual ability of sport and/or competition to foster the development of these desirable character traits.

B. L. Bredemeier and D. L. Shields found that in some cases duration of participation in sports actually impeded the development of moral reasoning skills. Further, these authors also established that continued participation at more intense levels of competition actually caused regression of these abilities. Additional studies have identified the ability of sport participation to serve as a vehicle for the acquisition of desired traits, but only to the extent that those traits are emphasized throughout the athletic program and organization. This particular finding magnifies the issue of establishing expectations regarding the value of sport participation.

In a recent series of studies, John Gillentine and his colleagues found that over 92 percent of the general public indicated that they believed sports helped foster the development of desirable character traits in participants. The establishment of this baseline expectation raises the issue of whether coaches and administrators have the ability to teach these skills. It is incorrect to assume that all coaches have the aptitude to teach

and/or model the desirable traits expected by the general public, or that the schools and other educators desire.

Further, the identification of what specific traits participants are expected to develop has also been subject to debate. A 1999 study identified eight specific characteristics that the general public believed were developed through sport participation: teamwork, sportsmanship, self-discipline, self-esteem, self-sacrifice, work ethic/habits, diligence, and respect for authority. The only practical way to ensure that these traits are learned through sport participation is to ensure that the coaches and administrators of these activities are educated in the appropriate methods to teach these traits.

The United States is the only major industrialized nation that does not require the certification of athletic coaches. If coaches are expected to instruct participants in the acquisition of these traits, they must be properly prepared to teach them. The only way to adequately prepare these individuals is to establish policies detailing the educational requirements and expectations of coaches and administrators. Preliminary research studies have indicated that the general public supports the required educational certification of coaches and sport administrators.

It is therefore the duty of the federal and state regulatory bodies to establish these certification requirements and determine the implementation strategy. The resistance to this concept appears to stem from two major concerns: (1) that sport is not considered by some as an integral part of the educational process, and (2) that current coaches would not qualify for certification under new expectations and guidelines. First, sport must be recognized as having a significant influence on society, including educational systems. Failure to recognize the influence of sport will only further allow for it to grow unbridled, and then society must bear any consequences from it. The other concern regarding existing coaches can be addressed through a system that allows for the “grandfathering” of current coaches who have exhibited acceptable abilities, without additional certification. While this may slow the certification process to some extent, it is a manageable strategy through which the transition can be handled. If we are to substantiate the value of

sport participation and competition, the issue of preparing those charged with its instruction must be addressed.

Inclusiveness

The appropriate preparation of coaches and sport administrators will also better prepare these groups to ensure the inclusiveness of sport participation. Sport has evolved through the years to include a wide variety of participants. Through the years of desegregation the racial barriers once prominent in our schools and our sporting activities have receded. The participation of African Americans has steadily risen through the last quarter century, as has that of other racial groups. Likewise, the number of females participating in sports has also risen significantly due to the implementation in 1972 of Title IX, the federal law prohibiting sex discrimination by educational institutions.

While in each of these cases it has taken federal legislation to promote change within our sport programs, the appropriate preparation of coaches and administrators may equip them to be more proactive in creating participation opportunities for groups that historically have had limited access to sport. As previously addressed, the recognition and establishment of the values of participation and competition foster additional concerns regarding the inclusiveness of sport programs.

If the positive benefits identified through previous research can be empirically verified, then the acquisition of desirable traits must be seen as a positive outcome of sport participation for any individual of any skill and ability level. From this vantage point, coaches and administrators are more likely to establish programs that focus on these positive outcomes than to overemphasize winning or losing. This focus could promote the inclusive nature of sport to include those individuals who previously may have felt uncomfortable or even inadequate while participating in sport activities. This may encourage males and females of all races to participate in sports that had previously been viewed as racially or gender biased.

Making sport more accessible to all groups would also help eliminate the misconception that particular sport opportunities are available only to certain races,

well-bodied individuals, or persons with a particular sexual orientation. Either from fear of exposure or peer group pressure, some individuals have often opted out of competition rather than fight the misconceptions regarding their participation. Only through the appropriate preparation of the coaches and administrations of these programs can sport become truly accessible to all persons.

Well-Being of Participants

Finally, the development of governing policies establishing the preparation expectations of coaches and administrators will also promote and protect the general state of well-being of participants. Through the implementation of programs that promote the acquisition of identified character traits, the concept of social justice and fairness can be promoted through sport participation. In order to help participants develop into socially conscious individuals, it is important to incorporate them into a system that promotes fairness.

Coaches and administrators may accomplish this through the development of programs in which participants have a voice in what is happening to them and a clear understanding of their role in the sport program. While this does not mean that participants will be directing the management of the programs, it does indicate that a system in which they feel empowered and invested must be established. The implication of participation in such a program could be that participants will take this understanding of social justice and fairness and apply it in other areas of their lives. This could only lead to a positive impact on all aspects of our current way of life.

This “trickle down” effect may further establish the positive benefit possible through sport participation and competition. If this is truly the desire of the general public, then it is mandatory that appropriate policies be implemented to ensure the appropriate training of coaches and sport administrators. Without such policies, sport is destined to aimlessly grow and influence society and participants in positive and negative ways.

John Andrew Gillentine and Jeremy Jordan

See also Ethical Issues and School Athletics

See Visual History Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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AUDIOVISUAL EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

Audiovisual education became a prominent movement during the period immediately following World War I. In the decade after the war, filmstrips, motion pictures, audio recordings, and radio programming began to be widely integrated in educational settings. Classroom uses of film and 16-mm projectors lent an aura of modernity and innovation to classrooms, becoming symbols of progressive teaching practices.

In higher education, the first official credit course in visual instruction was offered at the University of Minnesota in 1918. Other courses were established at the University of Kansas and North Carolina State University Teachers College in 1921. When introduced

into normal schools, the curricula provided courses of study that gave teachers the opportunity to learn the advantages and disadvantages of visual instruction through formal and informal training. Over time, many courses were offered for teachers at the college and university level, related journals and professional organizations appeared, and the first systematic research studies were reported within the emerging audiovisual field. This entry summarizes those developments.

The Audiovisual Era

With the introduction of recorded sound and radio broadcasting, sound recording was integrated with film during the 1920s, beginning the transition from the *visual instruction movement* to what was soon to be known as the *audiovisual era*.

In 1920, the Radio Division of the U.S. Department of Commerce was established, and it began to license commercial and educational radio stations. Later, during the 1920s and the early 1930s, radio became the focus of a number of educational endeavors throughout the nation as colleges and universities experimented with educational radio and began to integrate audio technology with film and visual instruction methodologies. Among these was the Ohio School of the Air in 1929, launched in a joint effort by the State of Ohio, Ohio State University, and a Cincinnati radio station.

Classroom broadcasting to enhance instruction spread rapidly during the decades preceding World War II. Typical broadcasts included lectures and performances by college bands and orchestras. Likewise, university extension divisions offered on-site and correspondence courses and in-service training, sponsored conferences, and published texts and materials in audiovisual education.

The advent of film with sound in the late 1920s introduced a critical period in instructional film history from another perspective: Just as educators were becoming convinced of the educational merits of the silent film, the advocates of film with sound realized that they would have to fight the old battle all over again to gain acceptance for this new technology, especially since they believed many educators feared that film with sound would make their silent film equipment obsolete. Aside from this battle, the commercial

education film enterprise was failing at an alarming rate during the late 1920s and early 1930s due to the Great Depression.

Audiovisual Education During War

World War II gave a big boost to the emerging field of instructional design and to the audiovisual era, and the need to rapidly train tens of thousands of new military personnel created a heightened interest in applying educational research in a systematic way.

Many educational researchers participated in the war training effort, and this helped to propel forward systematic efforts to design instruction. During the war, the benefits of this effort to audiovisual media were seen primarily in increased use of educational media to train military personnel and to satisfy the demand for training millions of industrial workers as rapidly and effectively as possible. This spurred an unprecedented production of educational films for training purposes.

The army and navy introduced training films and began to establish procedures for the instructional uses of such media as slides, filmstrips, and models. Instructional media and materials used by the military included projected motion pictures, graphics (illustrations and cartoons), posters, sound, and charts—supplemented by manuals, self-instructional devices and materials, handbooks, bulletins, and other training-related literature. Educational films, in particular, became an integral part of the military training effort during the war and a part of the official training policy of the War Department.

One training device that was especially popular was the filmstrip projector—the filmstrip was a medium that answered the demand for a fast, efficient, mass training of mechanics to serve in industry and the military. Another useful device was the microfilm reader, used by the U.S. military and industries for storing and duplicating data for research and testing purposes during and after the war.

Peacetime Applications

The numerous training aids that were developed during the war were used in the civilian sector following the war. These include the Link trainer, which

provided a cadet pilot with a moving view of the earth, accompanied by realistic sounds of aircraft on recordings; mockups, exhibit rooms, and “breadboards” of simulated maps, equipment, battle-front layouts, and equipment operation. Audio-recording and playback devices developed during the war were especially prominent in foreign language training after the war. Microfilm and microfilm readers were used to preserve important records and duplicate library materials in such a way as to save valuable storage space.

World War II provided impetus for audiovisual instruction and was instrumental in the evolution and development of visual aids as instructional media. The widespread use of these media to accelerate military and industry training during the war was an influential endorsement of the instructional value of visual aids. The audiovisual era reinforced a principle that developed during the preceding visual instruction movement: Visual aids can teach more people more things in less time.

J. José Cortez

See also Visual Instruction Movement

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions;
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AUTHENTIC ASSESSMENT

Authentic assessment enables educators to determine students’ skills, knowledge, and competencies and to provide evidence of their learning. Utilizing a variety of performance-based measures, complex rubrics, and

real-world tasks, authentic assessment encourages greater understanding of concepts in a meaningful context. Developed in response to the rote memorization and less complex assessments of objective measurements such as multiple-choice tests, which have been traditionally employed in education, authentic assessment provides a more engaging and effective way to measure students’ learning while promoting understanding and valuing the process of learning. This entry looks at how the process developed and how it works.

How It Developed

In the 1990s, renewed interest in holding public education accountable led state legislatures and the U.S. government to require ongoing and in-depth testing at various points in students’ educational careers. Performance-based funding initiatives in states across the nation ensured that testing would become standardized in an attempt to homogenize the curricula and the depth and breadth of student learning in various disciplines. Proponents of mandatory standardized testing also endeavored to create normalized benchmarks of student competencies across school districts and state lines in the nation.

Teachers soon discovered that standardized testing did not engender the in-depth understanding that their students would need for lifelong learning. Grant Wiggins, a former secondary school English and philosophy teacher, has been at the forefront of the authentic assessment movement for the past twenty years. In his 1993 book, *Assessing Student Performance: Exploring the Purpose and Limits of Testing*, Wiggins challenged the morality of standardized testing and multiple-choice tests, which involve discrete and simple facts and assess student learning on a superficial level of understanding. Wiggins posed authentic assessment as an antidote to these less effective types of tests. Authenticity produces greater student achievement and learning while providing relevant, contextual, real-world applications of curricular concepts that incorporate problem-solving and critical thinking skills.

Wiggins also has suggested that to design appropriate assessments, teachers need clearly defined curricular goals; then, they can figure out what to assess and what data they need to do so. In 1998, Wiggins and coauthor

Jay McTighe further developed this idea in *Understanding by Design*, which employs “backwards design” in curriculum and assessment planning. This design encourages teachers to determine the results they seek, then identify appropriate evidence of those results. After completing the steps, teachers plan learning activities and determine instructional methods. Ultimately, teachers establish “curricular priorities” based on their instructional objectives regarding three levels of knowledge, including material “worth being familiar with,” followed by knowledge “important to know and do.”

The ultimate goal, Wiggins and McTighe have suggested, is that teaching will lead to “enduring understanding,” whereby students are able to absorb more in-depth knowledge, producing performances or exhibiting critical thinking skills that exceed in quality the products of traditional instructional experiences. A focus on enduring understanding stresses ideas, principles, and processes rather than simple facts, ensuring that students are able to apply their knowledge in new ways and in different contexts.

How It Works

Teachers design successful authentic experiences when students employ a complex array of critical thinking and problem-solving skills that involve independent research, analysis, and application of knowledge. Students engaged in applying knowledge in new and meaningful ways are expected to achieve enduring understanding, a characteristic of authentic assessment.

Authentic assessment focuses on contextual learning in an environment that fosters inquiry and enduring understanding using evidence collected by the teacher in ongoing evaluations of student learning. The evidence of authentic learning involves documenting performances and products developed during a unit or over a period of time, which may include observations, dialogues, and students’ self-evaluations. To employ authentic assessment methods, teachers design open-ended, complex assignments.

As Wiggins and McTighe have noted, these tasks and projects replicate issues and challenges faced by adults in real life and include short-term tasks as well as longer and more complex projects requiring performances and production. Characteristics of performance

tasks and projects include a real or simulated setting, a targeted audience, a specific purpose that has meaning or is of importance to the audience, the personalization of the students’ experiences, and the “task, criteria, and standards” for students before and during the learning activities.

Further, Wiggins and McTighe have explored the various qualities of authentic assessment in six levels of understanding. They have suggested that students who truly understand concepts are able to explain, interpret, apply, see in perspective, demonstrate empathy, and reveal self-knowledge, with clearly defined criteria for performance and production. As Wiggins explained in *Assessing Student Performance*, authenticity is thus characterized by intellectually challenging learning experiences that require students to be creative and that involve and engage them with worthwhile problems and questions. Other examples of authentic assessment include contextual learning, which replicates real-life situations or employs actual problems that require students to apply a repertoire of skills and knowledge that lead to a sound judgment or an effective solution.

Students who engage in tasks that require the development and creation of an actual artifact or product according to preestablished criteria and standards are providing evidence of authentic assessment. In addition, such assessment involves interactions between teachers and students about the evaluation process itself and provides students with opportunities to justify responses and to explain further through follow-up questions and challenges that allow for feedback, correction, and improvement. These projects and performances also increase students’ engagement with both the process and the product, ensuring that students have greater motivation and responsibility for their learning and teachers get feedback in order to design ever more effective tools for evaluating them.

Ultimately, authentic assessment provides students with enduring understanding in a meaningful context that replicates the experiences of living in a complex, ever-changing society. In this way, as Wiggins and his colleague have suggested, authentic assessment prepares students to negotiate the challenges of everyday life, the complex world of careers and work, and the

diverse needs of individuals and societies both now and in the future.

Roxanne Newton

See also Standardized Testing

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Web Sites

University of Wisconsin-Stout School of Education
Online Assessment Resources for Teachers:
<http://www.uwstout.edu/soe/profdev/assess.shtml>

B

BILINGUAL EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

Bilingual education, or instruction in more than one language, has occurred throughout history and around the world. A review of that history reveals that practices and beliefs related to languages in education are intricately connected to attitudes toward linguistic and cultural diversity, and especially toward indigenous, ethnic, and foreign groups. Perhaps it is for these reasons that bilingual education inspires controversy and raises questions not only of pedagogy, but also of politics and ideology.

The history of bilingual education is not a steady movement in a single direction; rather, there is a constant flux of policies, practices, and ideology. Proponents of bilingual education stress the academic, cognitive, and cultural advantages that accrue to individuals and to society when children maintain and develop their home language and attain academic competence in another language as well. Opponents of bilingual education stress the need for cultural and linguistic assimilation, and posit that time spent learning in a minority language detracts from academic and linguistic development in the majority language. Struggles between these two views, as well as conflicting beliefs about the nature of diversity and the goals of education, are sure to continue. This entry looks at the development of bilingual education over the course of U.S. history and reviews contrasting international approaches.

Program Descriptions

The term *bilingual education* is popularly used for a wide variety of educational models, including some in which the only “bilingual” component is that some or most of the students are bilingual. This entry will consider educational settings in which more than one language is used in instruction, but this definition too covers a wide range of practices and goals.

Bilingual programs around the world serve immigrant and indigenous speakers of minority languages, as well as children of middle-class and affluent parents who seek bilingualism for enrichment. Among different types of programs, an important distinction is between *transitional* and *maintenance* bilingual education. In transitional programs, the use of native languages is encouraged only in the short term, for the purpose of helping students learn the majority language (i.e., English in the United States). By contrast, in maintenance programs the goal is not only second language acquisition, but also language and literacy skills in the native language. One type of maintenance program is the *dual-language* or *two-way* model, in which both languages are used, often (and ideally) with approximately half the students proficient in one language, and the other half proficient in the other, with both groups learning language and content in both languages.

Yet another type of bilingual education is heritage language instruction, in which lessons are delivered in a minority language, often one that is in danger of extinction. It is significant that the terms *majority*

language and *minority language* refer not to the relative number of speakers, but rather, to the relative power and dominance of the speakers of that language.

U.S. History

Although bilingual education was common in the early history of the United States, it was virtually eliminated in the first half of the twentieth century, until a renaissance of bilingual education occurred in the 1960s both in the United States and around the world.

Early Bilingualism

As early as 1694, German-speaking Americans were operating German-language schools in Philadelphia, some bilingual, some monolingual German. By the mid-1800s, schools in Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, and St. Louis used both German and English in instruction. The first law in America pertaining to language use was enacted in Ohio in 1839, authorizing instruction in English, German, or both languages, according to parents' requests. Similar laws were passed soon after in other places. In 1847, Louisiana adopted the same law, substituting French for German. The Territory of New Mexico, two years after its annexation in 1848, authorized Spanish-English bilingual education.

Bilingual education grew in the 1800s in the United States. In the second half of the 1800s, schools in German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Polish, and Italian were set up by communities in several additional states. A surprising statistic is that in the year 1900, 600,000 American children—about 4 percent of the elementary school population at the time—received instruction either partly or exclusively in German. While this openness to other languages was at least partially motivated by competition for students between public and private schools, it also reflects tolerance of linguistic and ethnic diversity. Acceptance of children's home culture and language was generally believed to be emotionally and culturally advantageous to children, and the most effective route to their cultural and linguistic assimilation.

An English-Only Movement

This is not to say that such beliefs were held universally, as English-only laws were promoted as well. Both Illinois and Wisconsin adopted English-only laws in 1889, and this English-monolingual approach gained momentum at the turn of the twentieth century. One reason for the shift in attitude at that time is that the number of new immigrants increased dramatically. These new arrivals (largely Jews and Italians) were unlike previous groups, whose appearance and customs had been similar to those of other European Americans. In addition, the new immigrants headed not to the frontier, but to cities, overwhelming public schools and engendering fears of foreigners as well as increasing calls for integration and assimilation. English proficiency came to be seen as a sign of political loyalty to the United States, and the loss of home language and culture was seen as part of the Americanization process.

In 1919, the Americanization Department of the U.S. Bureau of Education adopted a resolution recommending that states prescribe that all schools, public and private, conduct instruction in English. With the entry of the United States into World War I, anti-German feeling increased, and the pressure for English monolingualism grew. Schools were viewed as instruments of assimilation, with no role for other cultures or for languages other than English. Interest in learning foreign languages declined as well.

By 1923, thirty-four states had enacted laws requiring that English be the only language of instruction in elementary schools, both public and private. A Supreme Court ruling in the same year (*Meyer v. Nebraska*) overruled a state law prohibiting the teaching of foreign languages to elementary students. The Court's ruling is significant for referring to languages other than English as "foreign" rather than "ethnic"; this terminology reflects a shift in ideology, where speakers of languages other than English came to be seen not as ethnolinguistic minorities, but instead as foreigners or aliens, outsiders in the United States. By the late 1930s, bilingual instruction in the United States had been virtually eliminated.

Ethnic Awareness

The 1960s brought new awareness of ethnic identity and civil rights, contributing to renewed attention to the education of language minority students. The success of a dual-language program at the Coral Way Elementary School in Miami, Florida, also fueled interest in bilingual education. Coral Way enrolled middle-class Spanish-speaking children recently arrived from Cuba, along with native English speakers, and achieved bilingualism, biliteracy, and strong academic attainment among both groups. The school received national notice, and served as a model for the establishment of other bilingual programs elsewhere in Dade County and in the Southwest.

In spite of the success of Coral Way and other dual-language programs, a view emerged of bilingual education as a compensatory, remedial program for disadvantaged children. The U.S. Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 saw the role of native languages primarily as a means to teach children English. It is this “deficit” view of bilingual education, rather than a “language as resource” view, that has generally informed policies and discussions of bilingual education in the United States.

Services for language minority students grew in the 1970s. In the landmark case *Lau v. Nichols*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1974 on behalf of Chinese students in San Francisco that schools must make accommodations for students who do not speak English. While the decision did not specify what actions school districts had to take, subsequent guidelines developed by the Office of Civil Rights (the Lau Remedies) did describe specific evaluation and instructional methods. In New York City in the same year, Aspira, a Puerto Rican advocacy group, reached an agreement with the city’s Board of Education to provide bilingual education in classes with a specified number of students who spoke the same minority language. Nevertheless, the 1980s saw a preference for English-only classes, and a shift away from bilingual education.

Opposition Groups

Groups opposed to bilingual education, such as U.S. English, English Only, and English First, have

contributed to the ideological climate. In 1998, Proposition 227 passed in California, virtually outlawing bilingual education in that state. Proponents of this law argued that teaching children in their native language served only to hold them back in their acquisition of English and therefore in their future educational success. Although a comparable initiative in Colorado failed in 2002, similar measures were approved by voters in Arizona in 2000 and Massachusetts in 2001.

In 2001, the Bilingual Education Act was replaced by the federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), which requires states to measure outcomes for groups of students including English language learners. School districts may apply for funding for bilingual education, but the focus is on the use of the native language strictly as a means to proficiency in English. The high stakes assessments mandated by NCLB mean that English language learners will be assessed for English fluency and content knowledge every year, and that students and teachers will focus immediately and intensely on the skills measured on the tests.

In both a further setback for and a reflection of public disapproval of bilingual education, the federal government’s National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education changed its name in 2002 to expunge the term *bilingual education*, and is now known as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs.

Continued Growth

Nevertheless, bilingual education programs have grown recently in the United States. The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) reports a doubling of the number of dual-language programs between 1996 and 2006. This growth is credited to research that has consistently documented the academic value of first-language literacy as well as the effectiveness of bilingual education for both native-language and second-language speakers, a recognition of the need for multilingual citizens, and a dramatic increase in the number of English language learners in American schools.

Interest in indigenous-language bilingual programs is also growing. Title VII of NCLB authorizes and provides funds for native-language education programs for

American Indian, native Hawaiian, and native Alaskan education.

International Experiences

Bilingual education is not a recent innovation. The earliest evidence of children's schoolwork in two languages comes from cuneiform tablets from Mesopotamia between 3000 and 2000 BCE, where Akkadian was spoken alongside Sumerian. In Ancient Rome, education was routinely bilingual in both Latin and Greek, setting the precedent still found most widely in the world: education takes place primarily in the language of the elite. Then, as now, it is most often the language of government and economic power that is the medium of instruction.

In many countries, the expected outcome of formal education is bilingualism or multilingualism; for example, instruction in Brunei, Nigeria, Singapore, and Taiwan is delivered in one or more national languages as well as in English, with the aim of full bilingualism and biliteracy. In Europe, bilingual education is called Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), in which the medium of instruction is students' native language as well as an additional international language. Most European countries also provide home language support for immigrant students. While proficiency in the language of the host country is the highest priority, there is particular concern that students from other European Union member countries maintain their home language as well.

In 1951, UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) considered the question of language in education, and concluded that children's early education should take place in their mother tongue. Governments were encouraged to print textbooks and other materials in native languages, and to prepare native speakers to teach in those languages. UNESCO also recommended transitioning to a second language, to be taught gradually through the use of the first language.

The Canadian bilingual education movement is often traced to 1965, and the creation of an experimental kindergarten class in St. Lambert, Montreal, spurred by the activism of a relatively small number of English-speaking parents who wanted their

children to become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural, while maintaining cognitive and academic achievement. A distinctive feature of this program, known as immersion bilingual education, is that it involved speakers of the majority language, English, who received instruction in the minority language, French. English language arts were introduced gradually, beginning in the second grade. The success of the immersion program at St. Lambert led to the spread of this educational model in Canada, and to several European countries as well.

In the 1960s and 1970s, other countries that had previously offered education only in the majority language adopted the use of minority languages in instruction. For example, English-Welsh bilingual education became prevalent in Wales as a result of the Welsh Language Act of 1967. The new Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognized Catalan, Basque (or Euskera), and Galician as official languages in their communities, and mandated the use of those languages in schools in those regions.

In Peru, the indigenous language Quechua was recognized as an official language in 1975, leading to a Spanish-Quechua bilingual education project throughout the 1980s that was emulated elsewhere in Latin America in the 1990s. In Bolivia, where indigenous-language speakers comprise 63 percent of the population, the Bolivian Education Reform, launched in 1994, aims to transform the educational system by instituting bilingual education programs in all thirty of Bolivia's indigenous languages.

New Zealand, which had previously banned the Maori language from schools, has endeavored to preserve the language of the indigenous Maoris since the 1970s by creating bilingual English-Maori schools, as well as schools in which Maori instruction is supplemented by limited time in English.

South Africa's 1993 constitution explicitly recognizes language as a basic human right. Breaking with the previous view of multilingualism as a societal problem, the government now approaches linguistic diversity as a national resource. The constitution recognizes African languages as official national languages (in addition to English and Afrikaans), and schools have been charged with including the use of "own-language" instruction. Efforts are underway not

only to develop and publish literature in the indigenous languages, but also to produce television broadcasting and dictionaries in these local languages.

Nancy Stern

See also English-Only Movement; Foreign Language Instruction; Hispanic Education; Immigrant Education; Contemporary Issues

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions; Chapter 14, Immigration and Education

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BILITERACY

Biliteracy is a term used to describe competencies in reading and writing, to any degree, developed either simultaneously or successively, in two linguistic systems. It is widely accepted that the development of literacy in childhood is a transformative and emancipating accomplishment. Literacy is consistently associated with educational achievement and continues to be a part of the cultural capital valued by our society. Becoming literate has significant intellectual advantages, including the development of metalinguistic awareness (i.e., the ability to talk and think about language), access to valued cultural resources, and the strategic use of linguistic and literacy resources as tools for thinking. In the case of bilingual children, learning to read and write in only one language does not suffice since bilinguals need to function in two

linguistic communities. If becoming literate represents such a remarkable achievement, then the development of biliteracy seems to be an extraordinary feat. This entry looks at the characteristics of biliteracy and the process in which it is developed.

Characteristics

Biliteracy is a complex phenomenon of bilingualism, a ubiquitous but often misunderstood construct. Although there is no simple definition of bilingualism, François Grosjean has discussed several features of bilinguals that are relevant to understanding children who are developing biliteracy. First, bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Second, bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in all language skills in all their languages, as the level of fluency largely depends on the need and use of a language. Third, few bilinguals possess the same competence as monolingual speakers in either of their languages. Fourth, some bilinguals may still be in the process of acquiring a language whereas others have attained a certain level of stability. Fifth, the linguistic repertoire and language proficiencies of bilinguals may change over time. Finally, bilinguals interact both with monolinguals and with other bilinguals and adapt their language behavior accordingly. These characteristics highlight the complexities involved in defining and understanding individual bilingualism, while at the same time belie the existence of great within-group diversity.

Biliteracy is a special form of literacy that must be understood as distinct from that of monolinguals. This is because bilinguals can experience a range and variety of literacy practices and transact with two literate worlds to create knowledge and transform it for meaningful purposes through their participation in multilingual and multicultural social networks that are not accessible to the monolingual. Regardless of the pervasiveness of bilingualism in the world, including in highly literate settings, biliteracy remains a relatively unexamined phenomenon.

Biliteracy is important because it may amplify bilingual children's linguistic and intellectual possibilities by providing them with access to a broader

range of academic, social, and cultural resources. Evidence from the growing research base in emergent, or early, biliteracy acquisition suggests that bilingual children have the potential to develop literacy in two languages, and that these literacies can develop more or less simultaneously in supportive classroom settings. The evidence also suggests that there are multiple paths to children's biliteracy development and that these multiple paths are normal aspects of bilingual development. Further, when biliteracy is encouraged and promoted, literacy skills and strategies learned in either language appear to influence, or transfer to, the other language. This means that biliteracy involves a bidirectional process rather than one that only involves transfer from the first language to the second. Finally, the context in which biliteracy acquisition and development occurs is an important factor that has tremendous implications for the maintenance and continued support for dual-language literacy.

Process Issues

Some bilingual children learn to read and write in both languages simultaneously. Many two-way immersion or dual-language programs in the United States follow this type of model for dual-language and literacy acquisition. Other young bilinguals learn to read and write in their second language before they learn to read and write in their first, as in the case of French immersion programs in Canada where native English-speaking children are introduced to literacy through their second language, French. Both of these approaches tend to result in high levels of biliteracy as children continue to develop both languages and literacies to high degrees on a longitudinal basis.

A third approach is where children develop literacy first in their native language, and later in a second language. In the United States, this is a common route to English-language literacy for language-minority children. This can be a successful route to biliteracy only if the native/minority language continues to be promoted and developed to high degrees once English (second language) literacy is achieved and not abandoned before it is fully developed.

As researchers have observed, multiple paths are possible for becoming bilingual and biliterate, and no

single sequence is best or more appropriate for all children. For example, many emergent bilinguals write in their second language before demonstrating oral ability in that language. This pathway questions the common assumption that literacy is always dependent on progress in the spoken language. Second, a number of emergent bilinguals can write better than they can read in their second language. This pattern is also found among young monolinguals. Third, some emergent bilinguals are more proficient speakers in their first language but better readers in their second language. Formal instruction in native-language literacy, or lack thereof, may play an important role in these instances. These examples highlight the tremendous diversity in the ways in which children progress and develop in their biliterate abilities.

A growing body of research suggests that the relationships between bilingual children's languages and uses of English and Spanish within and outside of school are fluid and reciprocal. Similarly, biliteracy development is a dynamic, flexible process in which children's transactions with two written languages mediate their language and literacy learning in both languages. Emergent bilinguals employ literacy behaviors and skills cross-linguistically and bidirectionally. In other words, bilingual readers and writers apply what is learned in one language to the other language. Bidirectionality plays an especially important role in young bilinguals, as language and literacy in the two languages develop simultaneously, and development in each language supports advances in the other language.

With continued encouragement, support, and instruction in two languages, bilingual children learn to control the writing systems of both languages. That is, if children are placed in classrooms and instructional programs where their bilingualism and biliteracy are encouraged in additive contexts, dual-language literacy can thrive. For example, in Canadian immersion programs and dual-language (or two-way immersion) programs in the United States, children develop linguistic and literacy skills, often to high degrees, in two languages at no cost to either of the languages. In contrast, in subtractive environments that threaten the status and maintenance of one of the languages, usually a minority language such as Spanish or Chinese in U.S. contexts, the development of bilingualism and

biliteracy is limited and often only serves as a temporary bridge to monoliteracy in English.

Biliteracy is a complex phenomenon that requires further study. This topic is only just beginning to receive more attention from educational researchers in bilingual education, literacy research, and linguistics. Children become literate in two languages not only through acquiring and developing a set of skills or abilities but also through becoming competent in a range of practices and uses of literacy that constitute the experience of living, going to school, and being successful in a bilingual community. The growing research base in the field suggests that if children have access to and opportunities to function in both languages and writing systems, they will be more likely to *maintain* and continue to *develop* their bilingualism and biliteracy at school and beyond. As such, biliteracy offers multiple lenses through which to interpret, navigate, and negotiate the world in ways that are unique to bilinguals.

Mileidis Gort

See also English-Only Movement; Hispanic Education; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues

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BIOGRAPHY

Biography is a useful way to focus on the major educational theories that have shaped Western education and schooling across the last 2,500 years. Tying educational theorists' and philosophers' work to their lives connects the abstract to the practical, for life includes the internal realities of the mind as well as the daily practice of living. As Barbara Tuchman has pointed out, biography is similar to a prism because it keeps people's attention on the larger subject through their interest in other people. The biographies and theories included in this entry are representative of those who have left a substantial written legacy of important ideas and theories that have helped to shape the educational landscape.

Greco-Roman Traditions

The ancient Greek and Roman philosophers had and continue to have a major impact on educational traditions in Europe and the Americas.

Plato

Plato (428–347 BCE) came from an aristocratic Athenian family and had one sister, Petone, and two brothers, Glaucon and Adeimantus, whose names appear in *The Republic*. His nickname, Plato (meaning “broad shoulders”), soon replaced his given name of Aristocles. He received an aristocratic boy's education of grammar, music, gymnastics, and poetry, which should have led him into the life of a leader and/or politician. Instead, history remembers him for his skill as a writer of numerous dialogues with Socrates as the protagonist.

Plato's thinking was strongly influenced by Socrates and Pythagoras, whose work he encountered while traveling in Egypt. His travels took him to most parts of the Mediterranean world. He returned to Athens after ten years away, and settled on land that housed a gymnasium known as the Academy where members engaged in philosophical, religious, and political discussions and conversations during dinners, or banquets, that were known as *symposia*. He died at the age of about eighty-one and left his land

and four of his five slaves to his brother, Adeimantus. He set free a female slave in his will.

Plato's social, political, and educational ideas were developed in his dialogues, especially *The Republic*. He maintained his intellectual connections with Pythagorean tenets, believing in "ideas" as universal organizing principles that undergird all sensory perceptions in the physical world. This is the theme of his allegory of the cave where the physical world is no more "real" than the shadows on the wall of the cave. To understand these organizing principles or ideas was the key to education, but everyone was not going to be able intellectually to understand them, Plato thought. Hence, in his view, education must be able to separate those who will be the leaders or philosopher-kings from those who will be the artisans, military officers, merchants, and other members of society.

This is the essence of his "myth of the metals," in which Socrates describes how God has made individuals different from one another. Education must sift out the various metals that correspond to different social occupations, leaving only the gold destined to be philosopher-kings. In the early twentieth century when testing was becoming important, some psychologists and educators thought that the IQ test was the realization of the Platonic ideal.

Aristotle

One of Plato's students, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) was the son of a Macedonian king and the tutor of Alexander the Great. He came to the Academy when he was seventeen and stayed for twenty years. Plato was said to have called him *nous* (mind) or the intellect of the school, while Aristotle regarded Plato as living by his own words in leading a life of contemplative happiness or "good"ness. (Aristotle was said to be the only Academy fellow who could comprehend Plato's concept of the "good.")

Aristotle became interested in his physical surroundings and studied them through scientific observation. For him education was the road to moral and rational virtues and moderation—the keys to happiness. These were inherent in human beings and not tied to a Platonic, transcendental ideal.

The Romans

Roman leaders were interested in the rational and philosophical to the degree that it made them good orators. Hence, the Greek study of grammar, rhetoric, and logic (*trivium*) became the most important course of study. The other four subjects or *quadrivium*—music, arithmetic, astronomy, and geometry—that rounded out the seven liberal arts were not as important to the Romans.

Cicero (106–43 BCE) was lucky to have had a Greek tutor (pedagogue), and he also studied philosophy and rhetoric and oratory in Greece and Rhodes. Upon his return he entered politics and remained until he was falsely accused of being part of the plot to kill Julius Caesar—an accusation that resulted in his beheading in 43 BCE. Twelve years earlier, however, he wrote his famous treatise on education, *De Oratore*, which called for a well-rounded broad course of study with history at the center instead of the narrow trivium.

While it had little influence on Roman schooling, it became the Renaissance ideal of education. A century after Cicero's death, a Spanish-born Roman named Quintilian (35–95 CE) patterned his *Institutes of Oratory* on Cicero's work. Quintilian came to Rome as the first imperially financed teacher, and then became the tutor to the son of one of the Roman emperors. In his treatise, good literature replaced history as the vehicle for learning, with the goal of producing good people. He was one of the first on record to speak out against corporal punishment or "flogging" as it was called. Instead, he thought children should learn to love study, and that would only happen if they were treated well and rewarded for their accomplishments.

Renaissance Transformations

Many aspects of Greco-Roman education were Christianized in the remaining centuries of the first millennium of the Common Era through the works of St. Augustine; Charlemagne and his teacher, Alcuin; and St. Thomas Aquinas. By the early part of the second millennium, those traditions that had been lost in the Christian world were rediscovered during the period known as the Renaissance.

In Florence under the direction of the Medici family, Greek and Roman literature and art were valued for their own sake instead of religious purposes. Humanism or the “new learning” was born, and the classics were read as inspiration for the cultivation of personal virtues including civic duty. Vittorino de Feltre (1378–1446) was a humanist teacher who believed in the Renaissance ideal of preparing individuals to lead a virtuous life through the study of the Greek and Roman classics.

Desiderius Erasmus

For the most part, women were not part of this Italian rebirth of learning, but as it spread to northern Europe, they found an advocate in Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536). Known as “the Prince of Humanists,” Erasmus was born in Deventer in Holland, the illegitimate son of a priest and a physician’s daughter. He was educated for the priesthood by the Brothers of Common Life and the Augustinians, and continued his study at the Sorbonne in Paris. He regarded himself as a “citizen of the world” and became the friend and confidante of Sir Thomas More and other humanists in England.

His major work, *In Praise of Folly* (1911), is a satire on the ills of society, and in some of his other works he called for reform of the Christian/Catholic church. In fact, many have pointed to these latter works as the signal that began the Reformation. He made no distinction between being a Christian and being a humanist scholar and called for a well-ordered society through the study of a classical liberal arts education. In his educational scheme, he included the education of girls through a carefully developed curriculum.

John Amos Comenius

Like Erasmus, John Amos Comenius (1592–1670) was seen as a “citizen of the world” and a man of peace during a period of the religious wars of the Reformation. He was born Jan Kominsky in Moravia, Czechoslovakia, the youngest child and only son of five children born to Protestant parents of modest means. Orphaned by the age of sixteen, he attended a

grammar school operated by the Unity of Brethren, a Protestant group following the beliefs of John Hus. The rector of the school supported Comenius’s education and sent him to the Calvinist gymnasium (secondary school) of Herborn in central Germany.

Comenius was a supporter of education for the masses, not just the more academic secondary form of education found in grammar schools and gymnasiums. By the middle of the nineteenth century his works had been translated into German, English, and French. He became known as the “pioneer of modern educational science” because he thought that children should study things, or objects, before learning to read, and that the curriculum should be carefully organized around experiences that reflected the “natural” sensory order of things. Hence, play and enjoyment would replace the dreary grind of schooling in his time.

Comenius was one of the first to use pictures in reading texts. He also agreed with most of the reformers of the day that children needed to be able to read the vernacular in addition to Latin. In other words, he was advocating universal literacy in the vernacular along with the teaching of arithmetic skills. He included girls in this education, although he thought their roles in the household called for less of a classical or secondary preparation.

Enlightenment Thinkers

Protestant reformers such as Comenius, Martin Luther, and John Calvin provided strong voices for educating the masses. However, the class structure was still forcefully maintained in Europe. This resulted in a two-track form of schooling: basic vernacular literacy for the masses in elementary, folk, common, or petty schools and the elite liberal arts education for the upper-class leaders of society to be found in secondary schools such as gymnasias, lycées, grammar schools, and academies. Euro-American struggles in the seventeenth century provided competition for this elitist socioeducational structure and influenced the thought of Enlightenment philosophers such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), John Locke (1632–1704), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), but it did little to transform the thinking on the education of girls and women.

Kant's *sapere aude* ("dare to know") gave the signal to individuals to use their intelligence to take charge of their lives, without the guidance of a controlling socioeconomic class. And John Locke developed a theory of constitutional law and democratic form of government along with a theory of education.

John Locke

Born to a country physician, Locke was educated at Oxford, where he also tutored and lectured in medicine and experimental science. He became the personal physician to the Earl of Shaftsbury and lived a comfortable life in England, and in Holland when his opposition to the king made it difficult to stay in London. It was during his period in Holland, when a friend asked his advice on educating his son, that he wrote *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1692).

Here Locke criticized the current schools for relying on corporal punishment and advocated tutorial arrangements with a curriculum that did not stress the rote memory of Latin and Greek, but focused on more practical subjects such as, geography, history, geometry, and astronomy, along with civil law and language. The focus of his educational theory was the theory of the mind as a blank tablet, or *tabula rasa*, at birth, which is filled through the child's sensory experiences.

Locke's stress on the practical along with the rejection of inborn intellectual talent found support in American colonial society, as well as in the twentieth century with American Progressives—as did the ideas of Rousseau, who was born in France shortly after Locke's death.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's mother died giving birth to him, and he spent his young years in the care of his father's unmarried sister and a nursemaid. His father had wanderlust and was rarely home with his two sons. When he was home, he would read romance-type novels to his younger son that left the boy, from age seven on, with a confused sense of adult passion. As a boy Rousseau loved the countryside, and one night when he was sixteen, he chose not to return to the city of Geneva before the gates closed.

In his *Confessions*, Rousseau cites this incident as the beginning of his vagabond life, wandering between various Swiss towns and Paris. He ultimately made his living copying music in Paris. He met and befriended a rather pathetic and ignorant seamstress named Theresa, who became the mother of his five children—all of whom were given away to be raised in foundling homes. Rousseau is unclear about his motivation for doing this, other than to say that he was not cut out to be a father, and ignorant Therese seemed ill equipped to raise children.

In Paris he became friends with the French philosopher Denis Diderot and entered an essay contest at his suggestion. Rousseau argued that human nature is basically good and that it is society that corrupts. To his amazement he won the contest and began attending fashionable dinner parties where he continued to dress in his peasant fur hat and robe to remain true to his beliefs. Under the patronage of elitist society members, he wrote *The Social Contract* (1762), and *Émile* (1762), a novel about the proper education of a boy. *Émile* ultimately came under censorship from the French government and Rousseau fled to England, where he became friendly with David Hume. In 1767, he decided to return to Paris under a pseudonym. He finished his *Confessions* and began some other writing, working until 1778, when he suffered a brain hemorrhage and died.

In *Émile*, Rousseau calls for the boy to be raised in nature with a tutor and not parents who might be too controlling. In nature, *Émile* could explore his surroundings safely and move freely without any of the swaddling clothes that were still being used at that time. Once the child developed muscle control, moral education began, and it was taught by example. There was no punishment involved, and a boy's intellectual education came after his moral training. Knowledge was to come from studying natural science and reading books such as *Robinson Crusoe*. Subjects dealing with society were avoided until his later teen years when his character was strong enough to handle social corruption. Many of Rousseau's ideas were the basis for future Progressive reformers' theories, but the tension in his work between individual freedom and social responsibility was problematic for many of his followers.

The education of women was the last chapter in *Émile* and was the only part that did not cause a stir at the time. It described an education that taught subservience to men and epitomized the attitudes that women such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) found so abhorrent. Her best known work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), called for an end to this subservient education and proposed a more egalitarian curriculum that included females and males.

Progressive Educational Ideas

Rousseau's ideas set the ball in motion for followers such as Johann Pestalozzi (1746–1827), with his pedagogical study of objects, and Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), founder of the kindergarten movement. Johann Herbart (1776–1841) developed many of these ideas into formal steps with his theory of apperception, which posits that any new idea is understood in terms of material and sensory experiences already known to the individual.

Nineteenth-century America was ripe for these ideas as the new United States began to think about the type of schooling that would be available to all citizens. Common school advocates—such as Massachusetts Secretary of Education Horace Mann (1796–1859); educational reformer Henry Barnard (1811–1900), who held political positions in Connecticut and Rhode Island; and Quincy, Massachusetts' superintendent, Colonel Francis W. Parker (1837–1902)—studied these continental theorists as they planned for state and local school systems. Colonel Francis W. Parker's "theory of concentration," outlined in his *Talks on Pedagogics*, was an outgrowth of his study of Herbart, Pestalozzi, and Froebel; and Clark University President G. Stanley Hall implemented Rousseauian natural growth concepts in his child study movement.

John Dewey: Early Years

The person to bring these ideas into a unified, coherent system of thought was John Dewey (1859–1952). Born in Burlington, Vermont, to fourth-generation New Englanders, Dewey grew up during the Civil War and learned at an early age the negative outcomes of prejudice and suffering. The family

followed his father as he fought in the cavalry, and his mother's strong abolitionist and liberal religious views made an impression on the young boy. After the war the family returned to Burlington, where they owned a grocery store. Dewey finished his early schooling and matriculated at the University of Vermont.

Upon graduation he moved to Oil City, Pennsylvania, to teach at the high school where his cousin was principal. He taught algebra, Latin, and the natural sciences and published his first article, "The Metaphysical Assumptions of Materialism," in William Torrey Harris's *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. Encouraged by this foray into philosophy, Dewey returned to Burlington and began a tutorial study of philosophy while he taught at the local academy. He applied to the Johns Hopkins University Ph.D. program, and because he was not awarded a fellowship, an aunt supported him financially. Influenced by the logic of Charles Sanders Pierce, the psychology of G. Stanley Hall, and the idealism of George Sylvester Morris, he graduated in 1884, having written his dissertation on Kantian epistemology and psychology.

Dewey was hired to teach philosophy at the University of Michigan, where he met and married Alice Chipman. He moved to the University of Minnesota in 1888, and taught there for one year before being hired back to the University of Michigan as the Chair of the Philosophy Department. He became friends with George Herbert Mead, who helped him secure the Chair of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago.

Dewey on Education

In 1904, under Dewey's direction, the University of Chicago published a decennial series titled *Contributions to Education*. The publication caused Harvard psychologist William James to claim that under Dewey's leadership the University of Chicago had developed a new school of thought. James (1842–1910) had redefined the old Platonic idea in terms of its "workability" or utility. He had argued against absolutes and described a world that was in a state of change. This theory fit with Pierce's logic that defined concepts in terms of their human consequences, and

defined knowledge as that which is validated by human experiences.

To these concepts Dewey added his theory of instrumentalism, which views ideas as instruments to be used to solve problems—psychological, social, educational, or physical/environmental. This new school of thought came to be known as pragmatism, and with the help of Ella Flagg Young, a doctoral student and future superintendent of the Chicago public schools, he implemented these progressive practices in his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago.

Dewey left the University of Chicago in 1904 and joined the philosophy and education faculty at Columbia University and its Teachers College. In 1915 his *Democracy and Education* was published, followed by many other articles and books, including the revised edition of *How We Think* (1933) and *Experience and Education* (1938). Together with his wife, Alice, he advocated equality for women and African Americans. In 1927 Alice died, and in 1930 he retired from teaching. He continued to travel, and lectured in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, becoming the first internationally renowned American philosopher. In 1946, Dewey married a much younger woman, Roberta Lowitz Grant, a widow whose family he had been friendly with during his Oil City years. He died on June 1, 1952 after a brief illness.

One of Dewey's students at the University of Chicago was John B. Watson (1878–1958), who developed a new experimental branch of psychology published as a book entitled *Behaviorism* in 1924. At Columbia, Dewey's colleague Edward L. Thorndyke (1874–1949) was working on a more experimental form of behavioristic psychology known as connectionism, which focused on observable and measurable animal responses to various stimuli.

Existential Themes in Postmodern Times

As various forms of behaviorism controlled mid-twentieth-century American schools, some educators instead embraced existentialist ideas of human freedom and turned to the 1962 book *Summerhill* by A. S. Neill (1883–1973). Published in 1960 it called for freedom from these controls and described a school in

England that Neill had been running since the 1920s under the premise that children should be free “to be themselves.” Nel Noddings, while concerned with issues similar to Neill's, specifically calls for schools to become caring environments, in which teachers and students are mutually dependent.

A. S. Neill

Born to strict Calvinist parents, in rural Scotland, Neill attended the local school and worked as a teaching apprentice and then an assistant teacher, although he never felt that he was a good student. At the age of twenty-five, he managed to pass exams that allowed him to enter the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated with a major in English literature.

He took a temporary position as a schoolmaster while waiting to enter the military and began keeping a log of his teaching activities. He broke with the traditions of flogging and rote memory learning in favor of allowing students to use their imaginations in the learning process. After the army, Neill came in contact with an American named Homer Lane who was running a penal colony for young delinquents. Lane ran the institution using Freudian psychoanalytic principles, along with the belief that one must always find a way of understanding and supporting the child. To practice these principles Lane had weekly meetings where every teen and adult member of the community had a vote.

After a brief period teaching at a progressive school in Germany, Neill opened his own school there based on the above principles along with the practice of weekly meetings. He ultimately relocated the school—Summerhill—near London and ran it with his wife until she died in 1940. Then he ran it with his second wife until he died. His students tended to be those who had had trouble in schools, and many of them were Americans. Students had the freedom to play and do what they pleased within safe boundaries, but once they tired of that form of freedom and opted to attend classes, they had to make the commitment to continue those classes. In Neill's estimation, it was the best education for reaching the universal aim in life of happiness. Even though the school continues today, the international attention that it received during Neill's later years has waned.

Another educational philosopher who has drawn on existentialist ideas is Maxine Greene (1917–). In her many books and articles she has articulated a freedom of choice in creating oneself, and the importance of choosing freedom that brings relations with others in order to avoid the dilemma of forlornness.

Nel Noddings

Human relationships are also the basis of Nel Noddings's care theory. Noddings was born in Irvington, New Jersey, on the eve of the Great Depression, January 19, 1929. She graduated from Montclair State Teachers College with a B.A. in 1949, and upon graduation, married James Noddings. She taught at the junior high school in Woodbury, New Jersey, for four years, then spent several years raising her family (which ultimately grew to include ten children). From 1957 to 1969, she became a high school math teacher, department chair, and finally assistant principal. Noddings received her M.A. from Rutgers in 1964, and completed her work for a Ph.D. at Stanford University, graduating in 1973. She was a member of the faculty at Stanford University from 1977 to 1998, and was the Lee L. Jacks Professor of Child Education at Stanford from 1992 to 1998. She subsequently held appointments at Columbia University, Colgate University, and the University of Southern Maine, and she is Jacks Professor of Education, Emerita, at Stanford.

In 1984 she set forth her ethics of care in *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. The theory is ontologically based in the relationship between the "one-caring" and the "cared for," and the relationship is one of mutual dependence. The one-caring becomes completely absorbed or engrossed in the situation of the cared for as she receives into herself the thoughts, feelings, and circumstances of the cared for. Noddings differentiates this reality from empathy, in which a person projects herself or himself into the other's situation to understand the other's thoughts and feelings. She points out that caring on the part of the one-caring is "always characterized by a move away from self," which means that the caring individual needs to move out of the realm of assigning blame, credit, or any other rational assessment of the

particular situation, and this leads to the ethical dimension of caring.

Traditionally, ethics has involved reason and logic or *logos*, the masculine spirit. The ethics of caring, on the other hand involves a more natural affective domain and is connected to *Eros*, the feminine spirit. Noddings qualifies Neill's aim of happiness in life by defining that aim as relational: caring and being cared for. In a caring relationship, when teachers engage students through questions and discussions, they are working to engage students, and not just looking for the correct answers or responses.

Finally, Noddings differentiates between "caring for" and "caring about," with the latter being more inclusive and distant. One can care deeply about global hunger and contribute to alleviate the condition through the contribution of one's time or money or both. However, this is a broader type of caring than the one caring–cared for relationship.

Caring is also a theme in the 1992 book *Schoolhome* by Jane Roland Martin (1930–). It is one of the "three Cs" that need to be present for children to learn: caring, concern, and connection. She draws upon the work of Maria Montessori (1870–1952), who used the concept of home (*casa*) for her learning environment, known as *Casa dei Bambini*. Roland Martin's emphasis is on understanding how learning occurs, rather than on how teaching or instructional elements can be identified. Thus, she calls for an image transition from the American "schoolhouse" to the American "schoolhome."

Joan K. Smith

See also Intelligence, Theories of; Philosophy of Education

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BIRACIAL IDENTITY

Biracial individuals are those people who have racial heritage from more than one socially or legally recognized category (the U.S. government considers Hispanic or Latino ethnicity and five races: African American or Black, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, White). Also called, among other terms, multiracial, mixed race, hapa, or mixed heritage, individuals reporting more than one race comprised 2.4 percent of the total population estimate of the 2000 U.S. Census, and 6.3 percent of the Hispanic/Latino population. Four percent of the population under age 18, and 7.7 percent of those under age 18 with Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, reported more than race. A substantial number of these multiracial youth are school age, and the percentage of primary, secondary, and postsecondary students who are multiracial is expected to continue to grow throughout the twenty-first century. Because changes in the collection and reporting of data on race and ethnicity in education

mandated by the federal government in 1997 are still in process, it is difficult to estimate the exact number of multiracial students in K–12 and postsecondary education.

Multiracial individuals may identify themselves in a number of ways, and research suggests that there is no one most healthy or more correct identification. Biracial youth and college students may identify with just one of their heritage groups, with both or all of their heritage groups, as part of a biracial or multiracial group, outside of racial categorization, or in some other way, according to the context. Gender, social class, religious, and sexual orientation identities may interact with biracial identity by contributing to the contextual cues. Physical appearance is also a major factor in multiracial identity, possibly more so for women than for men.

Biracial Students

Biracial students of any identity find that educational settings may provide challenges and supports. In primary and secondary schools, biracial children may be unclear how to respond to “choose one race only” demographic questions on standardized tests, or may feel forced to choose an identity that they do not personally hold. Other children may ask, “What are you?” in their efforts to sort people into monoracial categories. Teachers and other adults in the school setting (e.g., classroom aides, administrators) may not recognize a person as a child’s parent when that person does not appear to be of the same race as the child. These everyday occurrences reinforce the dominant societal view that monoracial identity is “normal” and bi- or multiracial identity is not. Potentially positive outcomes of school life for biracial youth include an awareness that identity is not fixed, that there are other people who do not fit into one category, and that they are unique and special.

Multiracial college students report experiences on campus that similarly reinforce the predominance of monoraciality, but these students also express a more complex understanding of their identities in relation to those messages. On some campuses, biracial students

experience pressure from members of organizations based on monoracial identity (e.g., Black Student Alliance, Asian Caucus) to conform to social norms of the group or risk ostracism. A lack of cultural knowledge or language may keep some biracial students from associating with peers from one of their heritage groups, and the perceived availability of support services for underrepresented students may depend on how or whether a biracial student identifies strongly with a particular heritage.

Colleges and universities are also sites for identity exploration and support. Courses related to a heritage or to multiracial issues support identity exploration, and the growing number of campus organizations and intercollegiate conferences for bi- or multiracial students provide opportunities to gather with others who may have similar experiences. Academic, social, and political experiences related to having more than one racial heritage seem to support development of confidence and comfort in a range of racial identification among multiracial college students.

The Use of Data

Public schools represent one of the largest sectors required to collect and tabulate data on race and ethnicity. The data are used to allocate resources, to fund educational programs to promote success of underrepresented students, to assist in enforcement of school desegregation plans, and to examine trends in student ability grouping, promotion, and graduation. Before 1997 schools were stipulated by the federal government to assign only one race per person. The 1997 revisions in federal policy have resulted in changes to state and local practices in data collection in the K–12 schools; changes in postsecondary education data collection are expected to begin in 2009. The implications of the policy shift are not yet clear, but educational researchers and leaders are cautioned to be aware of how the changes impact the appearance of trend data.

As important as the shift in policy regarding collecting, aggregating, and reporting data on student race and ethnicity is the possibility for biracial individuals to change their self-identification over time.

Although it is unlikely for such shifts in identification to have a widespread impact in national or state-level data, it is possible that local and institutional data will show some variance based on individual choices in self-identification. Self-identification is the federal government's preferred method for assigning categories of race and ethnicity, and it is recommended that whenever possible, students (or their parents, in the case of younger children) be permitted to self-identify.

Kristen A. Renn

See also Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity

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BLACK ENGLISH VERNACULAR

The term *Ebonics*, from the words *ebony* (“Black”) and *phonics* (“sounds”), was coined by social psychologist Robert Williams in 1973. Also known as Black English Vernacular (BEV) or African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Ebonics is a social dialect spoken mainly by African Americans in the United States. It has long been a subject of controversy within K–12 education, since schools in the United States tend to view the replacement of students’ nonstandard speech with standard English as one of their main tasks.

However, as perhaps the most widespread and salient nonstandard dialect of English, and one with strong cultural associations to a historically subjugated and educationally marginalized population, Ebonics has proved impervious to official attempts to eradicate it. It has thus come to symbolize both the persistent crisis of inner-city communities of color and the persistent failure of public schools to adequately serve those communities. In more recent years, recognition of its systematic nature, and of its importance as a marker of ethnic identity and cultural resistance, has spread among many educators, resulting in attempts to shift assimilationist school policies toward a more tolerant view. Nonetheless, well-meaning attempts by linguists and educators to address the educational needs of African American children have clashed with powerful language ideologies associating Ebonics with poverty, ignorance, and delinquency. This entry discusses its history and chief characteristics, the related social and educational debate, and the outlook for its continued use.

Origins

Black English Vernacular emerged from the crucible of the Southern plantation life of millions of enslaved Africans. They had been forcibly abducted and brought to North America during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries and spoke various West African languages, and slaveholders often purposely intermingled slaves from different languages and regions, fearing that fluid communication might foster attempts at rebellion or escape. As subsequent generations of slaves grew up in this creolized context, English became their native language, albeit an English acquired informally and under conditions of intense repression and social segregation.

Sociolinguist John R. Rickford compares three different hypotheses concerning the evolution of Ebonics. The Afrocentric view holds that most of the distinctive phonological and grammatical features of Ebonics reflect features of the Niger-Congo languages spoken by the original enslaved Africans in the New World. The Eurocentric (or “dialectologist”) view holds that African slaves quickly lost their original languages and that the distinctive features of Ebonics evolved through contact with the English dialects spoken by English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish settlers (including many indentured servants, who were in closer contact with African slaves). Rickford critiques both of these hypotheses in favor of the creolist view, which holds that as African slaves acquired English, they developed a pidgin that combined features of English and African languages; this pidgin eventually evolved into Ebonics. Evidence in support of this view includes the many similarities between Ebonics and English-based creole languages of the Caribbean, as well as Gullah, an English creole spoken by African Americans on the sea islands off the coast of Georgia and South Carolina.

Following the abolition of slavery, millions of former slaves and their descendants moved north, seeking employment in the burgeoning industrial centers of the North and freedom from the violent Jim Crow regime of the South. However, continued racial segregation prevented African Americans’ linguistic assimilation into Northern White speech communities. Later, as the United States expanded westward, Ebonics persisted and spread as a distinct dialect, although with regional variations.

Characteristics

The distinctive features of Ebonics are commonly recognized even by those who deride them as evidence of “lazy speech” or “bad English.” Linguistic research has shown these features to be systematic and rule governed; in some cases (e.g., verb tense and aspect) they encode subtleties that are absent from standard English. A much-cited example is the sentence *He be runnin*, which indicates an ongoing or habitual action. (In standard English, it would be rendered as “He is usually running.”)

Simplification of certain word-final consonant clusters is another salient feature, giving rise to such forms as *tes’* for *test* and *han’* for *hand*. Copula deletion (absence of linking verbs *is* or *are*) is a common feature of many creole languages, and appears in Ebonics utterances such as *She married* (“She’s

married”) or *They goin’ now* (“They’re going now”). The word-final suffix */-s/*, which in standard English is used to mark both possession and the third person singular, is omitted in Ebonics, giving rise to forms such as *John house* (“John’s house”) and *He feed the dog* (“He feeds the dog”).

Many of these features have been mistakenly interpreted (by schoolteachers and others) as evidence of Ebonics speakers’ failure to grasp abstract concepts such as past tense. Not surprisingly, those features of Ebonics that express semantic or grammatical distinctions that are absent from standard English generally go unrecognized by standard English speakers.

Social Status

As is true of the speech of ethnic minority groups the world over, Ebonics is highly stigmatized. Although its grammaticality, phonological regularity, and overall utility as a communicative system have been amply demonstrated, it continues to be perceived by the general public (and even sometimes by its speakers) as slovenly, lazy, and incorrect. This perception is continually reinforced by the social barriers to nonstandard speech that are maintained by the dominant (White) speech community, through institutions like schooling, the media, and the occupational structure.

At the same time, Ebonics has strong positive associations for its speakers, as a marker of ethnic identity, community membership, and resistance to White domination. Ironically, the gate-keeping function of standard English in both education and the more prestigious forms of employment means that speakers’ linguistic loyalty to Ebonics becomes yet another rationalization for their continued educational and economic marginalization. Many speakers learn to fluidly code-switch between Ebonics and standard English; however, even the nonexclusive use of Ebonics is thought by many to mark speakers as uneducated and coarse.

The Oakland Controversy

Ebonics became a focus of controversy in early 1997 when the Oakland, California, School Board passed a resolution calling for the acknowledgment of Ebonics

(or “African Language Systems”) *not* as a mere dialect of English but as a valid, autonomous language that is the primary language of African American students. The resolution stressed the similarity between African American students and others with limited English proficiency (e.g., students whose home language is Spanish, Mandarin, or Punjabi), and evoked the Federal Bilingual Education Act of 1968 in calling for special programs to help African American students achieve English proficiency while respecting their primary language. In fact, the original form of the resolution recommended that Ebonics be used (along with English) as a medium of instruction for African American children and that it be not only respected but maintained. However, these provisions were later deleted under pressure, in favor of passages emphasizing the need to transition students from their home language patterns to (standard) English.

Predictably, the resolution provoked heated debate and even outrage from across the political spectrum. Some critics denounced it as an attempt to pander to African Americans by granting legitimacy to a clearly deficient speech variety and accused the Oakland School Board of succumbing to “political correctness” and/or divisive identity politics. Others, including notable African American leaders such as Jesse Jackson, called the move “disgraceful,” and accused the school board of embracing low standards for African American students and condemning them to a lifetime of linguistic and cognitive inferiority. The voices of linguists and educational researchers failed to carry over the din of (often uninformed) public debate, and the resolution was eventually withdrawn without being implemented.

Future Prospects

Although the Ebonics debate has largely died down within education, it has not completely disappeared. For the most part, teachers continue to “correct” students’ use of Ebonics, to lament its use by parents and public figures (e.g., professional athletes and musicians), and to enforce standard English norms and practices in the granting of educational credentials. On the other hand, the public airing of questions of

race and language provoked by the Oakland controversy, combined with the diffusion and sociolinguistic research on Ebonics, led many Americans toward a more tolerant, relativistic view of African American Vernacular English and an acknowledgment of its importance to the cohesion and identity of African American communities. While U.S. society is still far from a consensus as to the legitimacy of Ebonics, recent debates have served to highlight the relationship, however muddy, between school language policies and other educational and civil rights issues.

Furthermore, through its association with certain forms of popular culture, such as rap and hip-hop music, Ebonics has gained considerable ground among U.S. youth subcultures, particularly those of White and Hispanic working-class and middle-class males. While such usage retains the air of countercultural resistance associated with inner-city minorities, this may change as the corporate culture industry appropriates this symbol of youth and rebellion for its own purposes. The literary use of Ebonics by Pulitzer-prize-winning authors such as Alice Walker and Toni Morrison has also increased its social capital in more prestigious circles.

Within urban schools, however, African American children continue to suffer severe educational inequities, manifested in high dropout rates, low college enrollment, and disproportionate failure on various measures of academic achievement. The language, history, and culture of the White majority continue to constitute the backbone of the public school curriculum. With schools currently more racially segregated than they were in the 1970s, Ebonics is unlikely to disappear anytime soon. The role of dialectal variation in explaining academic achievement gaps among ethnic groups remains unclear but is probably not negligible. For the time being, educators will continue to seek solutions that are scientifically and pedagogically sound, informed by a concern for educational equity, and compatible with the predominant language ideologies of the larger population.

Aurolyn Luykx

See also African American Education; Discrimination and Prejudice; Literacy in the South; Rap Music and Oral Literacy; Urban Education; White Privilege

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BLIND, EDUCATION FOR THE

Historically, *blind education* has referred to those facilities, programs, techniques, and practices designed to maximize formal learning for persons with significant to total loss of vision. Such education has taken place in a variety of formal and informal instructional settings, including the home, private tutoring sessions, segregated and integrated classrooms in public schools, public and private day schools, and public as well as private residential institutions. As a modality impairment, blindness has existed throughout history and in all societies. The bulk of practices in the United States, however, have evolved from origins and developments specific to the Western world. As this entry considers the education of blind persons, information on its historical development in Europe, Canada, and the United States complements descriptions and discussion of current education theory and practice regarding ways to compensate for a loss of vision through specific technologies, materials, subject matter, and instructional practices.

Historical Development

The key European figure in developing teaching methods for the blind was Valentin Haüy (1745–1822), a French aristocrat who championed more humane treatment for all disabled persons but focused on developing instructional techniques for blind persons. He played a leading role in developing raised print for use by blind readers. He also encouraged vocational

training for the blind, arguing that gainful employment would permit more authentic and effective participation in a mostly sighted society.

Haüy's methods and priorities underscored a growing belief among those working with the disabled that blind persons were certainly capable of formal academic instruction and deserved more humane treatment from their fellow human beings. Education of blind persons, which typically occurred in private tutorials or in institutions, spread from France to England by 1800, where the emphasis again fell on vocational or trade training. In addition, music instruction was often featured to enhance learning through senses other than sight.

European beliefs about and approaches to the education of the blind migrated to the United States primarily via the efforts of two individuals: Dr. John Fischer and Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, both from the Boston area. Fischer's visits to the school for the blind in Paris prompted him to work to establish a similar school in the United States. His efforts led to the 1832 opening of what became known as the Perkins Institution and the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, located in Boston and headed by Howe. The school quickly assumed a national leadership role and enrolled students from all regions of the country by the late 1800s.

Perkins not only educated blind students but also trained many of the teachers for other institutions and schools for the blind. Such settings increased steadily in number throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, with over three dozen institutions providing educational services to blind students by the early 1900s. Many of these combined educational services with those for deaf students, while others were segregated by race. High profile cases such as Laura Bridgman (Howe's first prominent deaf-blind student) and Annie Sullivan (Helen Keller's famous teacher) drew attention to Perkins in particular and efforts to educate the blind in general.

By the early 1900s public schools had joined residential institutions as providers of formal education for the blind. In 1900 Chicago opened the first class designated specifically for children with total blindness. Most large urban school systems, however, established classes for children whose vision loss was significant but not complete. Often called "sight-saving" or "semi-blind" classes, these settings created an environment

considered optimal for students with significant vision loss, including specialized lighting, raised print (usually Braille) texts, and other instructional accommodations. Most of these classes were segregated from the regular classes but held in the local public school according to demand. These classes combined academic content with an emphasis on music instruction and vocational training. Meanwhile, the residential institutions continued with their educational mission of basic academic instruction and solid vocational training that could lead to employment upon leaving the institution.

Educational Issues

With large-scale, segregated, residential institutions as well as numerous public school systems around the country providing formal, specialized instruction for students with all levels of significant—including total—vision loss, discussion intensified over certain assumptions and practices that defined approaches to educating the blind. Such discussions continue to this day. Issues have included the propriety of segregated instruction, whether in schools or institutions; the appropriate balance of academic, vocational, and functional instruction; and the effective integration of technology into specially adapted curricula.

Segregation

The debate over integrating or segregating for instructional purposes students who are blind from their nondisabled peers has played out heatedly for generations. Advocates for residential institutions for the blind argue that the specialized settings allow more opportunities for appropriate, individualized instruction in a supportive, caring environment. Such facilities permit more effective and efficient use of what can be very expensive resources, such as large print or raised-text books, optical enhancement equipment, and audio technology. They offer comfortable environments where the teachers are trained in specific, appropriate methodology and where students share needs, abilities, and interests that may be quite limited or even nonexistent in a public school classroom.

In short, it has been argued, residential institutions for students who are blind offer the best opportunities

for providing the education such children need and deserve. Separate classes in public school buildings for children who suffer severe vision loss also offer such nurturing and specialized environments and have the advantage of closer proximity to the students' nondisabled peers for events at which they can fully participate, such as lunch, festivals, or other appropriate events.

On the other hand, according to critics of segregation, the practice of intentionally separating children who are blind cannot help but contribute to long-held prejudices and misunderstandings that have confronted the blind literally for centuries. Critics contend that no amount of fiscal or instructional efficiency can justify the purposeful exclusion of any child from the mainstream of society. Too, the notion that segregated instruction provides a more comfortable and supportive environment may well be applicable in the short term but arguably makes it much more difficult for children—indeed all persons—with blindness to become socially integrated and functionally independent, given their intense isolation for years and society's relative absence of familiarity with the conditions and ramifications of the condition. Clearly, the relative merits and drawbacks of inclusion and segregation in the education of all children on the margins certainly apply to children who are blind.

Content

Discussions regarding the appropriate content and balance of formal instruction for the blind also have captured much interest among those involved in the process. For the most part, the blind long ago overcame very early prejudices that most were incapable of learning standard and advanced academic content. Nevertheless, curriculum development for blind children must consider several features unique to blindness and adapt instruction accordingly. For example, many have argued for instruction that theoretically enhances the blind child's ability to use her or his four other senses to compensate for the lack of sight. A strong emphasis on oral instruction and the use of itinerant teachers who could work with a blind child individually in her or his regular classroom have become common features of teaching children who are blind.

Moreover, a discussion as to the “best” form of text reading continues to this day. The development of practical social and vocational skills remains central to this specialized curriculum: cooking, personal hygiene, mobility, and interpersonal interactions often accompany specific training in a particular trade or skill of the child's choice. In recent decades technology designed to assist children who are blind has become increasingly sophisticated, requiring more specialized training for teachers of the blind and additional “reasonable and appropriate” expenditures for residential institutions and for school districts. As with other disabilities that can be effectively addressed through the use of highly expensive equipment or other technology, blindness raises issues as to just how much a public school district should be expected to spend on a child with the condition.

Today families, friends, and advocates of and for the blind join with educators and the general public to assure a “free and appropriate” education for the blind in a variety of settings. Nevertheless, issues of curriculum, policy, and school practice continue to raise important questions, ideas, and debates designed to address—and assure—the most effective education for children who live daily with severe or total vision loss but who also have much to contribute to their peers and to society if given sufficient opportunity and support.

Robert L. Osgood

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling; Disability Studies; Mainstreaming; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries; Chapter 21, Students With Special Needs

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BOARDS OF EDUCATION

Local school boards have guided American public education for well over a century. Electing school board members to govern local schools embodies U.S. commitment to democracy and the nation's desire to have some influence over the education of children who reside here. While these values still resonate with the American public, changes in society and the way schools are governed have stripped these institutions of much of their power. Instead of deciding fundamental policy issues, these institutions are now left to implement the priorities and policies of the state and the federal government.

The reasons for the diminished role school boards now play reveal much about the legitimacy of the institution as a means of democratic participation and about its ability to address issues of concern such as inequality, poverty, and diversity. This entry examines some of the historical and contemporary forces that have influenced school board structure, composition, and function. From a historical perspective, there have been many forces at work that have tended to limit the participation of citizens in school board elections and have insulated these institutions from the publics they were supposed to serve. In the contemporary context, the inability of school boards to adequately represent increasingly diverse constituents coupled with the growth of the federal and state role in education has led some to conclude that boards have outlived their usefulness.

Tracing the history of school boards can provide new and important insights into ongoing debates about the governance of public schools. For example, the Center for Education and the Economy has advocated for school governance reforms that would radically limit the role of local boards in educational decisions by turning the ownership of local schools over to limited-liability corporations. Such proposals only make sense when they are viewed as part of an ongoing transformation in societal values and interests.

The Progressive Era

Small boards of education separated from municipal government and elected at large came into existence

during the progressive reform movement of the 1890s. Prior to this time schools were often run as an extension of the municipal government or by large committees of laymen. During the mid-1800s, examples of large boards included Boston with 24 members, and Philadelphia which was broken into 24 separate areas each with its own school board. These boards had significant authority over the ways schools were run including issues of curriculum, finance, and assessment. Corruption and graft in local school politics were not uncommon during this period and as the nineteenth century came to a close, reformers and muckraking journalists joined hands to expose the political spoils system that often drove local school governance.

These reformers predominately consisted of elite community members such as businessmen and lawyers who sought to centralize control of schools for the purpose of improving efficiency and imposing corporate practices on the schools. Smaller boards and at-large elections were sought as a way to insure that elites would be elected to leadership positions, rather than ward representatives who might be too closely associated with an undesirable class or ethnicity. Such changes were supported by school superintendents who enjoyed increased power over issues such as the hiring and firing of teachers. Rather than focus on the day-to-day running of the schools, corporate style boards began to focus more on policy.

By the 1920s, school districts across the nation had adopted similar forms of governance characterized by small, policy-oriented boards, whose primary responsibility was hiring and evaluating the superintendent. These changes increased accountability by focusing authority in the office of the superintendent. At the same time, schools became more insulated from the general public and less attentive to the interests of poor and minority citizens.

The Limits of Administrative Control

The power of school administrators continued to grow during the first half of the twentieth century as the nation more fully adopted the belief that educational decisions were largely technical matters best left to educational professionals rather than the lay public.

During this period, rapid population growth coupled with school district consolidations increased pressure on school boards to represent ever larger constituencies. For example in 1937 there were 120,000 school districts, a number that had shrunk to 40,000 by 1960. This pressure, coupled with consistently low voter turnout during school board elections threatened the legitimacy of these boards as governing institutions.

As problems of representation and legitimacy grew more pronounced, it became increasingly difficult for boards of education to balance competing interests and to deal with politically charged issues. In addition, the changes brought about by the Civil Rights Movement created greater political awareness, and placed even more demands on the educational system. In the new politics of the 1960s, educational interest groups became better informed, better organized, and better at using the media to their advantage. Many groups called for increased minority representation on school boards, and many of the largest urban districts sought to address their concerns by decentralizing their governance structures. Bucking the trend toward consolidation, cities such as Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York were divided into smaller districts with regional superintendents and/or policy boards. The hope was that increased democracy might serve as a check on administrative authority and increase the probability that minority concerns would be addressed.

While decentralization held promise for better representation, the end result was significant infighting among interest groups over material and symbolic resources. Rather than solve the problem of racial discrimination and segregation, the more politicized environment may have worked against change as groups sought to protect their interests in the short term. Many groups seemed to lose sight of the fact that failure to come to an adequate resolution of these issues at the local level would result in unilateral federal action.

Despite many districts growing experience with federal intervention in the form of desegregation orders, or financial support through programs such as the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) (which focused on science education), and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) (which focused on children in poverty), few

school boards could have predicted the degree to which federal and state intervention would eventually eclipse local control.

A Crisis in Local Governance

Federal and state involvement in education has consistently increased since the 1960s. The passage of ESEA in 1965, and Public Law 94-42, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act in 1975 set the stage for increased federal influence in the form of leveraged funds. These laws created procedures and rules that needed to be followed in order for local districts to receive the funding and subjected schools to an increased level of federal oversight.

This trend toward centralized control was reinforced by a number of school-funding lawsuits that forced states to pay an increasing share in the cost of schooling in order to help equalize differences in the tax base between local districts. This shift in funding resulted in a greater state authority over education. These changes were followed by a number of influential national reports such as *A Nation at Risk* (1983) that argued for national solutions to our educational problems. This trend continued to intensify in the 1990s culminating with the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) which gives the federal government unprecedented reach into areas formerly controlled by local districts such as program design and testing.

Despite limited evidence of real improvement resulting from federal intervention, support for ever more radical changes in local governance structures continues unabated. A noted authority, William Boyd, points out that elected school boards are under fire, especially in cities, and some have proposed confining them to policy-making and planning roles. Proposals such as these proceed from logic similar to that used by reformers in the 1890s which viewed local ward-based control as inefficient and ineffective. This time however, the problem has been characterized as the limiting influence of centralized bureaucracy (i.e., school boards) on creativity and choice. Interestingly, the proposed remedy to this is, most often, increased federal or state control of education with decentralized responsibility for implementing programs and procedures.

The pressure for these changes comes from what Boyd terms, “a double crisis of both performance and legitimacy.” With respect to performance, large numbers of students, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds are failing to meet expectations for achievement. In terms of legitimacy, the “common school” established to meet the needs of a fairly homogeneous society in the mid-1800s is having difficulty coping with growing ethnic and religious diversity. One result of this change has been a growing demand for more choices in the kinds of education available.

Given these challenges, the future role of local school boards in this nation is far from clear. The race is on for an alternative institution to run our public schools and while democracy remains an important touchstone in symbolic terms, many current proposals for reform actually serve to limit citizen participation in school governance. Current governance reform proposals include options such as school choice and vouchers, mayoral control of schools, state takeovers, charter schools, and systems of schools owned by private corporations. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Mayoral Control

These models of governance are a return to the pre-reform-era politics that blended educational and municipal governance. Moving to mayoral control would do away with school board elections altogether and replace them with an appointed system of governance. In cities such as Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York, mayors have significant power over schools. Proponents of these plans believe that high profile mayors provide greater accountability and responsiveness.

State Interventions

States now regularly intervene in “failing” districts. State takeovers are made for a number of reasons including poor student performance, fiscal mismanagement, and administrative incompetence. States typically only intervene when problems are persistent. Proponents of these measures believe that state intervention is the only way to help a struggling district

regain its footing. Critics claim that state intervention usually does little to address the underlying problems such as racial tension and poverty.

Market-Driven Models

Market-driven models of school governance have gained popularity with growth in the neoconservative movement. In general, neoconservatives typically view governments as wasteful and inefficient and strive to replace the government provision of services with market-based solutions, believing that competition is the key to improving productivity. In education, this has meant growing support for a variety of market-oriented reforms such as charter schools, vouchers, and contracting for services.

Charter Schools

Charter schools represent a limited market-based reform as the schools continue to be public in nature and are financed through tax dollars. In general, charter schools are public schools that are formed by groups of people who want to provide an alternative to traditional public schools. Some proponents argue that charters will create competition for traditional public schools and force these schools to innovate and become more efficient if they hope to survive.

The role of school boards in this reform proposal is unclear. School boards may have some attenuated control over charters as they often have the authority to accept or reject charter proposals. However, once a charter school is established, it is the tenets of the charter that govern the school rather than the district school board.

Vouchers

The arguments for vouchers are similar to those offered in support of charter schools in that vouchers are hoped to stimulate competition. Unlike charter schools, however, voucher plans provide families with a monetary allowance or tax credit that they may spend on an educational institution of their choice. Under some plans, this money could be spent on public or private schools, which raises issues concerning the separation of church and state.

The role of school boards in a system with vouchers would essentially remain the same but would only focus on the public schools in the community. Few voucher proposals discuss the oversight of public moneys spent on private institutions though this is a potential role for the school board as well. Voucher proponents would likely argue that school board involvement of this type would create too much governmental regulation.

Contract for Services

Finally, contracting for services takes numerous forms including school district contracts for food service and maintenance as well as larger contracts for management services. While contracting for auxiliary services is common and largely accepted, contracting for management is still quite controversial. Like supporters of charters and vouchers, supporters of contracted Educational Management Organizations (EMOs) believe that hiring management companies to run schools will create greater efficiency and lead to reduction in educational costs.

Similar to charter schools, EMOs are often sheltered from certain regulations applied to public schools and are thought to provide opportunities for experimentation not possible in traditional public schools. The role of school boards in the case of EMOs is similar to their role with charter schools. Boards initially negotiate contracts with EMOs but then are largely uninvolved except in monitoring the terms of the contract. This is the approach favored in a recent report from the National Center for Education and the Economy which envisions school boards as data collection agencies and emissaries working out relationships with other governmental services. In this case, the schools themselves would be owned and run by the teachers.

While each of these proposals is different, they share an emphasis on accountability, choice, and efficiency. What is often lacking in these proposals seems to be a sincere interest in the practice of democracy at the local level.

Outlook for Boards

Will school boards remain the primary means of governing public education in the years to come?

The probable answer is no. David Conley, an authority on the issue, suggests that local control will soon be more symbolic than real. Communities will continue to play a ceremonial role, but true policymaking will take place in state and federal legislatures. While such a conclusion seems warranted given the incursion of state and federal interests into school board business, school boards still represent a desire for popular governance that is not found in other institutions.

Such an aspiration speaks to the optimism of individuals and groups striving to work together to develop common aims. Unlike other more distant forms of governance, school boards have the potential to promote dialog and create forums for public discourse. Such interactions are necessary to reveal shared goals and aspirations. Without local boards, such a forum would not exist.

Over the next decade, the nation's commitment to the concept of local control in education will be deeply challenged. School boards will only remain viable if local citizens reclaim their stake in the common good by demanding a forum in which such issues can be addressed.

Abe Feuerstein

See also Charter Schools; Commercialization of Schools; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Politics of Education; School Governance; State Role in Education

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BOSTON LATIN SCHOOL

When the Rev. John Cotton arrived in the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1633, he brought with him the idea of the English type of free grammar school, the school he had attended as a child in Derby, England. The "free school" in England was a publicly supported institution open to all boys on the basis of academic merit. The English "grammar school" was a secondary institution offering a seven-year course of study devoted to the Greek and Latin classics and designed to prepare the pupil for admission to a university.

In 1635, two years after Cotton's arrival in the fledgling town of Boston, the town made provisions for the establishment and maintenance of a free grammar school on the English model. The school's first classes were held in the home of its first master, Philemon Pormort. The Boston Latin School, as it came to be known, is generally considered to be the oldest public school in continuous existence in the United States.

The Puritan founders of the Boston Latin School, including John Cotton, believed that a knowledge of classical languages was essential for a proper

understanding of Scripture. Consequently, the curriculum of the school was originally devoted entirely to acquiring a mastery of Latin, beginning with a thorough study of Latin grammar and syntax. In the eighteenth century, the most widely used elementary Latin grammar textbook in the American colonies was Ezekiel Cheever's *A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue* (commonly known as *Cheever's Accidence*). Cheever served as Master of the Boston Latin School from 1670 until his death in 1708. Students who had mastered the *Accidence* went on to read classical authors such as Ovid and Cicero.

Although four years of Latin are still required of graduates, the school gradually modernized its curriculum during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, offering elective courses to supplement the core courses in English, math, science, history, Latin, and modern foreign languages. Boston Latin School is now an "examination school" of the Boston Public Schools, with admission based on a student's academic record and score on the Independent School Entrance Exam (ISEE).

In the twentieth century, the school's admissions policy, which recognized academic merit rather than class or race, provided the children of immigrants in Boston with an important stepping-stone to advancement in American society. The school became coeducational in 1972, and reached another milestone in 1998 when Cornelia Kelly became the first female headmaster in the school's 363-year history.

Notable alumni of the Boston Latin School include Cotton Mather, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Sumner, George Santayana, Bernard Berenson, Joseph P. Kennedy, and Leonard Bernstein.

Rob Hardy

See also Classical Curriculum

See Visual History Chapter 1, Colonial Beginnings

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BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Founded in 1907 in England by Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) began in the United States in 1910 and were chartered by Congress in 1911, becoming the only national organization charged by Congress to educate American boys. The Boy Scouts were founded by Baden-Powell as a response to what he saw as a crisis of masculinity in the British Empire.

Boy Scouting teaches masculinity by focusing on five strategies: character building, handicrafts, bodily development, promoting a sense of happiness, and service to others. Baden-Powell emphasized these in *Aids to Scoutmastership*.

Throughout the United States, BSA troops are sponsored by schools, churches, synagogues, and popular social organizations. As the international Boy Scout movement has evolved over time, the BSA has in significant ways parted company with the larger boy scout community. Other boy scout organizations throughout the world have evolved in a more humanistic direction, becoming more inclusive in membership. The BSA has not. This narrower educational philosophy becomes clear in court cases addressing membership issues and changes in educational texts. The BSA requires members to be male, theistic, and heterosexual.

While many national scouting organizations welcome girls as members, the BSA insists that the Congressional charter would be violated by such a choice. Two prominent cases are *Schwenk v. Boy Scouts of America*, 551 P.2d 465 (Or. 1976) and *Quinnipiac Council v. Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities*, 528 A.2d 352 (Conn. 1987).

The BSA excludes gay adult leaders and boys from membership. In curricula regarding sexuality prepared

for boys and adult troop leaders in recent years, they have shifted the context of sexuality education from health to vocation (and theology).

Other boy scout organizations in the world welcome theistic as well as nontheistic boys. Some even drop the customary reference to God from the scout oath. The BSA seems to have narrowed the religious aspect of its teaching. Baden-Powell often explained that the essence of religion was caring for nature and doing good for others, a sort of romantic pantheism. It is doubtful that the BSA would find that acceptable.

While the BSA exposes boys to other viewpoints through interaction with the wider world, the BSA sets boundaries in terms of what can and cannot be addressed and explored inside the organization. Rather than exposing a boy to ways other cultures have lived with similar issues, this educational agency limits exposure.

Baden-Powell built his boy scout movement around service to those values necessary for the British Empire. In the decades since, boy scouts, internationally, have decided to expand the inclusiveness of the organization to girls as well as gay and nontheistic youth.

Charles Joseph Meinhart

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Educational Equity; Gender

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BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

In the years leading up to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, public schools were both unequal and racially segregated—by law in the South and in practice in the Northeast and West. In 1950, the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), long concerned with education, decided to mount a direct challenge to state-sanctioned segregation in schooling. The result was the *Brown* case, which joined together lawsuits begun by Black parents and students in Delaware, Washington, D.C., South Carolina, Virginia, and Kansas. Many of these plaintiffs paid a price for their advocacy. Indeed, the NAACP struggled to find Black parents willing to join lawsuits, given the possibility that workers would be fired from their jobs and their children attacked on the streets.

In its 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that “separate educational facilities” for Black and White students are “inherently unequal” and therefore unconstitutional. This ruling overturned a decision by the Court in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that segregation in public facilities through “separate but equal” accommodations would satisfy the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The *Brown* Court initially declined to specify a remedy for the public schools. When it took up the case again the next year, in *Brown II*, the Court rejected a request by the NAACP to order immediate action and counseled instead that desegregation should proceed “with all deliberate speed.”

More than a half century later, public schooling in the United States continues to function as a two-tier system. In large metropolitan areas across the nation, students in central cities attend high-minority, high-poverty schools with very few White students. Many of these schools are overcrowded, lack the resources they need to meet students’ needs, and are struggling to meet federal student achievement benchmarks. This entry focuses on the short- and long-term impacts of the landmark ruling.

Immediate Impact

Not surprisingly, school districts throughout the South interpreted the Court’s open-ended “all deliberate speed” timetable as “never.” Virtually no desegregation took place in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy during the first decade after *Brown*. On the tenth anniversary of the decision, only about 1 percent of Black children in the South attended racially

integrated schools. Not until Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Johnson administration used its authority to cut off funds and initiate lawsuits did school districts take steps to dismantle segregation.

The Supreme Court stood behind *Brown* for several decades. For example, in *Green v. School Board of New Kent County* (1968), the Court ordered “root and branch” eradication of segregated schooling and specified several areas, including students, teachers, transportation, facilities, and extracurricular activities, in which desegregation was required. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971), the Court struck down allegedly race-neutral student-assignment plans that produced segregated schools as a result of residential segregation and legitimated the use of busing to desegregate urban school districts. Between 1968 and 1972, the percentage of Black students in predominantly minority schools in the South dropped from 81 percent to 55 percent, and in intensely segregated minority schools (more than 90 percent) from 78 percent to 25 percent, which made the schools in the South the most integrated in the nation.

A critical blow to desegregation efforts came in 1974 with the Supreme Court’s decision in *Milliken v. Bradley*. The case involved public schools in Detroit, where an exodus of middle-class families had created an overwhelmingly Black district in the city, surrounded by overwhelmingly White suburban districts. Because almost no White people lived within the city limits, integrating the schools was impossible. Parents in the city sought approval of a plan to merge the urban and suburban districts into one metropolitan system that would allow for integration.

A 5–4 Supreme Court majority acknowledged “disparate treatment of White and Negro students” but objected to an “interdistrict remedy” in the absence of evidence that the suburban districts had expressly intended to discriminate against students of color in Detroit. In holding that the suburbs could not be involved in a desegregation plan unless it was clear that they had participated in a segregation scheme, the Court effectively let heavily White suburbs off the hook—and rendered *Brown* almost meaningless for most of the metropolitan North and West.

Throughout these regions, city limits coincide with school district boundaries, with city schools serving

largely students of color and suburban schools serving largely White students. If district boundaries could not be crossed, desegregation could not be accomplished. The Supreme Court sent the Detroit case back to a federal district court and three years later approved a modified desegregation plan that affected only schools within the city limits and required the state to help pay for some remedial and compensatory programs.

Reversal and Resegregation

The *Brown* court not only declined to provide a timetable for desegregation but also left open the interpretation of educational opportunity, which it called “a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.” Was this a directive simply to end state-mandated segregation in public schooling, or a directive for states and districts to act affirmatively to integrate public schools? Supreme Court decisions in the late 1960s and early 1970s tended to affirm the broader interpretation; later decisions did not, and so paved the way for the subsequent resegregation.

With *Milliken*, the goal shifted from integration to some form of reparations for the damage allegedly caused by segregation. The question was no longer how society could realize the promise of equal educational opportunity for all, but rather how school districts could return to the status quo. In a series of decisions in the 1990s, the Supreme Court essentially answered this new question and laid out a procedure for dismantling desegregation. As a mandate for desegregation, *Brown* was over. Allowed to jettison busing plans in favor of a return to neighborhood schools, many school districts did.

In *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991) and *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), the Supreme Court outlined the conditions under which desegregation orders can be lifted. For example, a court supervising a school district’s desegregation plan can free the district from oversight if it meets some, but not necessarily all, of the requirements laid out in *Green*. In *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995), the Court then said that a district need not show that changes have actually improved minority students’ academic achievement.

Racial and ethnic segregation in the nation’s public schools intensified throughout the 1990s and early years

of the twenty-first century, as the nation’s diversity increased. Although schools in parts of the South have been the most integrated for many years, and schools in metropolitan areas in the North the most intensely segregated, Black communities in every part of the country are now experiencing increasing segregation. In addition, segregation of Latinos has increased steadily since the late 1960s, when the first national data were collected. More than one out of every three Black and Latino students now attend schools that are overwhelmingly (90 to 100 percent) minority.

The resegregation of the nation’s public schools reflects economic as well as racial isolation. More than three quarters of the intensely segregated schools are also “high-poverty” schools, which on the whole have less funding and lower student achievement than “low-poverty” schools. Nationwide, during the 2002–2003 school year, the highest poverty school districts had \$907 *less* to spend in state and local revenues per pupil than the lowest poverty districts. Disparities are particularly stark in major metropolitan areas. For the 2002–2003 year, per-pupil spending in the Chicago schools (87 percent Black and Hispanic, 85 percent low income) was \$8,482, but in the nearby New Trier district (2 percent Black and Hispanic, 1 percent low income), it was \$14,909. In the Philadelphia area, per-pupil spending in the city schools (79 percent Black and Hispanic, 71 percent low income) was \$9,299, but in the nearby New Hope-Solebury district (1 percent Black and Hispanic, 1 percent low income), it was \$14,865. This pattern holds for large metropolitan areas across the nation. Students of color in high-poverty city districts have less than students in White, wealthier suburban districts of almost everything money can buy for schools: state-of-the-art buildings in good repair; well-qualified and adequately compensated teachers; and opportunities to participate in art, music, and sports programs as well as rigorous college-prep classes.

Although a direct correlation cannot be drawn between student achievement and integration, achievement measures have fluctuated with desegregation and resegregation patterns. Reading and math achievement among African Americans and Latinos climbed substantially during the 1970s and 1980s, a period of school desegregation and relatively well-funded antipoverty

programs, and the Black-White achievement gap narrowed by more than half. Progress stopped in the mid-1990s, however, and the gap reopened.

The National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP), widely regarded as the “Nation’s Report Card,” shows that Black and Latino twelfth graders’ achievement in reading and math is on a par with White eighth-graders’ achievement. Nationally, only about half of all Black, Latino, and American Indian students graduate from high school in four years. Under the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) law, schools receiving Title I funding must show annual improvements in student test scores or risk sanctions. In many districts, poor children of color are bearing the brunt of this accountability “stick.” Schools in Houston, New York City, and Orlando have been called to task for retaining ninth graders regarded as unlikely to boost a high school’s overall test scores or of pushing low-performing students into GED programs—without counting them as dropouts. In starkly disproportionate numbers, these are poor and minority students.

Brown’s Legacy

Arguably both the 1954 Supreme Court decision that gave the dream of racial equality the stamp of the nation’s highest court and the White resistance to the declaration of an end to segregated schooling fueled the civil rights movement, which continues to shape life in the United States. At the same time, although considerable progress was made in the South after elected officials threw their weight behind *Brown*, there have been no significant policy initiatives to foster desegregated schooling for more than thirty years. The movement instead has been toward resegregation. Although no longer mandated by law, “separate” schooling for Whites and students of color is the pre-dominant experience in public schools.

The *Brown* court did not address inequities in school funding. Nevertheless, its strong affirmation of education as “perhaps the most important function of state and local governments” and its belief that no “child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he or she is denied the opportunity of an education” invited attention to disparities. Forty-five states have now faced, or are facing, challenges to their systems of school funding,

and plaintiffs have prevailed in more than half these cases. Nevertheless, funding gaps remain.

NCLB has refocused attention on the equity and adequacy of resources, in light of new accountability expectations. Intended to end what President Bush called “the soft bigotry of low expectations” and to close the racial achievement gap by holding all students to the same high standards, the law requires schools to show steady progress in student achievement toward a goal of 100 percent proficiency by the year 2014. Initial studies show little change, however, either in overall student achievement patterns or in racial/ethnic achievement gaps since 2001—that is, on the NCLB watch.

Propelled by the dream affirmed in *Brown*, some activists, such as Gary Orfield, director of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, continue to work toward a vision of desegregated schooling. Others, such as Derrick Bell, visiting professor at New York University’s School of Law, argue that it’s time—past time—to focus instead on “desegregating the money,” whether or not schools are racially integrated. Given decades of “White flight,” Bell believes fairer funding is the best hope for millions of poor students of color still waiting for the equal opportunity that *Brown* promised but that the nation has not yet delivered. The ambiguous *Brown* decision—given its erratic and contested implementation, its heralded place in U.S. history, and persisting inequalities in educational opportunity—supports both commitments.

Sue Books

See also African American Education; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation; Economic Inequality; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; No Child Left Behind Act

See Visual History Chapter 25, Civil Rights

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BULLYING

School bullying is a phenomenon that affects a large population of students in many countries. In a 2001 study of over 15,686 U.S. students enrolled in public and private schools, T. R. Nansel and colleagues found that 29.9 percent of the students in Grades 6 through 10 reported moderate to frequent involvement in bullying at school. The 2001 National Crime Victimization Survey indicated that 14 percent of American children ages twelve through eighteen in public and private schools had been bullied in the last six months. Bullying is often defined as a form of aggression that occurs between individuals and groups of students, and it differs from normal student conflict because it is repetitive and involves a social or physical power imbalance. Bullying can be verbal (e.g., name-calling), physical (e.g., shoving), social (e.g., rumor spreading), and electronic (e.g., name-calling through text messaging).

Often using a social-ecological approach to understanding, researchers have identified features of individuals and aspects of the family, peer group, school, and community environment that contribute to or deter bullying. School bullying is a problem that needs to be addressed through targeted prevention efforts that take into account both risk and protective factors.

Research has documented the fact that children experience bullying differently, in terms of both behavioral patterns and psychosocial adjustment. Differences among children involved in bullying have been conceptualized into categorization of four groups: bullies, bully-victims (who are victimized and also bully others), victims (who do not report bullying others), and nonaggressive children. The discrimination between bully and bully-victim groups has aroused particular interest because these subgroups appear to display different patterns of aggression. Bullies exhibit a more goal-oriented aggression, entailing more control and planning. In contrast, the bully-victims tend to display a more impulsive aggression, manifesting poor regulation of affect and behavior, which is perceived as particularly aversive by their peers. Bully-victims as a group report attention deficits, hyperactivity, and academic and conduct problems in the classroom and have higher depression and anxiety.

The Social-Ecological Perspective on Bullying

Involvement in bullying and victimization is the result of the complex interplay between individuals and their broader social environment. Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) classic ecological theory is often used to illustrate the interrelated nature of the individual, multiple environments, and engagement in bullying behaviors. The social-ecological theory of bullying posits that perpetration is reciprocally influenced by the individual, family, peer group, and school.

Individual Characteristics

For decades, males have been considered the more aggressive sex. In hundreds of studies, most of the research on aggression has found that, as a group, boys exhibit significantly higher levels of aggression than girls do. Recently, however, a number of researchers have begun to question whether males are the more aggressive sex. Several different terms have been used to describe female-oriented types of aggression, including *indirect aggression*, *relational aggression*, and *social aggression*. Relational aggression includes behaviors that are intended to significantly

damage another child's social standing or reputation. In numerous studies, relational aggression has been shown to be more prevalent among girls than boys because boys typically engage in more overt forms of aggression. However, some research results have contradicted these findings by producing data in which no significant sex differences have emerged. Therefore, there is no consensus as to whether boys bully more than girls do.

Bullies often report adverse psychological effects and poor school adjustment as a result of their involvement in bullying. Whereas victims tend to report more internalizing behaviors, bullies are more likely than their peers to engage in externalizing behaviors, to experience conduct problems, and to be delinquent. Furthermore, long-term outcomes for bullies can be serious; compared to their peers, bullies are more likely to be convicted of crimes in adulthood. One study conducted in the United States revealed that youth identified as bullies in school had a one in four chance of having a criminal record by age thirty. Anger has also consistently emerged as an important correlate of bullying perpetration.

Empathy seems to play an important role in bullying. Research has consistently found negative associations between empathy and aggression, and a positive correlation between empathy and prosocial skills. *Empathy* is defined as one's emotional reaction to another's state and consists of experiencing the perceived emotional state vicariously. However, it appears that children's positive attitude toward bullying mediates the relation between empathy and bullying.

Family Factors

With respect to the family context, bullies, as a group, report that their parents are authoritarian, condone "fighting back," use physical punishment, lack warmth, and display indifference to their children. Parents can also contribute to a *decrease* in children's aggression over time; aggressive children who experienced affectionate mother-child relationships showed a significant decrease in their aggressive-disruptive behaviors. Furthermore, these positive parental connections appeared to buffer the long-term negative consequences of aggression. Children who have

insecure, anxious-avoidant, or anxious-resistant attachments at the age of eighteen months are also more likely than children with secure attachments to become involved in bullying at the age of four and five years.

Peer-Level Characteristics Associated With Bullying

Given the social-ecological perspective that individual characteristics of adolescents interact with group-level factors, many scholars have turned their attention to how peers contribute to bullying. Several theories dominate the literature in this area, including the homophily hypothesis, attraction theory, and dominance theory. These theories taken together present a complex picture of how peers influence each other during early adolescence. The homophily hypothesis suggests that students hang out with peers who are similar in attitudes and behaviors, as in the saying, "birds of a feather flock together." Studies examining peer networks have found support for the homophily hypothesis in that peers not only affiliate with students with similar levels of aggression but also start bullying more if their peers are bullying. Dominance theory indicates that bullying is used as a method to establish power among peers. Indeed, bullying is seen as a way to establish the pecking order as students transition from elementary to middle school. Attraction theory posits that students entering early adolescence are attracted to qualities that are indicative of adulthood and a sense of independence from parents. Studies supporting this theory indicate that girls' and boys' attraction to aggressive peers and students who bully increases when they enter middle school.

School Factors

Much of the research on school factors and bullying has focused on components of school climate. School climate is a particularly important variable to consider because adult supervision decreases from elementary to middle school. In turn, less structure and supervision are associated with concomitant increases in bullying rates among middle school students. For instance, at particularly salient times such as recess, diminished supervision can have important ramifications. Classroom practices and teachers' attitudes are

also relevant components of school climate that contribute to bullying prevalence. Aggression varies from classroom to classroom, and in some instances aggression is supported. Bullying tends to be less prevalent in classrooms in which most children are included in activities, teachers display warmth and responsiveness to children, teachers respond quickly and effectively to bullying incidents, and parents are aware of their children's peers relationships.

Risk and Protective Factors

Both individual and group characteristics influence the likelihood of bullying. Risk factors for bullying perpetration include individual characteristics such as being male, having less empathy, being morally disengaged, and having positive attitudes toward bullying. In some cases, perpetration is associated with other forms of delinquency. The ability to feel morally engaged with others is a protective factor, while moral disengagement appears to be associated with a positive attitude toward bullying. Risk factors also include less perceived social support from family members and insecure and/or anxious parental attachments. Peer group affiliation also plays an important role, as members appear to socialize one another to bully others through group norms that support bullying perpetration. Characteristics of teachers and of the classroom environment also serve as both risk and protective factors. Only programs that consider these factors will be successful in impacting the ecology surrounding bullying.

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See also Gender and School Violence; Violence in Schools

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BUREAUCRACY

The original French word *bureau* denoted the baize material used to cover the top of a desk. The Greek suffixes *kratia* and *kratos* mean “power” or “rule.” Thus, *bureaucracy* literally means to rule from a desk or office to conduct governmental affairs. Alternatively, bureaucracy is an instrument used by big business to define means of production. As a sociological concept, bureaucracy specifies the objective discharge of business, through hierarchical administrative structures, according to calculable rules without regard for personal prerogatives or preferences, transforming social inclinations into rationally organized action. This entry briefly describes how bureaucracy works and then looks at the most prominent explanatory theories.

How Bureaucracy Works

In bureaucracies, complex tasks are broken into individual activities and assigned as official duties that clearly define the responsibilities, rights, scope or authority, and competencies of the office. Rationality determines rules and procedures that are administered by trained experts, and objective purposes guide the conduct of both officials and their subordinates. Notably, documents are used extensively to facilitate a flow of information throughout the organization and to establish fixed rules and procedures for each individual task.

Bureaucracy operates under strict principles of hierarchy. A chain of command organizes superior offices, which supervise lower offices. Discharge of authority is based on rules without regard to personal judgment or favoritism. The correctness of authoritative rules is rationalized and well established. Procedures are established for the regulated appeal of lower offices to corresponding superior authorities for additional information and direction.

Thus, in the modern office, management is reduced to a standardized set of rules and procedures administered abstractly and impersonally. Employees are hired after prescribed special examination and according to predetermined qualifications, usually tied to educational certifications. Compensation is based on the specific duties of an office and not the individual characteristics of the person who holds the office. Conditions for career advancement are clearly delineated.

Official business is the primary concern of officials; their duties demand their complete attention, whatever the length of obligatory working hours. Officials do not own their means of production. Regulations require the clear separation of an official's private funds and personal property from public funds and resources, with clear and public accounting for resources used to discharge official business.

Theoretical Background

Early use of the term *bureaucracy* includes a letter, dated July 15, 1765, wherein Baron Grimm and the French philosopher Denis Diderot said that bureaucracy in France meant that officials of all kinds were appointed to benefit public interests and that public interest is necessary for offices—and officials—to exist.

Weber's View

The characteristics of bureaucracy were articulated first quite fully by German sociologist Max Weber early in the twentieth century. Weber described bureaucracy as technically superior to all other organizational forms because it levels economic and social differences while providing administrative functions or services. Accordingly, he thought that public bureaucratization increases as the possession of consumption goods rises,

raising the basic standard of living shared by a society: As communications, technology, and public infrastructures become more complex, the need for personally detached, objective experts becomes greater, and bureaucratic offices or officials fulfill this function.

Further, Weber viewed bureaucracy and capitalism as highly compatible, with capitalism acting as a catalyst for the growth and development of bureaucracy because it benefits from an administration that can be discharged precisely, unambiguously, continually, and quickly. With regard to the state, these characteristics constitute a bureaucratic agency; with regard to the private economy, they constitute a bureaucratic enterprise.

Weber also thought that bureaucratic systems would operate efficiently because employees know their duties precisely, allowing for quicker, more efficient task performance. Standardized rules enable the organization to respond readily to a variety of demands and aid decision making. Rules and procedures based on rationality allow a greater sense of purpose and direction.

Further, Weber identified historical examples of clearly developed, though not pure, “big state” bureaucracies: (a) Egypt, during the period of the New Kingdom (the oldest bureaucratic state administration); (b) the Roman Catholic Church; (c) China, from the time of Shi Hwangti to the twentieth century; and (d) modern states in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. He suggested that states with a political organization utilizing officials to perform specific duties were the genius of modern bureaucracies. Bureaucracy's origins are traced to the creation of standing armies; to power politics; to the development of public finance and commerce; and, with the modern state, to increased complexity of and demands for order and safety. According to Weber, the modern state requires six types of bureaucratic structures: the judiciary, the modern government agency, the military, religious communities, states, and economies.

Marx's Vision

From another perspective, Karl Marx traced the historical origins of bureaucracy in his theory of materialism to four similar sources: religion, the formation of the state, commerce, and technology. Marx differs with Weber in that he did not see bureaucratization

and rationalization as the ultimate organizational structure, but only as a transitional stage from a world of necessity to a world of freedom through communal means. He did, however, agree with Weber that rationalization and bureaucratization are inescapable and that they can produce individual alienation. Also, both viewed bureaucracy as increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of organizations.

However, Weber was not naive about bureaucratic challenges. As he saw it, bureaucratization is limited by the tendency to have bureaucracies assume more tasks than they can manage or that they have funds to support. Cultural influences, such as manipulation by political forces for personal benefit, might also create difficulty. Given the ubiquity of bureaucracy, challenges to Weber's theories are legion. Elements insufficiently or altogether unaddressed by traditional conceptions of bureaucracy include, for example, external competition, collaborative decision making, the quality of performance and product, innovation, management characterized by emotional intelligence, customer-driven outcomes, protection of minority rights, and teamwork. These gaps have led to the evolution of new forms of bureaucratization: total quality management, new public management, and digital-era governance. Inevitably, most concepts are refined or replaced in time, yet Weber's conception remains active and descriptive of small to large organizations and governments worldwide.

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See also Hawthorne Effect; School Governance

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BUSING

Busing is the means by which public school systems across the United States have sought to achieve proportionate representation in student enrollment of disparate racial groups. Patterns of residential segregation in public school districts where policy required students to attend schools in their local area made achieving a diverse student body a challenge. Transporting K–12 students via school buses to schools outside of their neighborhood to satisfy court-ordered mandates became a source of great tension among various school communities. In addition, typical school funding formulas that depend upon local property taxes raise questions about who can benefit from school district resources. This entry looks at the origins of busing and resulting protests and assesses the outcome.

Ordering Desegregation

The U.S. Supreme Court initiated the process of school desegregation with its 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which held that separate schools were inherently unequal. The cognate 1955 *Brown II* decision was rendered to expedite the process by proposing that school desegregation be carried out with “all deliberate speed.” What followed in the years (even decades) post *Brown I* and *II*—confusion about how to comply as well as massive resistance—revealed the depth of emotion people attach to retaining the power to control their children's schooling experience.

The *Brown* decisions were particularly directed at segregated schools in the Southern region of the United States. Many all-White public schools in the South employed a number of tactics to get around the demand to desegregate, including closing schools and establishing private schools, where they could realize their desire to maintain “racial” homogeneity. However, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave *Brown* more muscle to encourage Southern school districts to desegregate because it included a threat to cut off funding to schools that practiced racial discrimination. By the end of the 1960s, the percentage of Black students attending desegregated schools in the South had increased substantially, partially due to busing.

Intervention by the Supreme Court was still necessary to attempt to resolve the problem caused by continued resistance to school desegregation efforts and reinforced by residential segregation. In 1971, in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, a unanimous Supreme Court held that busing children beyond their immediate residential areas was a legitimate means to desegregate schools. Within a year of the *Swann* decision, more than forty federal judges promptly entered orders directing the use of busing to eliminate school segregation.

Resisting Change

Searing media images of violence, protests, and civil disobedience captured the sentiments primarily of White families who did not want their children bused out of their neighborhoods or Black children bused into their neighborhoods. Popular polls taken during the early 1970s found more than three out of four respondents opposed busing. Black respondents were about evenly split on the issue. Southern school districts that opposed busing found allies in Northern schools districts when lower federal courts began ordering busing to remedy school segregation nationwide. The alliance sought antibusing legislation as a way to resist what some perceived as interference with their right to run their local schools, including the right to allow residential patterns to determine school profiles. Northern school districts in cities like Detroit, Michigan; Denver, Colorado; Boston, Massachusetts; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, are on record for their very public opposition to court-ordered busing mandates.

Metropolitan Boston earned a notorious distinction for its particularly violent response to court-ordered busing. Massachusetts U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr.'s ruling in 1974 found that consistent and recurring patterns of racial discrimination in how Boston public schools were being operated resulted in unconstitutional segregation. A busing plan developed by the Massachusetts Board of Education was used to rectify the situation and implement the state's existing Racial Imbalance Law. The law required all schools to seek racial balance by achieving a student enrollment that was at least 50 percent White. The Boston school

committee openly disobeyed orders from the state board of education to obey the law.

The desegregation plan sparked such violent criticism among some Boston residents that Judge Garrity himself was physically attacked. A photographer won a Pulitzer Prize for capturing a shot of a Black attorney named Theodore Landsmark leaving Boston City Hall and being attacked by a White youth who used an American flagpole as a lance. The televised images of riotous protesters hurling insults and rocks at buses during the start of the 1974 school year were reminiscent of 1950s and early 1960s Southern school desegregation protests.

Today's Strategies

The violent responses to busing during the mid-1970s occurred during a period of time when a federal judge supervised the city's desegregation plan. When supervision of the plan ended fifteen years later, the Boston School Board began using a "controlled choice" system of assigning students to schools throughout the city, which it continued for the next ten years. Since September 2000, Boston has used a race-blind admissions policy. The 2000 Census recorded Boston's White population at 54.48 percent and the Black and Hispanic populations together at 39.77 percent. Interestingly, Boston public schools are 86 percent Black and Hispanic.

Similar trends have occurred in other urban school districts. San Francisco, California, requires students to attend schools outside their own neighborhoods to promote racial diversity. Asians, primarily Chinese Americans, are the ones who actively oppose this kind of educational engineering.

In 1974, Prince George's County, Maryland, located in the east suburbs of Washington, D.C., became the largest school in the United States to adopt a busing plan. The White population at the time was 80 percent and growing. Busing effectively eliminated that growth to the point that now the county's residential population is less than 25 percent White and more than 65 percent Black. The school district's numbers reflect even more dramatic shifts. The more than 136,000-student school district is now less than 8 percent White and more than 77 percent Black.

Chicago, New York, and many other metropolitan public school systems have experienced demographic changes not only from busing but from immigration and economic shifts as well.

Evaluating the Outcome

To determine the success of busing as a tool for desegregation requires consideration of several intersecting factors. Some cite the Supreme Court's limit on inter-district remedies for segregation as a feature that boded failure of the plans. Most desegregation plans have favored intradistrict remedies. While that may have worked for many Southern urban school districts, with their majority White and majority Black schools, it has not worked so well for many Northern school districts, which contain only majority Black schools. Detroit is an example of a Northern school district that attempted to use interdistrict remedies to desegregate all Black city schools by busing exchanges with mostly White suburban schools. The plan was not successful, and widespread protests led to a reversal of the court plan.

Court-ordered busing for desegregation purposes also met its demise because of an increasing tendency of the federal courts to find that the effects of past intentional discrimination and segregation had been eliminated. Persistent segregated residential patterns in the 1980s and beyond became an acceptable reason to release school districts from their court-ordered busing plans. The rationale of nonintentionality was successfully argued. Although busing for desegregation continues, the strategies used to maintain it as a viable tool have been broadened to include magnet schools, charter schools, and similar controlled-choice plans that allow parents to choose the schools their children will attend.

The popular criticisms of busing, some more legitimate than others, include concern for student safety, loss of traditional community, stress of long-distance travel, limits on student participation in extracurricular activities, and compromises on educational quality. All of these prompt educators and stakeholders to rethink the concepts of school and community. Busing joins a long list of controversial strategies, such as affirmative action, that have been used with mixed success to enforce judicial and legislative policy. Promoting social, political, and economic equality in American society is a complex task of monumental proportions. Schools will continue to be at the forefront of that struggle.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also Affirmative Action; African American Education; Antiracist Education; Boards of Education; Charter Schools; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation; Discrimination and Prejudice; Economic Inequality; Politics of Education; School Choice; Social Justice, Education for; Sociology of Education; Urban Education; Urban Schools, History of

See Visual History Chapter 22, Transportation

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C

CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

A thirty-two-page booklet published in 1918, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, radically changed the curricular and social objectives of the nation's public secondary schools. Largely due to mass immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, the nation's relatively young, public, secondary institutions began to see a sharp increase in enrollment. Concerned with the democratic education of the growing industrial nation, the National Education Association appointed twenty-seven members to the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, which produced the booklet.

In the wake of World War I, the nation's political and economic climate was peculiarly conducive to the social agenda set forth in *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The publication outlined seven principles meant to guide the social, moral, and intellectual development of American public school children between the ages of twelve and eighteen and sought to educate both emergent self and citizen to best realize the nation's democratic ideals.

The first principle, *Health*, undertook to educate youth about the habits necessary to promote and maintain a hygienic, physically active nation. Acknowledging the need for students to master remedial academic skills including reading, writing, and arithmetic, *Command of Fundamental Processes* followed as the

second principle. The third principle, *Worthy Home Membership*, sought to prepare young men and women, through "household arts" and academic disciplines, to value the home and family as the foundational institution of the larger society. *Vocation*, the fourth principle, was concerned with training future workers in specific manual occupations and "right relations" with coworkers so that they might better support their families and contribute to society. Rather than a study of "constitutional questions and remote governmental functions," the fifth principle, *Civic Education*, was primarily concerned with instilling students with a sense of civic pride and duty from the local to the national level. An objective made possible by the relative national prosperity, the sixth principle, *Worthy Use of Leisure*, sought to teach young adults to balance the interests of culture and the arts with those of vocational obligations. Informing all of the preceding principles, the seventh, *Ethical Character*, intended to shape an individual's code of moral conduct that she or he might better serve democratic principles.

During the early part of the twentieth century, sweeping social, political, and economic changes gave rise to a cultural dynamic that demanded reform of established institutions. The nation's public schools retain the ideological vestiges of the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* derived almost a century ago.

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See also Committee of Ten; Democracy and Education

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CARLISLE BARRACKS SCHOOL

In 1879, U.S. Army Captain Richard H. Pratt persuaded the federal government to allow him to establish an off-reservation boarding school for American Indians at the abandoned cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The Indian Industrial School at Carlisle became the model for the hundreds of government-run American Indian boarding schools developed after 1879 as the government policy shifted from supporting religious organizations schools, often on or near where the native peoples lived, to government-run, off-reservation schools.

Removal from family, tribe, language, place, and culture was intended to speed the assimilation of the native children into the dominant Anglo society. Besides its total immersion of native people in Anglo culture and its militaristic methods, the school is noted for its Indian arts program taught by natives; the system that placed native students in Anglo homes, businesses, or farms to work; and an athletic program that produced football teams that beat the best college teams. Olympic gold medalist Jim Thorpe attended Carlisle and was voted the greatest athlete of the first half of the twentieth century in the United States.

The school closed on September 1, 1918, with pressure from U.S. senators in the West pushing for more schools in the West, congressional investigations of mismanagement at Carlisle, and the need for hospitals for soldiers fighting during World War I. The old barracks reverted to an Army hospital. Although it has been closed for nearly a century, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School continues to have an effect into the

present. The school became the model for the residential school system and the lynchpin for destruction of native cultures, which has adversely affected the lives of native peoples for generations.

Pratt commanded African American cavalry troops and American Indian scouts in Indian Territory after the Civil War. He became convinced that the natives could be like the Whites if given the proper training. He volunteered to be in charge of seventy-two Native Americans charged with various crimes and imprisoned at Fort Marion in Florida. He started language instruction, drill, and other educational activities. These successes allowed him to convince General Armstrong to establish an Indian Department at Hampton Institute in Virginia, which had been established for freed slaves. Success there combined with local support in Carlisle, and concerns over the mixing of the two races at Hampton led to approval of the Carlisle Barracks School.

Native students' physical appearance was quickly transformed by haircuts in Anglo style and military cadet-style uniforms. For many native males, hair length had cultural significance, with cutting often associated with mourning. Pratt proudly displayed before and after photographs.

Students were prohibited from speaking their own languages, were given English names, and were instructed in language by copying and imitating. Half their day was spent in academics and half at work or industrial training. Church attendance was required.

For many students, Carlisle was the end of their life. Disease and despair caused many deaths. For instance, the school reported that 21 out of 637 students died in 1889. In Pratt's twenty-four years at Carlisle, less than 160 students graduated. Many students were sent to Anglo homes under the outing system. Originally, they were paid for their work, but later they became a source of cheap labor, especially in schools out West.

After Pratt's departure, Indian culture became more acceptable at the school, and Angel De Cora, a mixed-blood Winnebago with degrees from Hampton, Smith, and Drexel, was hired to teach art. Sports began to rule the school, especially football. The football team played the big colleges and was coached for a number of years by Glenn S. "Pop" Warner. The team produced

many All-American selections, including Jim Thorpe in 1912. Other sport champions included Louis Tewanima in track and Charles Bender in baseball, who later pitched in a World Series. Yet, it was the highly successful football team, with its ability to raise big funds, which helped stir the congressional investigation in 1914 over alleged mismanagement that eventually led to the school's closing.

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See also Hampton Model; Hegemony; Native American Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 8, The Education of Native Americans

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Cumberland County Historical Society Carlisle Indian Industrial School: <http://www.historicalsociety.com/ciiswelcome.html>

CATECHISMS

An instructional tool for teachers and students of religious education, a catechism is a textbook whose primary goal is to provide clear, precise, and brief answers to fundamental questions. Typically structured in the question-and-answer format, a catechism proposes a basic question, and then proceeds to answer it immediately. Catechisms thus provide a quick but exact summary of religious doctrine in a highly accessible and easy-to-understand layout.

The word *catechism*, and its cognates, *catechesis* and *catechetical*, have their origin in the Greek verb

katechein, which is often associated with the theater and the ancient agora or marketplace; it means, “to make resound or echo.” Thus, oral instruction is suggested in the etymology of the verb. While Christianity popularized the common use of catechisms, the pedagogical technique is rooted in both the Greek Socratic method and the manner of instruction found in rabbinical schools and synagogues. The question-answer format invites the participation of two, a master and a follower, a teacher and a student, a parent and a child. The use of catechisms was popular in the early days of Christianity, especially in the education of children and converts.

Catechisms tend to merit greater attention and receive wider distribution during difficult and challenging times. Martin Luther authored a famous catechism called the *Small Catechism* (1529), followed by his *Large Catechism* (1530), both of which figured prominently in the Reformation and are still available and widely used today.

Peter Canisius wrote a popular catechism in the Roman Catholic tradition in 1555. However, the Council of Trent published the most authoritative catechism of this era in 1566. Intended as a tool to combat the influences of the Protestant Reformation, the Catechism of the Council of Trent served as a reference work for clergy preparation for over 400 years.

The Baltimore Catechism was a popular presentation of Roman Catholicism that served as a classroom text in many Catholic schools from its publication in 1885 through the 1960s. The catechism took its name from the council or meeting of bishops which produced it—the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

Other Christian denominations have produced catechisms. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563) originated as a work of Calvinism and is the most widely used catechism in the Reformed churches. A catechism for the Anglican Communion can be found in the Book of Common Prayer. The most popular Catholic catechism in the United Kingdom for many years was the Penny Catechism.

Modern-day catechisms have tended to serve as major reference works and compendia of doctrine rather than as pedagogical instruments. The first new universal catechism of the Roman Catholic Church

since the Council of Trent, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1994), is not structured in the traditional question-and-answer format. It contains mostly highly annotated essays of theological depth, serving as a primary reference for educated, sophisticated readers. More recently, abbreviated versions of this catechism have been produced to provide easier access for more readers.

Ronald J. Nuzzi

See also Catholic Education, History of

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CATHOLIC EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

The first Catholic schools were founded in the early seventeenth century in what are now the states of Florida and Louisiana, predating the schools of Puritan Massachusetts. Beset by conflicts with public officials and anti-immigrant nativist forces, to say nothing of internal disputes, Catholic education nevertheless prevailed. While the Catholic school population peaked in the 1960s, the schools have enjoyed a considerable revival at the turn of the twenty-first century, often serving non-Catholic students with lay teachers. This entry discusses that history and record of achievement.

Early History

Catholics constituted a minuscule portion of the country's population when the nation's first Catholic bishop, John Carroll, called for the instruction of Catholic youth in 1792 with the goal of insuring their religious commitment. Catholics had often been victims of religious persecution in the early years of nationhood, and the Church's U.S. leaders looked to the often gender-specific schools—some day schools,

and others for boarders—to preserve the faith of young Catholics.

Common schools, the forerunners of today's public schools, were begun in the 1830s in Massachusetts under the leadership of Horace Mann and existed in most of the Northern states by the time of the Civil War. Established at the elementary level and supported by public taxation, the schools were nominally nonsectarian but broadly Protestant, their moral foundations resting on the King James version of the Bible and what Mann termed "common core Christianity."

Insistence on the use of Protestant practices in these schools, however, created difficulties for Catholics who attended them. At the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1840, the Catholic bishops first took note of these problems, which included devotional reading of the King James version of the Bible, anti-Catholic curricular materials, and Protestant personnel in charge of the schools. Tensions between Catholics and their fellow Americans grew as immigration swelled the Catholic ranks. Between 1821 and 1850, nearly 2.5 million Europeans entered the country, many of whom were Catholic. The punishment of Catholic children who refused to follow Protestant practices in the schools was one expression of this hostility.

The establishment of a separate system of Catholic parish (parochial) schools, founded to educate Catholic children in faith and morals as well as letters, was one result of this conflict. Not all Catholics concurred with this policy, as some felt that the Church's efforts should focus on social problems. German-American Catholic bishops were especially committed to providing Catholic schools to preserve the faith and customs of their people. They admonished parents of the dangers to their children inherent in the public school system, which could lead to religious indifference and a consequent abandonment of their faith.

After the Civil War

The growth of the secular "American" public school was seen as the major threat to the faith and morals of Catholic children after the Civil War. No longer was the main menace the pan-Protestant, allegedly nonsectarian public school.

In 1875, the Catholic population in the United States, fed by immigration, exceeded 5.7 million, served by 1,444 parishes. With mounting costs and a largely poor membership, Catholic bishops sought public funds for their schools, arguing that the state had the duty to assist parents to meet their God-given responsibility to educate their young. Many Americans resisted these efforts. President Ulysses S. Grant publicly insisted that free public schools should be the sole recipient of public funds. Shortly thereafter, Congressman James G. Blaine introduced an amendment that would have prohibited any state funds being used for religious purposes, including schools. His amendment passed in the House but failed in the Senate. Between 1877 and 1917, however, the “Blaine Amendment” was enacted by 29 states.

Meanwhile, dissent arose within the Catholic hierarchy over the need for Catholic schools. In 1875 the Vatican’s Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, which was in charge of the U.S. church at the time, called on Catholic leaders to build Catholic schools and on the laity to support, maintain, and have their children educated in them. Local bishops were left to decide if it would be permissible for Catholic children to attend local public schools.

This position was underscored by leaders of the American church meeting at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. The bishops passed two decrees that set official Catholic policy regarding education for decades: (1) each parish was to have a school within two years, unless the local bishop allowed otherwise; and (2) Catholic parents were to send their children to those schools unless exempted by the local bishop. The driving force behind these decrees was the belief that the future of the Church in the United States rested on the success of these schools. The impact of the decrees was limited; the percentage of parishes with schools increased from 40 percent to 44 percent in the decade after the Baltimore council. Thus, the goal of “every Catholic child in a Catholic school” was never close to being met in the nineteenth century.

A New Century’s “School Question”

“Americanism,” or citizenship education, based on the English language, became the watchword in public

education as the nineteenth century neared its end. Moral education had become divorced from religious education; the former was the province of the public school, the latter the terrain of home and church in this framework. Public schooling had become more centralized, bureaucratized, and systematized. At the same time, immigration increased the American Catholic population from 6,143,222 to 17,735,553 between 1880 and 1920. American nativists saw this as a threat, and the public school was increasingly seen as the means of assimilating Catholic children.

On the Catholic side, Pope Leo XIII declared that the state should respect the rights of the Church in those areas that it considered its field, which included education. Catholics were instructed to follow the teachings of the Church, which led to the charge by some Americans that Catholicism and Catholic schools were “foreign” entities. Although they faced religious penalties, including being refused the sacraments, some Catholics, lay and clerical, opposed the Church’s official position on Catholic schooling. This was true even within the Catholic hierarchy. Liberals, like Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, attempted to work out viable compromises with government, whereas conservatives, such as Archbishops Michael Corrigan of New York and Frederick Katzer of Milwaukee, urged total commitment to Catholic schools and denounced the public schools in rather harsh terms. The struggle, which was featured in the public press, became heated.

Dedication to Catholic schools was to some degree rooted in the wish to preserve their ethnic heritage among certain groups of Catholics, for example, Germans and Poles. Some American government officials, public educators, and religious leaders saw the ethnic Catholic commitment to parochial schools as “un-American” and called for means, including legislation, to control or perhaps destroy them. Nonetheless, enrollment in Catholic schools, which like public schools of the period was mostly at the elementary level, continued to grow, from 405,334 in 1880 to 1,701,219 in 1920.

The World Wars

World War I released passions hostile to anything “foreign” in the country, especially anything German.

As a result, the American hierarchy and prominent Catholic educators worked to eliminate old world customs, including teaching in a foreign language, in Catholic parochial schools. Catholic schools were becoming assimilated.

Nonetheless, there were attempts to curtail or even eliminate them, the most threatening of them an Oregon law that would have required attendance at public schools by all children between the ages of eight and sixteen on the grounds that attendance was necessary for citizenship. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional, stating that “the child is not the mere creature of the state”; parents retained the right to send their children to private schools as long as those schools offered secular as well as religious education (*Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 1925).

During this period, two men improved the quality of Catholic schools. Thomas Edward Shields of the Catholic University of America (CUA) endeavored to apply the ideas of progressive education to Catholic schools, writing several textbooks, but he was not able to obtain the support of conservative Catholic clerics and educators. One of Shields’s students, George Johnson, earned the title of “bridge-builder” (for building bridges among Catholic groups and between Catholic and governmental agencies) and spearheaded Catholic participation in professional educational activities at the national level.

Issues related to school accreditation and teacher certification confronted Catholic schools. Who was going to have the basic responsibility for preparing the teaching staffs of Catholic schools, made up overwhelmingly of religious women? After some discussion, the preparation of teachers was left to the respective religious orders.

With a world awash in a sea of totalitarianism from the left and right, Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical “The Christian Education of Youth” in 1929. Recognizing that three societies have rights in education—the family, the Church, and the state—the Pope reiterated Catholic teaching that parents, not governments, are the primary educators of children. Education, he averred, must be God centered and directed to humans’ last end. Attendance at a Catholic school was the ideal for all Catholic children.

In the 1920s, American secondary school education experienced a huge spurt in enrollment, and Catholic schools were not unaffected. Interparish high schools and parish high schools joined the private Catholic schools that usually were owned, operated, and staffed by a religious order; these were often segregated by gender. In 1936, 1,945 Catholic secondary schools had an enrollment of 284,736, and 7,929 elementary schools had 2,102,889 students.

After World War II

Between 1940 and 1959, non-public school enrollment increased by 118 percent compared with a 36 percent gain in the public sector. Catholic schools were crowded, and suburban parishes were hard-pressed to meet the demands of parishioners for Catholic schools. This growth led to renewed interest in governmental financial aid to Catholic schools, either indirectly through the parents or directly to the school itself. In 1947, the Supreme Court upheld, by the narrowest of margins (5–4), the constitutionality of providing transportation at public expense to children who attended a faith-based school (*Everson v. Board of Education*, 1947).

Parishes continued to face severe financial pressures, however, made worse by the small number of nun teachers whose limited financial compensation made the schools possible. Citizens for Educational Freedom, composed mainly of Catholic laity under the leadership of Virgil C. Blum, S.J., a political scientist, was founded to obtain public support for Catholic schools. Arguing that children (and their parents) should not be penalized for their choice of school, the group aggressively sought funds as a constitutional right for those who chose religiously affiliated schools under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Internal Turmoil

The second Vatican Council, convened by Pope John XXIII on October 6, 1962, shook the foundations of the Catholic Church worldwide and Catholic schools in the United States in particular. In *Are Parochial Schools the Answer: Catholic Education in the Light*

of the Council, a lay Catholic, Mary Perkins Ryan, argued that the clerical-dominated parochial schools had worked well for an immigrant, poor Catholic minority in the nineteenth century, but they had served their purpose and were now anachronistic. Catholic education should focus on adults, not roughly half of Catholic children, and on the liturgy, she argued, and parents should assume their rightful role in the religious education of their children.

Reaction to Ryan's book was swift, with some Catholic educators attacking her orthodoxy. In the 1965–1966 school year, Catholic K–12 enrollment reached an all-time high of 5.6 million pupils, about 87 percent of non-public school enrollment and 12 percent of all K–12 students in the nation. Then, enrollment plummeted; by 1971–1972, it had reached little more than 4 million, a drop of over 1.5 million students in six years. Accompanying this decline was the growing question about the effectiveness of Catholic schools. The source of these questions included several of the religious orders that had heavy investments of personnel and money in the schools, along with leading prelates, such as Cardinal Joseph Ritter of St. Louis.

As Catholics moved from central cities to the suburbs, a sizable number of Catholic schools in the inner cities were closed. This led some, including Monsignor James C. Donohue, an executive of the United States Catholic Conference, the official arm of the U.S. Catholic bishops, to wonder if the closings meant the Church was abandoning the poor. Meanwhile, Monsignor O'Neill C. D'Amour, an official of the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), was calling for Catholic school boards at the diocesan and local levels, with real, not simply advisory power. The Church needed to emphasize the professional over the pastoral and religious aspects of Catholic schools, he believed.

Attempts to obtain government financial aid to bolster the monetarily strapped schools received a setback in 1971, when the Supreme Court ruled that the purchase of secular services, which had been approved by the states of Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, amounted to "excessive entanglement" and thus were unconstitutional under the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment (*Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 1971).

At this critical juncture, the nation's Catholic bishops issued a declaration emphasizing the religious mission of the Catholic schools to teach doctrine, build community, and serve all humankind. The Catholic school was a "faith community," the bishops said. This goal was made more difficult because the percentage of nun teachers, steeped in religious traditions, dropped constantly during the 1970s, decreasing from 56.7 percent in 1968–1969 to 24.6 percent in 1981–1982. New means had to be found to develop spirituality in the largely lay staff, if the schools were to be "faith communities."

The presence of lay teachers gave rise to a new phenomenon for Catholic schools—collective bargaining. Catholic social teaching had long upheld the right of workers to join unions and to strike as the final means for their rights. The 1970s saw the institutional Church pitted against some of its own members in strikes like the one that took place in Chicago's Catholic schools.

In 1976, a group of authors concluded in *Catholic Schools in a Declining Church* that Catholic schools still enjoyed the support of the Catholic laity, but in the controversial afterword, Father Andrew Greeley recommended that the hierarchy get out of the school business and turn the running of the schools over to the laity. The bishops did not heed Greeley's unsolicited advice.

A Comeback in the 1980s

In 1981–1982, Catholic school enrollment had declined to 3,094,000, down approximately 1 million from ten years earlier. Catholic educators were issued a threefold challenge by Alfred McBride, a former NCEA official: to keep Catholic schools Catholic in all aspects, to maintain academic excellence, and to achieve financial stability. The American bishops praised the schools for what they had done for the Church and called on them to provide a high quality education in a setting infused with Gospel values. The support of Catholic schools by bishops and priests, however, was not overwhelming.

The Catholic presence remained in the inner cities. The Milwaukee-based Catholic League for Civil

Rights in 1982 reported sixty-four schools in eight central cities with a student population that included 54 percent Title I recipients, a third of them non-Catholic and nearly 79 percent minority. Catholic schools provided these pupils a safe environment, emphasized basic learning skills, and fostered moral values, the report said. The cause of Catholic schools was furthered in the 1980s by the work of James Coleman and associates, who attested to the academic achievement of Catholic schools and underscored their community support, what Coleman called the “social capital” that gave them a distinct advantage over public schools. Another endorsement from an “outside” source came in 1993, with the publication of Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee, and Peter Holland’s *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*. Decentralization, a shared set of moral beliefs, a shared code of conduct, small size, and emphasis on academics were the traits said to distinguish Catholic secondary schools.

In 1989–1990 there were 8,719 Catholic schools operating in the country, 7,395 at the elementary level and 1,324 secondary; 23 percent of the total enrollment were minority youth, and 64 percent of African American students were not Catholic. The growing non-Catholic presence among students and staff led to questions about the Catholic identity of these schools that had never arisen previously. During the 1990s, new Catholic schools opened at the rate of 21 per year; since 1985, 230 Catholic schools had opened of which 204 were elementary and 26 were secondary. Catholic schools’ enrollment had also increased by a rate of 3.8 percent, but their market share had dropped from 6.3 percent to 5.6 percent during that decade.

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See also Catholic Schools, Contemporary Issues

See Visual History Chapter 6, Catholic Schools and the Separation of Church and State; Chapter 13, Exhibit of American Negroes: *Exposition Universelle de 1900*; Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration’s Photographs of Schools

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CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Contemporary Catholic schools face major challenges at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the most basic being money—or lack of it. This is particularly true in the urban areas where, in the decade between 1986 and 1996, the number of Catholic elementary schools declined from a total of 3,424 to 3,139, about 8.3 percent; their suburban counterparts dropped from 2,232 to 2,150, a decrease of almost 3.75 percent. The

number of urban secondary schools declined from 750 to 613, whereas suburban secondary schools recorded a smaller loss, decreasing from 420 to 413.

The situation has grown worse since then, as the recent announcement by the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) revealed. In the 2004–2005 academic year, 173 Catholic schools, many in urban areas, were either closed or consolidated, constituting a decline of 2.6 percent, due to rising costs, changing demographics, and declining enrollment. Subsequently, the Archdiocese of Chicago announced that 5 of the 23 elementary schools designated for closing would reopen in the fall of 2005 due to positive financial developments. In 2004–2005, 37 new Catholic schools opened, and one third of existing Catholic schools had a waiting list. Many of these schools were in urban areas, such as Chicago, Detroit, Brooklyn, and St. Louis. The preceding year, 123 Catholic schools were closed or consolidated, while 34 new schools were opened.

This entry describes the present challenges facing Catholic elementary and secondary schools.

Professional Personnel

Historically, the vast majority of principals and teachers were members of religious orders (nuns or brothers) or clergy. At the elementary level, they were overwhelmingly nuns. In 2004–2005, however, the full-time professional staff at Catholic elementary schools was 95 percent laity and 5 percent religious or clergy.

This change has had several crucial consequences for Catholic schools. The financial burden is obvious; personnel from religious orders contributed services to Catholic schools in the past at little cost. The salaries and benefits for lay teachers, while they pale in comparison to those of public school personnel, nonetheless place a heavy burden on the operation of Catholic schools. In addition, the religious were steeped in the traditions of their respective orders, nurturing the schools' Catholic identity. Non-Catholic staff, as well as Catholics who have not had the opportunity to grasp the nature of the Catholic school's religious mission, can put that identity at risk.

Students

Catholic school enrollment in 2004–2005 was 2,420,590 students, of which 1,779,639 were in elementary or middle school. Minority students totaled 655,949, or 27.1 percent of the total, and 328,778, or 13.5 percent of the enrollment, were non-Catholics. The presence of non-Catholics, or Catholic children whose families are not members of the parish, can lead to difficulties with the traditional parish support of such schools. Further, some sources within the Catholic Church have questioned the schools' mission as well as the allocation of resources to schools in the inner cities, especially when a considerable number of the students are not Catholic.

Catholic schools, especially at the elementary level, have the well-earned reputation for educating the poor. Recent statistics point out that the increasing costs of tuition have led to a changed student population, economically speaking. For instance, in 1992, 5.5 percent of students in attendance at Catholic high schools were from the lowest socioeconomic quartile, while in 1972 that population was 12.3 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage from the upper quartile had risen from 29.7 percent to 45.8 percent. This change has led some to label Catholic schools as "elitist."

Financial Support

Financial problems have without question been the major factor in the decline of Catholic school attendance. The support of the parish, combined with the low-cost service of the religious faculty, at one time covered all or nearly all of the costs to the parish elementary school. In 2000–2001 parish support made up 24.1 percent of the total cost per student. Tuition exceeded parish subsidies as the major source of support by 1985–1986. Help is desperately needed.

Some have looked to publicly funded vouchers, which give parents money and let them choose which school their children will attend. Ruled constitutional in 2002 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, vouchers face major political battles across the land. Voucher programs exist in various forms in Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Washington,

D.C., to name leading examples. In January 2006, vouchers were ruled unconstitutional at the state level in Florida. The impact of this decision may well adversely affect the future of vouchers across the nation.

In thirty-eight states, legislation along the lines of the nineteenth-century Blaine Amendment, which prohibits state aid for religious purposes, is a major obstacle to the school choice cause. Teacher unions are in the forefront of the opposition to vouchers; parental groups are among their strongest supporters. Proponents argue that parents, not the government or educational personnel, are the primary educators of their children; the government should support parents' choice of schools for their children, a choice not viable for poor families without the voucher. There is a concern, however, that increased government involvement in the operation of Catholic schools through vouchers or other means might lessen, or even destroy, their autonomy of operation or their Catholic religious identity.

Privately funded vouchers are another means of support for Catholic schools. The Children's Scholarship Fund (CSF) was started in 1998. In 2004–2005, CSF partnered with thirty-four organizations across the country, and together they have provided scholarships to low-income families that have enabled thousands of those families to select a private or parochial school. In 2004–2005 alone, CSF spent or granted \$17 million on scholarships, and the partners will spend another \$11 million of locally raised money. Parents Advancing Choice in Education (PACE) in Dayton, Ohio, is one of these local partners. Scholarships to the children are determined by some combination of family size and income, on the one hand, and the school's tuition; the family pays some portion of the tuition; donors, large and small, contribute to the various funds. Other agencies that are independent of CSF, such as the Big Shoulders fund in Chicago, also provide scholarship money to qualified children.

Endowment efforts, especially at the secondary level, have provided a growing source of income. In 1997–1998, for instance, 57.7 percent of Catholic high schools had a full-time endowment director.

Elementary schools, as they become less affiliated with parishes, will likely follow the lead of secondary schools in seeking alternate sources of revenue, including endowments and private vouchers.

The role of the laity in Catholic educational affairs will likely grow with the shrinking number of priests and the diminishing parish support of elementary schools. Catholic boards of education, at the diocesan, local, and school levels, have become realities since the 1960s. Based in part on the right and responsibility of the laity to participate in the activities of the Church by virtue of their baptism, these boards have assumed policy making, as well as consultative and advisory roles.

New Strategies

Several recent developments merit mention. One is the founding of new forms of Catholic schools. Perhaps the best known of these are the Cristo Rey high schools and the Nativity middle schools. Begun in Chicago in 1997 for Hispanic/Latino youth, Cristo Rey schools combine work and study and are supported by a combination of donations, tuition, scholarship, and financial aid. Founded by the Jesuit order, The Cassin Foundation has been crucial to their existence. The concept has been replicated by other religious orders, such as the Christian Brothers and Daughters of Charity. In January of 2006, eleven Cristo Rey schools had an enrollment of 2,449, and three more were scheduled to open in the fall of 2006. In addition, as of January 2006, there were forty-three Nativity middle schools in operation, with a reported enrollment of 2,950, 56.1 percent African American and 28.1 percent Latino. About 90 percent of these students qualify for the federal government free/reduced lunch program. Seven more schools are being developed.

There are other institutional developments. The National Association of Private Catholic and Independent Schools (NAPCIS) was founded in 1995. In 2004–2005, they counted fifty-seven institutions in twenty-eight states. They are described as “independent schools in service to the Church.” NAPCIS itself is advertised as “an accreditation, teacher certification

and support organization for independent Roman Catholic schools.”

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, home-schooling was growing about 7 percent per year. Estimates range from 1.1 million to 2.1 million students home schooled in 2002–2003, certainly including some Catholic youth. The Seton Home Study School in Virginia offers a wide variety of services to aid parents in carrying out their educational responsibilities.

Finally, Catholic schools have been the recent beneficiaries of dedicated young Catholics who have volunteered their professional services for a specified time period to underresourced Catholic schools. Prepared to teach at twelve Catholic universities in the nation in 2004–2005, these young people live in a community, take part in a communal spiritual life, and participate in professional development activities while teaching.

Beset with serious challenges, Catholic schools are truly at a crossroads.

Thomas C. Hunt

See also School Choice; School Funding

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CHANNEL ONE

Channel One is a commercial news and media service viewed by approximately one third of America’s middle and high school students. The service was established in 1989 as part of entrepreneur Christopher Whittle’s Whittle Communications. Since its establishment, Channel One has been sold to other media corporations, such as Primedia. Under Whittle’s management, schools received the service by way of a contractual agreement. The agreement arranged for schools to receive equipment from Whittle, such as televisions, videotape recorders, and satellite dishes. Schools, in return, would commit to airing Channel One’s twelve-minute news and advertising program everyday of the school year to at least 90 percent of the school’s student population. Similar policies have continued since Channel One’s sale to Primedia.

Advertising

One of the great controversies surrounding Channel One’s airing in public schools has to do with the two minutes of advertising in the program. Students, teachers, parents, scholars, and public officials have expressed concern over the use of advertising in education. The concern has spanned the political spectrum, bringing together such figures as conservative political pundit Phyllis Schlafly and consumer advocate Ralph Nader. Most of the criticism centers on the kind of commercialization of public schools Channel One represents. Some distinguish television advertising as different from other forms of advertising permitted on school grounds due to the level of sophistication of the commercials and their delivery.

While schools regularly permit advertising in the school newspaper or on billboards in school stadiums, critics argue that these are not required viewing and are not as persuasive as television commercials. Others focus on the captive audiences required to watch television at all. Since students are required by law to attend school, the state thereby compels those students who attend schools with Channel One to watch news and advertising. The content of the ads have also

drawn criticism. With the dramatic rise of obesity as a public health concern, many question the ethics of using public schools as vehicles for encouraging the sale of soft drinks, candy, and other “junk food.”

News Content

While the content of the Channel One news programming has received satisfactory ratings from students and teachers, it has been targeted by critics as problematic. The intended purpose of the news segment is to offer a child-friendly news source that keeps students abreast of current developments and speaks to them on their level. The news anchors and correspondents are of similar age to students watching Channel One in schools. The language, tone, and style of the programming are also intended to cater to middle and high school students.

To investigate the effectiveness of this approach, researchers have conducted surveys of student and teacher satisfaction with the news program. The studies have indicated that they are largely satisfied with the ten minutes of news offered by Channel One. Critics, meanwhile, contend the news offered is of little substance. Content analyses of the program suggest that Channel One news items include pop culture trivia about celebrities. Dissatisfied with such content, opponents of the service question the quality of the enterprise and its place in public education.

Technology Resource

The economics of the service has also provoked debate between supporters and critics. Supporters contend that the Channel One agreement provides much needed technological resources to public schools. With state support for education at all levels declining, school administrators see in the agreement an opportunity to provide resources for students and teachers that otherwise would not be made available. Critics counter by citing analyses of the use of technology and the expense of airing the program. Historical and contemporary studies have long suggested that technology has not had a significant impact on day-to-day teaching activities. Thus, they see administrators as overvaluing the need for technology. Moreover, the expense of

airing the program, according to one study, outweighs the gains made in the technology received. Critics state that the twelve minutes of school time throughout the year, when added together and across all participating schools, amounts to billions of dollars in lost tax-supported instructional time.

Despite the controversies and mixed reception, Channel One continues to thrive. It is well received by most students, teachers, and administrators. It is well supported by commercial advertisers, who may pay up to \$200,000 for one thirty-second commercial. And much of the attention the service initially received has diminished. Renewed critical attention to Channel One, however, has resurfaced largely in the form of legal challenges over private profiteering from public education as well as concern over “junk food” advertising in public schools.

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See also Corporate Involvement in Education; Technologies in Education

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CHAOS THEORY

Chaos, a word whose origins go back millennia to creation myths in both the Hebraic-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions, has emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century as one of the “new sciences”: chaos, fractal geometry, complexity. As

part of the new sciences, mathematical chaos theory—still rich in fecundity and creation—is the study of equations which model the turbulence now found as natural to our universe. The nature of chaos and its implications for education are discussed in this entry.

Whereas Isaac Newton, in the seventeenth century, saw a simple order reigning in the universe—“Nature is pleased with simplicity”—scientists now find the starry skies filled with “dark” energy, pulsars, galaxies forming and exploding, and “black holes,” devouring all they ensnare. On Earth, an increasing number of earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes, tornadoes, and global warmings are devastating—and all unpredictable. This is the sort of turbulence in nature that chaos theorists model and try to predict. Hence the term, deterministic chaos.

Deterministic chaos is not an oxymoron but, rather, is recognition that the universe and world are basically dynamic in nature—not stable in a simple sense but full of “orderly disorder.” There is in nature a complexity that makes long-term prediction impossible and short-term prediction (as in weather forecasting) short range and only probabilistic. Further, this complexity, studied mathematically, shows an interweaving of order with chaos. Chaos concepts not only challenge traditional views of cause-effect (deterministic, predictable) and an either/or frame of order versus chaos, but carry educational implications for ways we teach and design curricula.

The concept that long-term prediction is impossible—*prediction devient impossible*—comes from Henri Poincaré’s realization in the late 1890s that the mathematics of calculus, useful for Newton’s theory of gravitation between two objects, does not work when a third object (sun, moon, earth) is introduced into the relationship. Nonlinear mathematics is needed to solve such interactions. Nonlinear relationships in a simple X – Y equation are different from the commonly used first order $[X^1]$ and second order $[X^2]$ equations, *where the X ’s are predetermined*, with the Y ’s (as functions of X $[F(x)]$) being solved for set X s.

Nonlinear mathematics, by contrast, is recursive in nature; operating by feeding the Y (or function of X $[F(x)]$) answer back into the equation for an iteration. Thus the “answer” (Y or $F(x)$) to the first statement of the equation becomes the next X . And so the

process continues, continually recursing: the ninth statement of X depending on the eighth function of X (its Y). In this manner, the results of the iteration are deterministic—by tracing back the X/Y statements to the original X —but unpredictable, except for a probable guess as to the next iteration. The educational implications of teaching and designing curricula from a nonlinear viewpoint challenge entrenched notions of preset syllabi, lesson plans, and methods of direct instruction.

In the 1960s, Edward Lorenz, a meteorologist with a feeling for the nonlinear, was doing mathematical simulations of weather patterns on his computer—old and slow by today’s standards. Wanting to relook at his data, he submitted the old data back into the computer, but, to save time, rounded off his 6-digit equations to 3 digits. Such a minor difference (.001) should have, according to a 1:1 linear, cause-effect correlation, yielded a minor, almost unnoticeable, difference in the new printout. Using the new printout, Lorenz could check his original work. To his surprise, the new 3-digit equations produced a different set of patterns. Small differences (causes) yielded major differences (effects). Thus, was born chaos theory’s famous dictum: “A butterfly flapping its wings in Rio can cause a typhoon in Tokyo.” Such an accelerated and accumulated sense of development throws into doubt an educational fixity of IQ and even brings into question the “averaging” of grades.

Supercomputers have allowed nonlinear mathematics to venture where mathematical theory has not gone before—into environmental biology, population dynamics, and information theory. All these deal with interactive relationships, where factors are proactive not merely reactive. Examples include population growth (birth-death relations), predator/prey, and message-noise relations. Such system dynamism, far from states with an equilibrium or central focus, is often framed in a logistic equation. This equation, following the nonlinear $X/F(x)$ frame, already described, is $F(x) = rx(1-x)$, where r is a constant—amount of food, space, information—and $1-x$ is an inversion of the original x , limiting (but not centering) the interactive relationship. Thus the relationship is bounded but still dynamically interactive. Again, the notion of a system being bounded but not centered, and dynamically

changing, offers challenges and opportunities in the social sciences. Here the name of Niklas Luhmann stands out.

An interesting aspect of the logistic equation is that as r increases from 1 to 2, doubling occurs (the output in the equation vacillates between two numbers—a boom/bust, seven good years/seven bad years bifurcation). Another doubling occurs as r moves to 3; while at 3.57 (where the doublings are fast and furious) chaos sets in—hence mathematical chaos came from James Yorke’s “Period Three Implies Chaos.” Within this chaotic area (3.57 and above), there are spaces of regular order. Thus, nonlinear dynamics, in a metaphorical sense, asks social theorists to see that chaos and order are not opposed but actually are entwined within one another. Such a worldview encourages moves beyond modernism’s dichotomous framings—Black/White, good/bad, either/or, right/wrong—to look at a “third space” where new possibilities emerge.

Chaos theory, the mathematical study of the non-periodic order found in nature (as in the slight fibrillation of a healthy heart), provides new insights into nature’s way of being, insights which show creativity as part of that being. Its implication for education is potentially profound.

Wm. E. Doll, Jr.

See also Complexity Theory

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Web Sites

Chaos Theory and Education:

<http://www.libraryreference.org/chaos.html>

Society for Chaos Theory in Psychology and Life Sciences:

<http://www.societyforchaostheory.org>

CHARTER SCHOOLS

Charter schools are *public schools* established by a contract between a public agency and charter school organizers. Most charters are granted by a local school district or a state education agency such as a board of education. In some states, public colleges and universities are also authorized to grant charters. In exchange for being exempt from some of the state regulations placed on public school operators, charter school organizers agree to be held accountable for the set of educational outcomes outlined in the school’s charter. There are two main types of charter schools, conversion charter schools and start-up charter schools. Conversion charter schools are existing public schools that have elected to convert to charter school status. Start-up charter schools are new schools. This entry looks at the history, organization, and impact of charter schools.

Historical Background

Charter schools have been a prominent item on the U.S. educational reform agenda since Minnesota passed the first charter school law in 1991. At the beginning of the 2005–2006 school year, forty states and the District of Columbia had charter school laws. In 2003–2004 approximately 3,000 charter schools were in operation in thirty-nine of these areas; just over 789,000 students, or 1.6 percent of all public school students nationwide were enrolled in charter schools, although enrollment varied considerably across states.

For example, the District of Columbia had the highest percentage of students enrolled in charter schools (16.6 percent) followed by Arizona (8 percent) and Delaware (5.3 percent). With only one school

enrolling 196 students, which amounted to a fraction of its 869,113 public school students, Maryland had the lowest enrollment of students in charter schools. Not surprisingly, as the state with most public school students, California had the highest share of the total charter school students in 2003–2004 (20.2 percent), followed by Arizona (10.4 percent) and Michigan (9.1 percent).

Legal and Policy Issues

Charter school laws are not only constantly evolving, but they also differ widely from state to state. This is illustrated by a comparison of a few aspects of the charter school legislation in effect as of May 2005 for the three states that enroll the greatest number of charter school students—California, Michigan, and Arizona. There are similarities and differences across the three states in (a) the types of public agency empowered to authorize charter schools, (b) the certification requirements for charter school teachers, and (c) provisions allowing private schools to convert to charter school status.

In California, most charters are granted by local school districts, although county boards of education and the state board of education can also approve charter schools if a charter is denied by a local school district or if the school provides countywide or statewide services that are not provided by local school districts. In Michigan, charter schools are called Public School Academies (PSAs) and can be authorized by local school boards and the governing boards of community colleges and public universities. In Arizona, charters can be granted by school districts, the state board of education, and the Arizona State Board for Charter Schools, the state agency charged with overseeing charter schools.

Both California and Michigan require charter school teachers to hold state certification. Arizona's charter school law does not require that charter school teachers be certified.

California specifically prohibits existing private schools from converting to charter schools; Arizona and Michigan allow such conversions. Arizona requires that private schools converting to charter

school status have an admissions policy that is “non-selective and nondiscriminatory.” Michigan requires such schools to demonstrate a “good faith” effort that 25 percent of their students be new students.

Given this variation, charter school reform is a coherent policy in name only. The federal government has supported charter schools since 1994 through the Public Charter Schools Program. The Public Charter Schools Program provides funding for charter schools that is channeled through state departments of education. Federal funds are also used to support research on charter schools and to provide informational resources for constituents ranging from parents to educational researchers.

Charter schools are also a prominent component of the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the most recent reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In the final NCLB legislation, charter schools were suggested as an option for students in underperforming schools. Students whose schools are identified as underperforming by state standards must be provided with the option to transfer to other schools within their districts, including charter schools. In addition, the law outlines a timetable for interventions within schools identified as underperforming, which could ultimately entail reorganizing underperforming schools as charter schools.

The Research Debates

Two hotly debated issues are: Do charter schools increase racial segregation, and do charter schools produce higher student achievement than conventional public schools? Using largely national-level comparisons, some researchers claim that the racial composition of charter schools tends to mirror those of all public schools. Other researchers find that disaggregating the data to state and local levels and using better segregation measures shows that charter schools increase racial segregation.

The findings on achievement are mixed. For example, the National Center for Educational Statistics included a sample of charter schools in the 2003 administration of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). On average, charter school

students scored roughly equal to or lower than students in conventional public schools with similar backgrounds.

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See also No Child Left Behind Act; School Choice

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CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT

The Chautauqua movement that swept the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was one of the most innovative developments in the history of adult education. Following the philosophy of mainstream liberal arts colleges by offering workshops and lectures in the arts and humanities and eschewing mechanical, technical, and practical education, the movement brought liberal education, culture, and later entertainment to adults in small towns and rural communities. The Chautauqua movement also adapted the new fields of natural and social sciences and modern literature to its academic curriculum and experimented with radical programs that brought together the sacred and secular as a cultural response to a changing world in which science challenged religious authority, labor conflicted with

management, women questioned their prescribed roles, and the nation grew progressively more heterogeneous. This entry looks at the history and impact of the movement.

An Educational Movement

The movement began inauspiciously in 1874 when Methodist minister John Heyl Vincent and Ohio inventor Lewis Miller conducted a two-week summer institute for Sunday School teachers at Lake Chautauqua in western New York. Two years later, the program was expanded and diversified into an eight-week liberal education experience for adults. The Chautauqua Institution offered courses in the arts, humanities, and sciences and featured lectures by the most renowned authors, explorers, and political leaders, as well as performances by acclaimed musicians and dramatists. Headliners such as Mark Twain, William Jennings Bryan, and Charles Dickens attracted huge throngs, and eventually all of the U.S. presidents from Ulysses S. Grant through William McKinley made appearances. Richard T. Ely, Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, and others expressed progressive ideas for resolving the conflicts of American life, and William Rainey Harper initiated critical scriptural analysis of the Holy Bible.

The Chautauqua idea spread rapidly, and 292 communities from Maine to Florida and Texas to California formed local independent Chautauquas attempting to copy the Chautauqua Institution by reproducing the program of lectures and entertainment, and to a lesser degree, the academic program of liberal education courses or workshops within a summer resort setting. Although the independent Chautauquas were not affiliated formally with the Chautauqua Institution, many of the speakers, artists, and musicians from the Chautauqua Institution traveled great distances to take lectures and performances across the country. Thousands of adults attended the summer programs of the Chautauqua Institution and the independent Chautauquas.

In addition to the summer programs of the Chautauqua Institution, William Rainey Harper developed a year-round home study program called the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. The Circle was a four-year correspondence course consisting of

intensive home reading in history, literature, sociology, and science—the first integrated program of adult education organized in the United States on a national scale. The Circle encouraged learners to form local reading circles to discuss the texts, and between 1878 and 1894 boasted over 225,000 students and over 10,000 local reading circles. The Chautauqua Institution's leadership conceded that the Circle education was not a college equivalent, but argued that it fostered a "college outlook": exposure to liberal education for adults.

Its Influence

The Chautauqua Movement reflected a nationwide interest in the professionalization of teaching and popular liberal education for self-improvement. The Chautauqua Institution's founder, John Vincent, believed in the universal right to knowledge and insisted that continued learning in adulthood was a religious obligation. Vincent's ideas shaped the movement as a whole, which reflected belief in traditional moral authority, Enlightenment rationalism, and democratization of higher learning for adults, albeit with a Protestant purpose. Maintaining that education could occur throughout adulthood, Vincent believed that experiential learning was the best road to intellectual improvement, an idea that anticipated philosophies prevalent a half century later.

The Chautauqua Institution's and movement's detractors, such as philosopher William James and English author Rudyard Kipling, dismissed the brief summer sessions, roundtables, and public lectures as academically superficial. However, even critics who questioned the course quality did not challenge the scholarly credentials of its lecturers. Furthermore, lower- and middle-class women, who made up the majority of the Chautauquas' learners, were largely excluded from higher education: the residential Chautauquas and the Circle provided a coherent training ground for them at an affordable price.

The influence of the Chautauqua Institution and independent Chautauquas declined steeply during the early twentieth century because of the emergence of "circuit" or "tent" Chautauquas that traveled from town to town. Because of more affordable ticket prices, they soon ran

most of the independent Chautauquas out of business. However, because tent chautauquas were purely commercial ventures, they changed the entire face of the movement from "education with entertainment" to "entertainment with or without education." At its peak in the mid-1920s, circuit Chautauqua performers and lecturers appeared in more than 10,000 communities in forty-five states to audiences totaling 45 million people. Even so, the tent Chautauquas served as an opportunity for rural communities to come together to watch musicians and performers that they would never have seen otherwise.

The movement died out by 1932 because of two significant factors. The spread of automobiles, radios, and motion pictures made entertainment and education more accessible. Further, the onset of the Depression made even tent Chautauquas economically impossible for organizers and audiences.

The national influence of the Chautauqua Movement on higher and adult education was immense. Under the direction of John Vincent and William Rainey Harper, the Chautauqua Institution pioneered summer sessions, correspondence courses, extension services, and the university press. Harper, as the first president of the University of Chicago, transmitted these and other Chautauquan innovations that influenced American higher education as a whole. While now less national in scope, the Chautauqua Institution still offers a thriving eight-week summer program of lectures, arts, and music and serves as a respected center for adult education and Christian religion.

Susan Birden

See also Adult Education and Literacy; Correspondence Schools

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CHEERLEADING

Cheerleading originated on Ivy League campuses with male cheerleaders who performed during football games in the late 1880s. Today, 3.8 million people participate in cheerleading in the United States, and 97 percent of them are female. The impact of gender, race, ethnicity, social class, and sexual orientation can be seen in the way cheerleading operates in elementary and secondary schools, in higher education, and in society at large.

Throughout its first fifty years, cheerleading was an exclusively male activity and represented normative masculinity. Being a cheerleader or yell leader was understood as a noble endeavor that helped prepare young White men for their rightful place as leaders in the emerging industrial order. Women began entering collegiate cheerleading in small numbers in the 1920s, but as late as the 1930s, cheerleading was still considered a male activity and was associated with athleticism and leadership. Most high school and collegiate squads were resistant to young women entering this masculine sphere, and it was feared that female cheerleaders would become loud and unladylike. When men left college campuses to fight in World War II, females stepped into the vacant spots on the squads, and by the 1950s, cheerleading had become a feminized activity. With her physical attractiveness, peer popularity, and wholesomeness, the cheerleader typified ideal American girlhood.

Cheerleading, as the symbol of ideal girlhood, became a contested activity with the implementation of school desegregation. The selection of cheerleaders in desegregated schools resulted in riots, walkouts, and one death in Burlington, North Carolina. In addition to racial politics, the women's rights movement, passage of Title IX, and the introduction of the professional Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders in 1972 all challenged the idea that cheerleaders still represented ideal femininity. Cheerleaders became characterized as young women who conformed to oppressive notions of femininity. By the mid-1970s, the National Cheerleaders Association and the newly formed Universal Cheerleaders Association helped revitalize

cheerleading by introducing a more athletic form that included gymnastics tumbling. National competitions were introduced in the early 1980s with their eventual international television broadcast.

By the 1990s, an entirely new form of cheerleading was introduced—competitive or All-Star cheerleading whose squads were affiliated with private gyms and not public schools. They exist solely to compete against other private squads. This is the fastest growing segment of cheerleading in the United States, and males have returned to the activity in order to compete.

Cheerleading remains popular with girls because it allows them to acquire many of the traits once associated with masculinity (e.g., athleticism, self-discipline, assertiveness, and risk taking) while still participating in an activity firmly entrenched in heterosexualized femininity. In recent years, cheerleading has been adapted as a political vehicle by radical cheerleaders, gay and lesbian groups, and senior citizens. Outside of the United States, cheerleading can be found around the world, although it has been modified frequently to reflect the culture that has adopted it.

Natalie G. Adams and Pamela J. Bettis

See also Athletics, Policy Issues; Physical Education, History of; Sports Mascots

See Visual History Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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CHILD ABUSE: ISSUES FOR TEACHERS

Child abuse is the intentional infliction on children of physical, sexual, and emotional mistreatment by a parent, guardian, or other adult entrusted with their care. Teachers are among the most important people needing to be able both to identify and defend against child abuse since they are in close daily contact with their students. As mandated reporters, teachers need to better understand the wide variability of situations and behaviors that might suggest child abuse. This entry provides an overview.

Prevalence Data

According to a U.S. Department of Health and Human Services report in 2004, 64.5 percent of child abuse survivors suffered neglect (including medical neglect), 17.5 percent are physically abused, 9.7 percent are sexually abused, and 7.0 percent are emotionally or psychologically abused. Not all children survive their abuse. Approximately 1,500 children died in 2004 as a result of abuse or neglect.

Completely accurate figures are difficult to obtain because evidence of abuse and neglect is not necessarily clear-cut. Most cases of abuse and neglect never get reported because there are no outward physical effects in the case of neglect or psychological and emotional abuse, or there are attempts to cover up or hide these physical effects. In the case of sexual abuse, there is secrecy and shame that surrounds the survivor, and potentially the family, and often prevents the survivor from coming forward to tell his or her story.

The Reporting Role

There is one commonality in almost all cases of child abuse—abused children go to school. In all fifty states, teachers and other school officials are mandated reporters, as are doctors, nurses, any law enforcement official, and a long list of other professionals who come into contact with children in various capacities. Through its legislature, each state defines abuse and prescribes the rules for those who report cases.

Teachers and other school officials who have a reasonable suspicion that a child is being abused must file a report with the appropriate social service agency for their particular state, such as Child Protective Services (CPS) in California or the Department of Children and Families (DCF) in Florida. Some schools and/or districts have a policy that states that the teacher or other school official first report their suspicion to the school's principal, while others expect the teacher or school official to contact the social service agency on their own.

Whichever is the case, a report of suspected child abuse must be filed in a timely fashion—typically between twenty-four and seventy-two hours after becoming aware of the suspected abuse either by phone or face-to-face. This is followed by filing a written report within seventy-two hours of the original report. Once the report is on file with the appropriate social service agency, a determination is made whether or not to investigate the allegations of abuse or neglect by child protective services based on the information provided.

Because teachers and other school officials are mandated reporters of child abuse, each state provides the mandated reporter with immunity from the civil and criminal prosecution that may arise from reporting suspected child abuse and neglect, as long as the report was done in “good faith” and “without malice.” This immunity is given so that teachers or other mandated reporters will be more willing to file a report if they do not fear being held criminally or civilly liable.

The Caregiving Role

Even though the investigation of the alleged child abuse is out of the hands of the classroom teacher, it is by no means the end of it. For the classroom teacher, this is only the first step since the abused child is a member of a classroom learning community that spends six to eight hours together five days a week. During the week, children spend more of their waking hours in school with their classmates and their teacher than they do with their families.

An abused child is a wounded child. Depending on the type of abuse he or she has suffered, his or her

wounds may not be visible, but those emotional scars are still very much a part of the child's psyche. This emotional pain of abuse may present itself in a multitude of ways and depending on the age and situation of the survivor. Children may act aggressively with their peers or be disruptive in the classroom. They may be hypervigilant, constantly on the lookout for possible danger, or they may dissociate by mentally separating their minds from their bodies in order to escape the emotions running through their heads.

In terms of the responsibility of the teacher, first and foremost he or she needs to create for the abused child a classroom community that is loving and supportive. Having an established classroom routine and a predictable, stable environment where the abused child (and every child) feels safe and secure is extremely important.

The teacher should also have fair and consistent rules and consequences where children understand the limits of inappropriate behavior in the classroom. The teacher can also teach problem-solving skills and ways to deal with anger to help empower these children that allows them to regain at least a small portion of control back in their lives.

Child abuse is a basic problem that must be confronted by educators in a well-thought-out and systematic manner. It is a problem that almost every teacher will have to confront in his or her career, and it needs to be well understood from both a policy and a practical perspective.

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See also Sexual Misconduct by Educational Professionals

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CHILD LABOR

By the end of the nineteenth century, industrialization had swept the United States and the employment of children had become an increasingly visible practice and a controversial problem, as an estimated 2 million children toiled in factories, mines, and offices around the country. Frequently, countless children no older than six or seven found themselves thrust into factory work that destroyed their health, stunted their social development, and left them prepared only for a life of more of the same. Working at jobs that were solitary and incessant, they were constantly tired and depressed, were denied the natural expression of childish joy and excitement, and soon began to feel and look prematurely old. For decades, church and government officials struggled to outlaw the worst excesses of the child labor system, but only the combination of protective legislation and compulsory education instituted by the end of World War I began to loosen the tight grip of work on the lives of millions of American children. This entry recalls the history of child labor and its conclusion.

Children at Work

Child labor resulted from several interrelated factors. To many observers, the employment of children in factories and other workplaces served a philanthropic function, as work kept poor children from becoming public charges, taught them the Puritan values of industry, and protected them from the sins of idleness. As industry developed more opportunities for low-skill and low-wage labor, factory officials began to aggressively seek out child workers who could do the work of adults but could not demand the same compensation. At the same time, throughout the country, family income was often so low that parents had little

choice but to send their children to full-time employment to supplement their own meager earnings.

Even in agricultural regions, family welfare often took priority over the interests and aspirations of individual family members, with children helping out on the farm as soon as they could do the work. Still, these children often received at least minimal education, as their work was part time and seasonal, while industrial jobs demanded full-time attention, leaving urban children the clear choice between work and school. Also, while difficult, farm labor required tasks that varied from time to time, occurred mainly in the fresh air and sunlight, and allowed for occasional periods of rest. Industrial work was steady and year-round, making it difficult to reconcile work and school, and generally demanded mind-numbing attention to repetitive hand motions in an enclosed environment too often deafeningly loud, dirty, and dangerous.

To many, the solution to the problem of child labor appeared to be the passage and implementation of protective legislation that outlawed the employment of children in certain locations and at specific ages. Such laws evolved from pity for the exploited children, the sense that they were being prepared to act as informed citizens, and the recognition that the stunted intellectual and social skills that came from such labor cheapened and impaired industry itself. By the late 1920s every state had enacted some form of child labor legislation, even if it was honored only in the breach. Children under the age of sixteen were prohibited from engaging in most forms of dangerous factory work, and many companies had concluded that unschooled children were of marginal employment value in any case.

From Factory to School

Still, it was soon evident that legislation to eradicate child labor would not be enough to keep many children in school, as the education itself appeared disconnected from their lives and occupational needs. Students often found the curriculum boring, the discipline extreme, and the environment similar to the factories from which they had been excluded, leading many children to drop out completely; rates of absenteeism were high among those who remained.

In response, most states initiated mandatory attendance plans, and the effect was immediate. Enrollments and attendance improved, and countless children found their lives transformed by the new emphasis on the expansion of childhood in environments that were increasingly congenial. Nevertheless, schooling left children with little more than the rudimentary skills of reading and writing, and many were in danger of quitting even without the job opportunities that might have otherwise drawn them away. Wishing to be more physically active while earning money of their own, others did eventually leave school to pursue whatever employment the new laws had ignored.

The solution was a change in the direction and purpose of early education. Soon, countless elementary schools offered practical work with an industrial bent, high schools modified their curriculum to include manual skills, trade schools emerged to provide vocational training to help those who would later find skilled work, and continuation schools developed programs for those who had already entered industry with insufficient preparation. With these changes, schools began to appear as a larger part of real life, while parents and children could see that school attendance and academic achievement might eventually lead to better compensation and more pleasant working conditions. At the same time, industrial leaders came to appreciate employees who had learned specific job skills while in school and who demonstrated higher levels of industrial discipline that reduced the need for constant and close supervision. Educated workers were thrifty, efficient, and loyal and brought with them much more than the simple skills children had earlier learned while on the job.

While employment kept unruly children in check, provided additional income to struggling families, and offered cheap labor for American industrialists and merchants, it also left children injured and incomplete. Only education provided an opportunity for many to escape the worse of industrial jobs and to learn the skills and discipline required for advancement in the work they eventually found.

Bart Dredge

See also Compulsory Educational Attendance Laws

See *Visual History* Chapter 16, Lewis W. Hine and the Child Labor Movement

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CHILDREN'S AND EDUCATIONAL MUSEUMS, HISTORY OF

Children's museums represent important sites for learning that can operate either in conjunction with or independently from schools. Their hands-on approach and play-based inquiry have the potential to draw students into learning in ways that are not as easily achieved in the public schools.

The idea of the museum as an educational force is taken for granted today by most educators and museum personnel. Yet it is a relatively modern concept dating from the second half of the nineteenth century, one that came to be realized in 1899 with the founding of the first children's museum in the United States, the Brooklyn Children's Museum, and with the organization in 1905 of the first American educational museum to be sponsored by a school system, the Educational Museum of the St. Louis Public Schools. This entry looks at the history and contributions of children's educational museums.

Museum as Educator

The concept of the museum as educator reflected not only a new approach to learning, but also a new approach to the organization of knowledge. No longer a "cabinet of curiosities," the museum in the United States increasingly became a popular educator. The growth and development of children's and educational

museums and their association with the schools was a logical extension of this concept. Implicit in the idea of the museum as educator was the notion of the museum as a "mass" educator. More than any other formal educational institution during the late nineteenth century (including libraries), the museum was perceived as being capable of teaching all classes of society.

It was the great international expositions that were primarily responsible (during the nineteenth century) for popularizing the idea of the museum as a means of mass education. The Great London Exhibition of 1851 was the first of these "world fairs." Its purpose was to promote and encourage English industry by comparing it with that of the other major industrial nations of the world. The Centennial Exposition held in Philadelphia in 1876 was the first international exposition to be held in the United States. Not only did the Centennial Exposition encourage the extensive development of industrial and natural history exhibits, but it also demonstrated their educational value to a large cross-section of the population.

The Centennial Exposition directly contributed to the establishment of several major museums throughout the United States, including the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Later expositions (including the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis) also contributed to museum development in the United States.

By the 1890s there was an increasing realization, however, that a museum differed from an exposition or fair in both its aims and methods. The exposition was primarily concerned with the promotion of industry and commerce, whereas the museum had as its primary purpose the teaching of a lesson inherent in an exhibit. Both museum curators and educators in general became increasingly aware of the need for people to learn not only through the written and spoken word, but also through objects.

School Museums

The possibilities of the museum as a vehicle for object lessons, and as an integral part of the curriculum of the schools, is most clearly evident in the work of the American educator and philosopher, John Dewey

(1859–1952). He argued that a small museum should be an integral part of every school. However unfeasible the idea of the school museum was, it did not die. Two highly successful extensions of the idea were developed: the children's museum and the traveling school museum.

The Brooklyn Children's Museum was originally conceived as a pedagogical museum where teachers could come see displayed apparatus and other materials that they could use in their classrooms. It was soon realized, however, that it would be impossible to provide teachers with the types of apparatus and materials on display. Therefore, a new purpose for the children's museum soon developed. It would be not simply a repository of pedagogical ideas and practices, but also a vital center of learning that would supplement the instruction of the public schools and also represent an important alternative for teaching, instruction, and learning. The potential of the children's museum to improve the quality of life for children living in the city was quickly realized.

Under the leadership of Anna Billings Gallup (1872–1956), the Children's Museum became an active educational center that helped children with their daily school studies and suggested new subjects for thought and pursuit in their leisure hours. By 1911, the average daily attendance had jumped to 160,000. Originally, the museum was primarily concerned with awakening an interest in nature. Throughout the museum, storytelling exhibits were displayed in cases at the proper height for children and were simply labeled. Soon, realistic miniature dioramas peopled with costumed dolls were created in an attempt to make the past come alive in the History Room.

By the 1920s, community groups such as the Women's Auxiliary were using the History Room and its miniature scenes for educational experiments in Americanization: Lessons were developed with the express goal of encouraging civic and national spirit among immigrant children. It was hoped that the Americanization program would stimulate discussions in the children's homes and even encourage their foreign parents to visit the museum—especially to see their own children perform in the plays that were being presented. Other special features such as a library, daily lectures, clubs, games, the publication of

the *Children's Museum Bulletin*, and the loan of materials to schools and the children themselves, helped make the museum a dynamic educational force in the local neighborhood and community.

Broader Scope

Unlike the Brooklyn Children's Museum, the Educational Museum of the St. Louis Public Schools was not neighborhood oriented but instead was primarily concerned with distributing supplementary educational materials such as lantern slides, natural history specimens, and objects from foreign countries throughout the public school system. "Bring the world to the child" was the museum's motto. The idea was clearly an outgrowth and a continuation of the spirit of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Officially opened on April 11, 1905, the museum is commonly recognized as being the first audiovisual program in a city school system in the United States. Many of the ideas and approaches developed as part of the curriculum of the Educational Museum closely paralleled the types of activities John Dewey and his colleagues had put into effect during the late 1890s at the University of Chicago Laboratory School. The assistant superintendent, Carl Rathman; the museum's curator, Amelia Meissner; and the staff managed to find a means by which to practically implement a "hands-on curriculum" of the type that Dewey was advocating throughout an extensive urban school system.

Like the Brooklyn Children's Museum, the Educational Museum of the St. Louis Public Schools recognized the potential of the museum to help the child to better understand the community and world in which they lived. Efforts to integrate the work of the museum and the schools increased during the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1911, for example, the trustees of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago created a traveling museum, which contained over 1,000 cases of botanical, geological, zoological, and economic specimens.

Other museums, such as the Commercial Museum of Art in Philadelphia, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, not only sent exhibits out to the schools but also had teachers stationed in the museums who were paid by their

school boards to give talks and conduct tours for school children. By the beginning of World War I, museums and the public schools had combined their forces in the development of a new type of curriculum emphasizing visual instruction and object teaching.

A New Era

By the end of World War I, it was clear that school and pedagogical museums were not particularly powerful movements in American education. In large part their function was taken over by the field of instructional technology. Museums such as the Brooklyn Children's Museum and the Indianapolis Children's Museum continued their efforts, however, becoming important educational institutions and community centers in their regions. By the mid-1970s there were just a small number handful of children's museums across the country.

Among the most visible were the Exploratorium, a "hands-on museum of science, art, and human perception" in San Francisco and the Please Touch Museum in Philadelphia, which has been encouraging learning through play, not just for children of all socioeconomic backgrounds, but for their teachers, parents, and caregivers as well. During the late 1970s, there developed a renewed interest in the establishment of children's museums, and by the late 1990s, there were approximately 300 such institutions in the United States.

The power of the children's museum, and much of its promise in years to come, is as a popular educator that integrates concrete experiences with science, history, and art. Increasingly, many of these activities will take place online, either in a child's home or at a desk at school. As a result, the role of the children's museum as a developer of innovative curriculum and as a mass educator becomes even more important.

Asterie B. Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Museums

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions

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CHURCH AND STATE

The question of the relationship between church and state is and has been a pervasive problem that pervades all aspects of education in all countries and is not peculiar to this generation. In the United States the relationship is complicated by many religions and the constitutional perspective. The issue should be considered from the perspective of the one and the many, *e pluribus unum*. *One* signifies unity and cohesion; *many* signifies diversity and division.

Though a religious nation since its inception, the United States has believed in the separation of church and state and used the public schools to bring different religious faiths together. The First Amendment to the Constitution, the nonestablishment clause, is the basis for court decisions involving church and state questions. There was nothing in the Constitution that set limits on what the states could do in the field of education. At first the Bill of Rights only guaranteed religious freedom and due process at the federal level. In 1868 the states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, which applied the Bill of Rights to the state level. This entry looks at how the relationship of church and state has evolved and how the Supreme Court has attempted to decide issues.

Early Years

During the colonial period in American history, church and state were united. Though the colonists came to America seeking religious freedom, their form of government only provided rights to those

who practiced the state religion. In New England, the fundamental law was the Bible. In the South, the church was different, Anglican, but the practices were similar. The state enforced financial support for the established church. It gave moral and legal support to doctrines of worship resulting in no freedom of worship. Other colonies had more liberal practices.

As the United States developed after the Revolutionary War, the founders had to reconcile these opposing thoughts and traditions as they brought about the separation of church and state. Thomas Jefferson advocated religious freedom in his “Bill for Religious Freedom,” which was enacted by the Virginia legislature in 1786. The First Amendment to the newly enacted Constitution calls for a separation of church and state and states that Congress cannot legislate the establishment of religion or limit its practice. Subsequently, the First Amendment became the basis for many Supreme Court decisions regarding the relationship of church, state, and schools.

The church’s influence on education continued in the early part of the National Period, which began in 1789. The number of churches rose, as did the number of different religious groups and denominations. This movement was happening as the state legislatures were moving to separate from the church’s influence. There was a lot of discussion about the relationship between the church and the state and the support of disestablishment. In 1833, Massachusetts became the last state to disestablish religion.

The common school movement began in the first part of the nineteenth century. The common school, a school that was publicly supported and controlled, was to be the place to bring students of different backgrounds together to provide a type of “melting pot” for different religious groups. As the common school movement grew and prospered, and as the numbers of Catholic immigrants increased, the Catholic bishops began to be concerned about what they called secularism in the schools. The number of Catholics increased from 1789, the time of the appointment of Bishop John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop in America, to 1884 when the Third Plenary Council of Bishops mandated the establishment of Catholic schools.

Catholic Schools

The bishops’ concerns focused on the following public school practices: the reading of the King James version of the Bible, the saying of Protestant prayers, the singing of Protestant hymns, and anti-Catholic textbooks. They were also concerned about secularism and godlessness in the schools. While voicing these concerns, the bishops were attempting to gain public funds for parochial schools. They argued that the Catholics were taxpayers and were entitled to have public funds for their own system of parochial schools.

In 1884, the Third Plenary Council met and called for the establishment of parochial schools. A school had to be built near every Catholic Church within two years and all the parents in the congregation were required to send their children to these schools, unless the bishop approved another form of Catholic education. The bishops also expected the teachers to be qualified and certified.

The Protestants reacted strongly to these mandates, and anti-Catholic publications such as Josiah Strong’s *Our Country* appeared. Strong complained that the American Catholics’ allegiance was only to the pope. Nonetheless, the parochial school movement flourished and other religions also established their own schools. The United States became a pluralistic country made up of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and those of other religious faiths. There were also agnostics and atheists adding to the common mix. The schools tried to meet the needs of these diverse groups, moving beyond the idea of a melting pot to being guided by cultural pluralism, including not only religious groups but also different racial and ethnic groups.

Supreme Court Rulings

As the public schools grew and changed, the issue of the relationship of church and state also came into focus more, as evidenced by the increasing number of Supreme Court cases which dealt with church and state issues. These cases took many forms and can be categorized as follows: free exercise, public financial aid to church-related schools, religious education in public schools, and religious exercises in public schools. It

was established that in order for any religious activity in a public school to be constitutional, it must pass three tests. It must have a secular purpose; it must have a primary effect which neither advances nor prohibits religion; it must avoid excessive entanglement between religion and the public school.

The Supreme Court case of *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925) is a good example of a test of the free exercise of religion. This case dealt with the question of whether nonpublic schools have the right to exist. It involved the Hill Military School and the Society of Sisters parochial school. Oregon passed a law in 1922 mandating that every child between the ages of eight and sixteen must attend public school. The Court ruled against Oregon, saying the state could not destroy private schools and that parents have the right to choose their child's education. Other cases that followed upheld students' right to freely exercise their religion.

The Catholic bishops tried to obtain public funds for Catholic schools beginning in the nineteenth century. Though unsuccessful overall, they were able to make some inroads. Good examples of these successes are the early public financial aid Supreme Court cases. The case of *Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing Township* in 1947, which allows for free bus transportation for all schools, was decided based on the child-benefit theory. This means that when aid is given, it is not given to benefit the school directly, but rather to benefit the child. The court has ruled over the years that there can be no reimbursement for teacher salaries, but auxiliary services can be provided through the local public school. It is also allowable for the state to provide vouchers to students to attend religious schools.

The Supreme Court also addressed the issue of released time during the school day for religious education. In the *McCullum v. Board of Education* in 1948 in Illinois, the Court ruled that there could be no released time given for religious instruction in public schools. Later, in 1952, the Court ruled in *Zorach v. Clauson* in New York that time could be given to students for religious instruction off site. Religious groups are also permitted to meet in schools as a result of the Equal Access Law that was passed in 1984, even though the Court had ruled earlier that this was not constitutional.

Many school prayer cases have been heard by the Court. The best known case is that of *Engel v. Vitale* in 1962. The New York Board of Regents required a nondenominational prayer in the schools. Engel complained that this violated the First Amendment, and the Court ruled that no government agency can require prayer in the schools. Other cases involving prayer at graduation, sports activities, and moments of silence followed with similar results.

The issue of the relationship between church and state in education continues to present challenges in a diverse country with many religious faiths. The questions recur in different forms and are reconsidered and sometimes reinterpreted by the courts because the Constitution remains a living document.

Sally H. Wertheim

See also Americanization Movement; Catholic Education, History of; Values Education

See Visual History Chapter 6, Catholic Schools and the Separation of Church and State

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Citizenship typically refers to the relationship between the individual and the community, state, or nation. Encompassing aspects of membership, identity, civic knowledge, civic values, dispositions, and civic skills, citizenship education is often narrowly defined as taking place in civics, government, and history classes. But citizenship education is far broader than civics;

here, it is defined as *any educational experience that promotes the growth of individuals in regard to their civic capacities*. The civic realm, the world of political and community work, requires particular kinds of knowledge, skills, and dispositions. This is particularly true in a democracy, where the role of the citizen takes on special importance in governance.

This entry looks at citizenship education from the perspective of the social foundations discipline, which has conceptualized itself from the beginning as a field concerned with promoting schools relevant for a democratic society. Education for democratic citizenship, therefore, is both a key commitment for many in the field and source of inquiry across the range of disciplinary perspectives in the foundations of education. Whereas researchers in social studies education and political science do much work in the area of citizenship education, particularly in regard to the formal curriculum taught in schools, social foundations scholars have contributed to the inquiry and knowledge of citizenship education by pursuing questions that are broader. Foundations scholars have been concerned with social contexts beyond the school, and they are more explicitly critical in their inquiry than are other kinds of education scholars. The contributions of social foundations scholars to citizenship education theory and practice are described in this entry by focusing on four overarching questions that have been central throughout the field's history.

Role of Citizenship Education

What is unique and important about citizenship education in schools that are to promote and sustain a democratic society? Citizenship education can take place in any sort of society: fascist, communist, or democratic. Education for democracy, and democratic citizenship, is perhaps one of the most fundamental issues occupying social foundations scholars since the field's inception. This question has particularly concerned philosophers of education, since the question is not empirical but a normative and interpretive inquiry into the meanings of democracy and the best ways to prepare students to contribute to a society aspiring to democratic ideals.

John Dewey led the way in positing that citizenship is not something people learn in one kind of classroom or course, but all through the home, community, and school life. For Dewey, democracy is more than a political system or a technical description of the way government is run; it denotes a way of living, teaching, learning, and doing. Democracy is a moral ideal; he said in his 1939 book *Freedom and Culture* that democracy is moral in that it is based on a fundamental faith in the ability of humans to respect the freedom of others while creating a social and political system based on cohesion rather than coercion.

Democratic education, in Dewey's writings, represents the task of unleashing the powers of each individual citizen in association with the various communities and societies of which people are part. Education for democracy involves a "freeing of individual capacity in a progressive growth directed to social aims," he said in his 1916 work, *Democracy and Education*. Students learn both through disciplined study and through the experiences of living in a school connected to the concerns and work of their own community, that democracy is the process of cooperatively solving shared problems.

Some contemporary philosophers of education have argued against this view, challenging Dewey's broad conception of democratic education as connected with human freedom. Educational philosophers such as Kenneth Strike suggest that the schools of a democratic society must balance between the individual rights of students and parents in a pluralistic society and the more minimal requirements of a democratic society. Citizenship, in this view, requires learning valuable knowledge through the disciplines, as well as learning skills for critical thinking and shared deliberation among diverse learners and future citizens. Dewey's emphasis on shared problem solving remains a key point of consensus for many foundations scholars, but since Dewey's time, the increasingly diverse society in the United States and other nations has brought about changes in the way democratic education is conceptualized.

Access to Civil and Social Rights

This question has been of special importance to historians of education, since their work has been a

cornerstone for understanding how and why full citizenship has been long denied to many groups in the United States and elsewhere. Scholars in the foundations of education have particularly focused on realizing greater equity and civic participation. This question, therefore, has interested not just historians but also scholars working in curriculum studies and philosophical studies of education, as well.

Noted historian of education James Anderson has documented the education for second-class citizenship received by generations of African Americans in the United States. Historians join sociologists and philosophers of education in documenting the many forms of unequal education provided to Blacks, Hispanics, women, and American Indians. Assuming the role of equal citizenship necessitates that an equal education must be available to all children, social foundations scholars have revealed and analyzed the great disparities in educational opportunities and the corresponding lack of access to civil and social rights among many groups in the United States and other democracies.

For example, after the conquest of Native American lands and parts of Mexico, the U.S. government implemented educational programs focused on deculturalization; being a Native American or a Mexican American was, in the view of the time, not congruous with being a democratic citizen. In segregated schools designed to train children from these groups for work as laborers, students were assimilated but not socialized or educated for full democratic citizenship. Similarly, being a woman and being a citizen were, since ancient times, seen as incompatible identities. Recent feminist scholarship in philosophy has analyzed how our very conceptions of “citizen” and “the public” are gendered, and have proposed a revisioning of these terms to include a wide array of political identities and political work.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the first *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, many educators in the United States reflected upon the significance of that decision in terms of full citizenship under the law for Blacks, as well as upon the continued challenges to full racial integration in the United States. Foundations scholars have also taken up these important questions. Does a democratic society require integrated public schools? Can students learn about participating in a

diverse democracy without experiences in schools that reflect the diversity of the civic body itself?

Socialization for Citizenship in Schools

In the classic sociological study of schooling, *Life in Classrooms* (1968), Philip Jackson analyzes the magnitude of the 7,000 hours spread across an elementary schooler’s existence in schooling. Contributing to the scholarship engaging the question how schools *socialize* students, Jackson documented some of the very fundamental characteristics of school life, which he summarized as crowds, praise, and power. Schools teach people how to live in crowds, to be one among many, and to learn to accept the features of this existence (e.g., standing in lines, the importance of keeping quiet). Schools are also places of constant evaluation—of behavior and academic activities. Students learn that their work is evaluated by others—what becomes important is not what they think of their own work, but the mark that the teacher puts upon it. Third, school is a place where there are sharp distinctions between weak and powerful, Jackson showed. Institutions are places where students are under the control and authority of others.

Jackson’s study became a classic in the foundations of education, though directly as a text about citizenship; however, this study and others confirmed that schools are not places where students can learn democratic citizenship through experience, discussion, and shared inquiry. Jackson’s work argues that the hidden curriculum of schooling often teaches students to be passive and controlled rather than learning how to understand, through practice, the engagement and work of democratic citizenship.

Historiography has also contributed much to the question of how schools as institutions have shaped citizens. Not unlike the findings of Jackson’s study, many other historical and sociological studies in the foundations of education field confirm that schools have often been places of social control and monocultural assimilation rather than achieving the Deweyan democratic ideal of realizing individual freedom within the contexts of diverse communities and disciplined inquiry. A central civic mission of early twentieth-century

schooling in the United States, for example, was the “Americanization” of immigrants, and while the integration of new immigrants has always been a central aim of schools, “Americanization” was often carried out through blatantly sectarian and untruthful methods. Textbooks, for example, have long emphasized heroic, celebratory themes of American history, and historical scholarship reveals a century of school districts prohibiting books that were critical of American policy or leadership. Schools, it was thought, should teach a history of progress, loyalty, and heroism if new immigrants were to be assimilated as proper patriots. Thus, the history taught in the schools reflected the views of history desirable by those groups in power but not necessarily the real history of the nation or all its people.

In general, schools often socialize students for various norms that can work *against* the cultivation of good citizenship. Consistently deferring to those in power; or working primarily on individual tasks rather than in cooperative groups on shared, relevant problems; or learning about history through a very slanted and partial interpretation of historical events, all fail to promote democratic citizenship among students. A question that has accompanied these critical studies is, therefore, how *should* schools educate for citizenship, particularly in the way classrooms and schools are run? Philosophers and curricularists have developed responses to this question. A shining example of philosophical inquiry that has strongly shaped teachers’ ideas on how we might best shape school practices toward democratic aims is found in the work of Maxine Greene. Among her contributions to the field has been her focus on how the arts and arts education can help students learn about meanings of human freedom in democratic societies. The arts can help people understand and empathize with diverse others, can help them imagine alternatives to “what is,” and can help them take risks that promote human growth as learners and teachers.

Contrasting with the pervasive classroom norm characterized by teacher-talk and student-listening, educational philosopher Nicholas Burbules has written on the centrality of dialogue in the teaching and learning process, focusing on dialogue as a communicative relationship we enter with others. Not unlike Dewey’s conception of democracy that is embedded

in notions of communication and community, Burbules discusses dialogue with the hopes of expanding the ways that teachers and learners can come to know both as individuals and in the social realm, gaining both relational virtues such as respect, patience, and trust, as well as technical skills such as listening and the articulation of one’s ideas.

Citizenship in a Pluralistic, Globalized Society

Globalization—the political, economic, social, and technological interdependencies that order the world—has implications for how people understand citizenship. Philosophers of education now debate whether and how globalization should change the way citizenship education is conceptualized and taught in schools. As the world becomes smaller through technological innovations (airplanes, the Internet, communications technologies), the concept of citizenship as one strictly encompassing one nation-state is challenged. That is, increasingly, people have multiple identities, loyalties, and political involvements that may cross national borders.

What does this mean for how schools prepare students to be citizens? Many scholars have argued that a more cosmopolitan citizenship necessitates a greater knowledge of the world and its peoples, a greater understanding of human diversity, and the recognition that one’s worldview is shaped by one’s own cultural and historical traditions. Other scholars emphasize the increasing role that knowledge of the ecosystem and biodiversity must play in educating citizens for a global society.

Planetary citizenship, according to C. A. Bowers, whose work involves education and ecology, involves a revitalization of the commons, of shared public spaces and practices in local communities. Bowers suggests that educating for planetary citizenship involves far more than understanding the harms that the current consumer society brings to the earth, its resources, and its inhabitants; it involves nurturing alternative economic, political, and social systems which are more sensitive to local cultures and ecologically sustainable practices. What all these scholars do agree upon, however, is that globalization and its positive and negative

effects require rethinking citizenship to suit this new age. Education for democratic citizenship is a concept that may have to be reinvented in this new age of globalism, with all its technological wonders and environmental problems.

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See also Democracy and Education; Globalization and Education

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CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Although the story of federal protection of civil rights is conveniently told chronologically, two themes predominate. First, federal protection of civil rights has a paradoxical relationship with states' rights. All civil rights legislation has been opposed or limited in response to the argument that the federal government should not involve itself in areas of state responsibility. The Supreme Court repeatedly voiced this concern and, in the past, invalidated civil rights legislation partly on this ground. Deference to state law enforcement prerogatives always has been a centerpiece of Justice Department civil rights enforcement policy. For decades, Congress repeatedly rebuffed so basic a measure as antilynching legislation in the name of states' rights.

Yet the original federal civil rights statutes, and their underlying constitutional amendments, were responses to outrages by states or to private outrages that states failed to ameliorate. Given the origins of the need for federal protection of civil rights, states' interests often received undue weight in shaping federal civil rights policy.

Second, there is a seedy underside to the topic of federal protection of civil rights. For many years, the federal government was more involved with denying Blacks rights than with protecting them. The quest for civil rights in education dates back to the founding of the United States as a country. In 1787, the Reverend Prince Hall and Black citizens petitioned the Massachusetts State Legislature for equal educational facilities. Their petition was not granted.

This entry highlights those themes as it reviews U.S. history in the areas of civil rights and education.

The Reconstruction Era

It was not until the Civil War that anything looking like federal involvement in civil rights and education took place, with the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau). The Bureau's statutory charge, "the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states," enabled it to perform a variety of educational and social welfare functions. Its greatest success was education. It established or supervised many kinds of schools: day, night, Sunday, and industrial, as well as colleges. Many of the nation's Black colleges were founded with aid from the Bureau, including Howard University, Hampton Institute, St. Augustine's College, and Fisk University, to name a few. This initial effort on the part of the Freedman's Bureau to assist Blacks was tainted by, among other factors, its role in establishing the oppressive system of Southern labor contracts. With few exceptions, federal protection of Blacks via the Freedmen's Bureau terminated in 1868.

Congress's other Reconstruction legislation employed a variety of techniques to protect civil rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Force Act of 1870 imposed penalties on those who enforced discriminatory features of the Southern Black Codes, and the 1870 act made it a crime to conspire to hinder a citizen's exercise of

federal rights. The 1870 act also provided special protection for Black Voting Rights Act and the Force Act of 1871 went further by providing for the appointment of federal supervisors to scrutinize voter registration and election practices. The Civil Rights Act of 1871 authorized civil actions and additional criminal penalties against those who violated constitutional rights and authorized the president to use federal forces to suppress insurrections or conspiracies to deprive “any portion or class of . . . people” of federal rights.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875, the culmination of the Reconstruction period civil rights program, imposed civil and criminal sanctions for discrimination in public accommodations, public conveyances, and places of amusement. Armed with the criminal provisions of the civil rights program, federal prosecutors brought thousands of cases in Southern federal courts and established criminal actions as the primary vehicle through which the federal government protected civil rights. This protective legislation ended with the compromise of 1877 engineered by President Rutherford B. Hayes and the attendant withdrawal of federal troops from the South. In 1878, only twenty-five federal criminal civil rights prosecutions were brought in Southern federal courts.

There are many reasons why federal criminal prosecutions during this period were ineffective in protecting civil rights—including equal access to education and schooling. First, shortly after enactment of the post-Civil War antidiscrimination legislation, the Supreme Court limited Congress’s power to protect civil rights and narrowly construed constitutional provisions and statutory provisions that were not struck down. The entire federal statutory civil rights program, therefore, depended upon those provisions that, almost by happenstance, survived judicial scrutiny.

Separate But Equal

The principal criminal provisions that survived, now sections 241 and 242 of Title 18, United States Code, are not well suited to protecting civil rights. Enforcement of these provisions has been plagued by doubts about the specific rights they protect and the conduct they reach, and by doubt about the federal government’s role in law enforcement. Similar difficulties

characterized federal civil remedies to protect civil rights. For example, the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), declared “separate but equal” the law of the land, providing legal justification for six decades of Jim Crow segregation, including the segregation of Black and White students in public schools.

From the Compromise of 1877 until World War II, reference to federal “protection” of civil rights was misleading. Until the war, federal employment policy included racial segregation and exclusion. *De jure* segregation in politics and the armed forces, government participation in segregated and racially isolated housing projects, racially prejudiced federal judges, and segregated public services and education all demonstrate the depth of federal involvement in discrimination. Examples of federal complicity in educational discrimination were widespread.

In 1904, for example, Kentucky enacted a “separate but equal” statute that made it illegal “for any person, corporation or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of White and Negro races are received as pupils for instruction.” Berea College, a private institution in Kentucky, was found guilty of accepting White and Black students and fined \$1,000. In *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), the court ruled that a child of Chinese descent could be required to attend a Black school in Mississippi under the separate but equal doctrine.

In *United States v. Carolene Products Co.* (1939), the Court employed deferential scrutiny in the economic realm and even greater scrutiny in the areas of civil liberties and civil rights. Six months after the *Carolene Products* decision, this approach was applied to a case involving higher education segregation, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1939). Since Missouri law required separate schools and universities for Whites and Blacks, Missouri law also required for the arrangement of tuition and fees for Black students at adjacent state institutions. Gaines brought suit against the University of Missouri to compel the university to admit him.

Postwar Changes

The end of World War II renewed violence against Blacks. Following a Democratic party defeat in the 1946 congressional elections, President Harry S. Truman, in

Executive Order 9008, created a presidential civil rights committee to conduct inquiries and to recommend civil rights programs. In its report, *To Secure These Rights*, the committee made far-reaching recommendations in the areas of voting, employment, and federally assisted programs, many of which would be enacted in the 1960s. Truman, like other presidents, promoted civil rights most effectively in areas not requiring legislative action. Southern political power in Congress precluded significant civil rights legislation. Most of Truman's initiatives had to do with housing and employment, rather than education.

A focus on education was reemphasized by the Court and the federal government in the case of *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950). In this case, Oklahoma's law requiring segregated higher education was challenged, and the Court ruled that state-supported institutions of higher education could not provide different education to students based only on their race. The Court held that such segregation deprived the individuals of their Fourteenth Amendment rights of due process.

Civil rights enforcement received little attention early in the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, but there were important exceptions to this pattern. Executive Order 10479 (1953) extended the antidiscrimination provisions previously required in defense contracts to all government procurement contracts. After the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (*Brown I*), however, Eisenhower and the federal government could no longer avoid civil rights issues. Southern recalcitrance in the face of *Brown II* (which required that desegregation proceed "with all deliberate speed") led to a federal-state confrontation in Little Rock, Arkansas, which was settled through the presence of federal troops who forced local officials to allow Black students to attend previously segregated schools (*Cooper v. Aaron*, 1958).

The Civil Rights Era

But Little Rock marked no general turning point in the administration's enforcement efforts. Legislation passed during this period included the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, involved voting rights. However, even when armed with increased authority to investigate

denials of voting rights by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Justice Department brought few cases. President John F. Kennedy's administration also began with little impetus toward substantial civil rights achievement. But the rising tide of private civil rights activity, increased public awareness, and continued Southern resistance to desegregation made new federal and state confrontations inevitable.

In May 1961, federal marshals were employed to protect freedom riders. In September 1962, in connection with efforts to integrate the University of Mississippi, heavily outnumbered federal marshals and federalized National Guard troops withstood an assault by segregationists. Only the arrival of thousands of federal troops restored order. In the Birmingham crisis of 1963, which gained notoriety for the brutal treatment of demonstrators by state and local law enforcement officers, the federal government tried to act as a mediator.

The administration's inability under federal law to deal forcefully with situations like that in Birmingham led President Kennedy to propose further federal civil rights legislation. In November 1962, President Kennedy issued an executive order prohibiting discrimination in public housing projects and in projects covered by direct, guaranteed federal loans. And in executive orders in 1961 and 1963, Kennedy both required affirmative action by government contractors and extended the executive branch's antidiscrimination program in federal procurement contracts to all federally assisted construction projects.

Soon after Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded to the presidency, he publicly endorsed Kennedy's civil rights legislation. Due in part to his direct support, Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the most comprehensive civil rights measure in American history. The act outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, in federally assisted programs, and by large private employers, and it extended federal power to deal with voting discrimination. Title VII of the act created a substantial new federal bureaucracy to enforce antidiscrimination provisions pertaining to employment. The 1964 act also marked the first time that the Senate voted cloture against an anti-civil rights filibuster. Educational institutions receiving federal funding were profoundly affected by the act.

Despite the efforts of the Kennedy and Johnson Justice Departments, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 proved inadequate to protect Black voting rights. Marches and protests to secure voting rights led to violence, including an infamous, widely reported confrontation in Selma, Alabama, in which marchers were beaten. In March 1965, President Johnson requested new voting rights legislation. He included in his speech to the nation and a joint session of Congress the words of the song of the civil rights movement, “We shall overcome,” thus emphasizing the depth of the new federal involvement in civil rights. By August, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was in place. Within ten years of its passage, large numbers of Black voters were registered without great fanfare, but with corresponding gains in the number of Black elected officials. In 1968, after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., Congress enacted a fair housing law as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Unlike the Reconstruction civil rights program, Congress’s 1960s civil rights legislation survived judicial scrutiny. In a series of cases from 1964 to 1976, the Supreme Court both sustained the new civil rights program and revived the Reconstruction-era laws. These rulings involved public accommodations and voting rights. In *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.* (1968) and *Runyon v. McCrary* (1976), the Court interpreted the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to fill important gaps in the coverage of the 1964 and 1968 acts.

With the passage and sustaining of the 1964, 1965, and 1968 acts and the revival of the 1866 Act, the legal battle against racial discrimination at least formally was won. The federal civil rights program encompassed nearly all public and private purposeful racial discrimination in public accommodations, housing, employment, education, and voting. Future civil rights progress would have to come through vigorous enforcement, through programs aimed at relieving poverty, through affirmative action, and through laws benefiting groups other than Blacks.

Enforcing the Law

The fight for educational equality and civil rights was by no means over. For example, President Richard Nixon’s 1968 “Southern strategy” included campaigning

against busing, which was deliberately intended to decrease the segregation of schools. Within six months of Nixon’s inauguration, the Justice Department for the first time opposed the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in a desegregation case. But despite this seeming setback, under the pressure of Supreme Court decisions, and given the momentum of the prior administration’s civil rights efforts, the Nixon administration did finally promote new levels of Southern integration—despite its continued opposition to “forced busing.”

The period from 1970 to 1986 represents an era of ambivalence and uncertainty in terms of civil rights enforcement. During this period enforcement efforts became engulfed in the constitutionality of desegregation remedies—for example, whether to bus schoolchildren for purposes of desegregation. State-mandated school segregation was addressed in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971); *Davis v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County* (1971); *Moore v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971); *North Carolina State Board of Education v. Swann* (1971); *Keyes v. School District No. 1 Denver, Colorado* (1973); *San Antonio School District v. Rodriguez* (1973); *Milliken v. Bradley* (Milliken I; 1974); *Pasadena City Board of Education v. Spangler* (1976); *Milliken v. Bradley* (Milliken II; 1977); and *Plyler v. Doe* (1982).

New means were provided for the enforcement of legislation. In the 1970s, for example, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), under the pressure of court decisions, began to foster integration by denying tax benefits to private segregated academies and their benefactors. This process, however, was curtailed by other sectors of the federal government. Congress, for example, intervened to limit the IRS’s use of funds for such purposes. Similarly, Congress also restrained executive authority to seek busing as a remedy for school segregation.

The comprehensive coverage of federal civil rights law did not eliminate the inferior status of Blacks in American society. Pressure mounted for assistance in the form of affirmative action or preferential hiring and admissions in higher education. Court cases ensued: *DeFunis v. Odegaard* (1973), *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), *United Steel Workers of*

America v. Weber (1979), *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (1980), and *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education* (1986). These divided even the liberal community that was traditionally supportive of civil rights enforcement.

School desegregation also triggered a legal backlash under Presidents Ronald Reagan, George Herbert Walker Bush, and George W. Bush. From 1986 to 2006, an era of retrenchment and unpredictability directed a more conservative policy direction for civil rights law and legislation. During this period, the Supreme Court narrowly interpreted constitutional provisions and federal statutes that provided protections for civil rights of racial and ethnic minorities. Minorities experienced setbacks in many areas, including education. Decisions related to desegregation include *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1991); *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell* (1991); *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992); *United States v. Fordice* (1992), and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2002). Other rulings involved affirmative action: *United States v. Paradise* (1987), *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson* (1989), *Metro Broadcasting Inc. v. FCC and Astroline Communications Company* (1990), *Limited Partnership v. Shurberg Broadcasting of Hartford, Inc.* (1990), *Hopwood v. Texas* (5th Cir., 2000), *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003).

Federal involvement in civil rights legislation has both hindered and advanced the process of achieving more equal schools. Since the 1954 *Brown* decision, the principle of educational equity for all citizens has predominated, but not without significant attempts to curtail the general movement toward a universal equality for all citizens.

Paul E. Green

See also African American Education

See *Visual History* Chapter 25, Civil Rights

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CLASSICAL CURRICULUM

The classical curriculum was intended to prepare the children of the Greek and Roman privileged classes for a life of limited self-government. To meet that goal, the student studied grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, which medieval scholars labeled the trivium, and music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, later called the quadrivium. If the Greek or Roman student intended to practice medicine or law, he would enter into an apprenticeship following his formal schooling. Trades, including any form of manual labor, were strictly taboo for the Greek and Roman aristocracies.

The classical curriculum is historically important for being the first systematic program of intellectual, physical, and spiritual development. It is of particular cultural importance for perpetuating the Greeks' advanced knowledge of mathematics and astronomy and for laying the groundwork for most contemporary academic disciplines. Because it is the oldest systematic approach to education, the character of classical education has in the past been, and continues to be, gender specific. The education of girls and young women occurred at home in Ancient Greece as well as in Rome, and the practice went unchallenged in much of the Western world until the eighteenth century. The most well-known exception is Sparta, where young women endured difficult physical training as warriors.

Latter-day proponents of the classical curriculum have a somewhat broader meaning in mind than did their ancient and medieval counterparts. Getting at that meaning has opened the field to theoretical speculation about the boundaries of philology, history, area studies, and the canon. Today, many classicists fall into one of two methodological camps, divided by conflicting ideologies as much as national boundaries:

(a) philologists, led by Cambridge and Oxford scholars who wish to take texts at face value; and (b) text theorists, largely American, who apply Freudian, Marxist, and postmodern methods to an evaluation of content.

Declining enrollment in classics departments has prompted many scholars to question the future of classical studies. The source of the West's philosophical, moral, and legal systems is bound up in the tradition of classical education—a fact that raises questions about present capacity to comprehend basic principles still guiding Western culture. Because the study of Ancient Greek and Latin is intellectually challenging, a measure of elitism may be built into classical education. It is therefore possible that classical education is essentially contrary to contemporary egalitarian sensibilities, and so its demise may come as a matter of zeitgeist rather than irrelevance.

Shawn Pendley

See also Great Books of the Western World; Trivium and Quadrivium

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CLASS SIZE

Class size has been defined as the number of students who regularly appear in a teacher's classroom and for whom the teacher is primarily responsible and accountable. It has also been referred to as the number of students for whom a teacher is primarily responsible during a typical lesson. In its simplest form, *class size* is the number of students in each teacher's classroom each day.

The reduction of *class size* has been a topic of heated debate in America. It has taken center stage both in the political and social arenas of American lives. A clearer understanding of issues surrounding class size has

significant implications for educational and economic policy. Arguments for reducing class size include increasing individualized instruction, higher quality and more innovative student-centered instruction, increased teacher morale, fewer disruptions, decreased behavioral issues, and greater student engagement. Yet, the majority of the research on class size appears inconclusive at best. This entry explores the research on class size and its implications for educational policy.

History of Class Size Research

Research on class size began as early as the 1970s and quickly identified a connection between class size and achievement scores. In 1978, Gene V. Glass and Mary Lee Smith synthesized using a meta analysis of seventy-seven studies and their subsequent 725 effect sizes. *Effect sizes* measure the strength of a relationship between two variables. *Variables* are constructs of interest that can be measured, such as class size and achievement (i.e., via test scores).

According to Glass and Smith, reducing class sizes from forty or more to twenty students led to a very small increase in achievement. However, when class sizes dropped to fifteen students or less, there were larger effects on achievement. Yet due to the fact that the studies looked at were of short duration and included non-school-related cases such as tennis coaching, this analysis faced much criticism.

In 1989, Robert E. Slavin reevaluated only the studies that met higher criteria: lasting at least one year, involving a substantial reduction in class size, and random assignment or matching of students across larger and smaller classes (characteristics of scientific research that ensure differences in classrooms are not due to other factors aside from class size). Slavin concluded that substantial reductions in class size have small positive effects on students. These effects were not found to be cumulative, and disappeared within a few years.

In 1985, due to the stir caused by Glass and Smith's compilation of studies, and positive news coming from the state of Indiana regarding their class-size reduction program, a landmark study emerged. For Tennessee's Project STAR (Student Teacher Achievement Ratio), about 6,500 students in 329 classrooms in 79 schools (from rural, suburban, urban, and inner-city settings)

entering kindergarten, were randomly placed in either a regular class (twenty-two to twenty-six students), a small class (thirteen to seventeen students), or a regular class with a full-time teacher aide. Participation in this study was voluntary. However, schools had to be large enough to support one control group and two treatment groups at any grade level.

Students involved in this \$12 million project were to stay in classes of the same size for three years, and then move to “regular”-size classes afterwards. Teachers were also assigned at random to the various class groups without any special instructions. The study found that in each grade, the benefits of additional years in a small class were greater. Interestingly, after the students returned to regular-size classes, the effects began to decrease. In addition, when looking at gains over time, John Hattie found that the greatest gains in reading were made by the students in regular-size classes. One should note however, that for this project, as mentioned previously, regular-size classrooms consist of twenty-two to twenty-six students.

A notable finding that emerged was that effects sizes were greater (almost double) for minority students compared to White students in all achievement areas, and zero effects were found for student motivation and self-concept. Once again, flaws in the project raised questions. Bias may have been evident due to the fact that the schools participating were not random, but voluntary. Also, teachers’ awareness of the project and desire for smaller classes may have caused them to work harder for more positive results.

Nonetheless, other states followed in Tennessee’s footsteps. Unfortunately, when California tried a similar study in 1996, it was suffering from a shortage of teachers. The speed in implementation of California’s initiative resulted in lax standards for hiring educators. Thus, in 2003, 15 percent of California teachers in Grades 4 through 12 were not fully certified. Nonetheless, the results were positive for smaller classes. However, researchers found that due to uncontrollable factors in the study, gains could not be attributed directly to reduced class sizes.

The history of class size research has been plagued by inconsistencies and contradictions. Factors contributing to the difficulty in equally considering studies on this matter include the use of pupil-teacher

ratio as a definition for class size in some studies, the context-embedded nature of educational research, and the fact that class size interacts in complex ways with a range of other variables.

Findings

Nonetheless, it appears that attending smaller classes for three or more years increases the likelihood of long-term carryover effects. When analyzing small versus large classes, the literature appears to consider the class with fifteen to twenty students a smaller, more ideal class size. Small classes can provide conditions for better academic performance in content area subjects for bilingual students. In addition, smaller class sizes appear to be especially beneficial for at-risk or struggling students.

Teachers and parents strongly advocate small classes. Thus, other benefits of small classes are content parents and higher teacher morale. In fact, private “elite” schools advertise smaller classes as a bonus. Market research reveals that this advertisement is indeed an attractive feature for parents.

However, studies have also found that teachers that get smaller classes may be holding on to the same teaching methods they used with larger classes, and thus need to be trained in more effective methods that can be used with smaller classes.

Smaller classes have also been linked to higher attainment in reading in the “early” years of school. And at the high school language arts level, smaller classes create a more feasible workload for teachers grading writing assignments.

Factors to Consider in Class Size Reduction

There are many factors to consider when looking at reducing class sizes for public policy. It is a very expensive intervention, requiring more teachers, buildings, and supplies. In addition, a rapid expansion of the policy may lead to a deterioration in average teacher quality in schools. This is a significant facet to consider when the literature shows that the quality of teachers appears to have a larger impact on student achievement than any other school-related factor. The literature also

points to the fact that disruptive students can disrupt a small class just as badly as a large one.

The average number of pupils per teacher in American public and private elementary schools between 1969 and 1997 fell from 25.1 to 18.3, a decline of greater than 27 percent. In secondary schools, class sizes also dropped from 19.7 to 14.0. The National Assessment of Educational Progress, however, showed no significant or consistent gains in academic performance during this time period.

Many studies look to these small improvements on standardized tests as a reason why reducing class sizes may prove unfruitful. However, those in favor of smaller classes argue that better work-related conditions for students and teachers and other beneficial factors affected by a smaller class size (i.e., high school dropout rates) may not translate into effects on student learning as measured by these standardized tests. Demographic shifts in our country also make it difficult to isolate effects of reductions in pupil-teacher ratios.

Class size is not only a topic of interest in America but abroad as well. Ideal class sizes appear to be culturally connected. Societies that focus on collective group identity may function better with larger class sizes as opposed to individualized cultures. Thus, in Japan, for example, there are substantially larger class sizes than in the United States.

In conclusion, class size remains a highly political issue for policy makers. Research findings are not necessarily conclusive, although the general trend seems to be to consider smaller classes as being better.

Maribel G. Mora

See also School Finance

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CLOTHING, BANNING OF SYMBOLIC

Dress codes and uniform policies have been enforced in very different ways by various schools. Schools' rationale for banning symbolic clothing may include protecting students' health and safety, minimizing social class indicators between students, and creating cohesion and uniformity. However, schools have been faced with an increasing number of controversial cases when they have banned certain clothing representative of students' political, social, or religious identities. The inconsistent and *ad hoc* approach to addressing this issue is noticeable.

The recent ban of conspicuous religious symbols in French state schools has received international attention.

Justification for the ban was that there should be a strict separation between church and state (*laïcité*). Defenders point to a policy of neutrality inside the boundaries of the school. Unlike the United States, where the separation of church and state is based on a notion of neutrality of equal inclusion—meaning that schools accommodate all conceptions of the good (at least in theory)—France bases its notion of neutrality on equal exclusion. Thus, students and teachers are to shed their private conceptions as public equals once they enter the school.

A number of cases in the United States have challenged the right to freedom of expression regarding attire worn to school. In Detroit, Bretton Barber chose to wear a t-shirt to school with a picture of President George W. Bush on the front along with the caption, “International Terrorist.” The school insisted that Bretton remove the shirt, turn it inside out, or return home, for fear the shirt would cause “disruption” among students at school. Elsewhere in Michigan, Timothy Gies, a high school student in Bay City, was repeatedly suspended for wearing t-shirts with a peace sign, anarchy symbols, an upside-down American flag, and an antiwar quote from Albert Einstein. When the student attempted to defend his right under freedom of expression, the administrator said that this right did not apply to students. The court reversed that decision.

In Canada, a different court decision occurred regarding a child being allowed to bring the Sikh ceremonial dagger (*kirpan*) to school. The case went to the Supreme Court of Canada, where in March 2006, the Court ruled in favor of the Sikh family, overturning the ban in a unanimous consent of 8–0 allowing the *kirpan* in schools (*Multani v. Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeoys*). The main consideration before the Court was the extent of the infringement of freedom of religion and whether this infringement should outweigh concerns about potential safety. The judges felt that a symbolic ceremonial dagger was not a trivial or superficial religious symbol but an essential part of the student’s identity and faith. The second major consideration was the potential safety risk that the dagger posed to students and staff; the judges ruled that the dagger was no more dangerous than common school equipment such as sports equipment or scissors.

Divergent education policies regarding banning symbolic clothing are evident and increasing in prevalence. These tensions parallel greater societal dilemmas in balancing multicultural policies with greater societal cohesion.

Dianne Gereluk

See also Dress Codes; Multicultural Education

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COEDUCATION

Coeducation refers to the practice of educating both sexes in the same setting. In its thinnest sense, this term coined in the nineteenth-century in the United States, need not signify that both sexes teach, or that the curriculum represents or addresses both sexes, or even that both sexes learn together rather than apart within that setting. The only requirement this otherwise vaguely descriptive term signifies in both popular and professional usage is both sexes’ presence as learners in a setting, perhaps not even in nearly equal numbers, nor with nearly equal value.

This theoretically naive way of discussing coeducation may owe some of its currency even among professional educational theorists to John Dewey’s strong polemical advocacy for coeducation in a 1911 *Ladies’ Home Journal* (LHJ) article where he asserted the absurdity of developing a theory of coeducation. Yet he demonstrates the need for subtler coeducational thought when his own cogent LHJ critique of sexual essentialism with regard to elementary education and his administrative argument for coeducational classrooms at the

University of Chicago seem to contradict his *LHI* defense of higher education in home economics for women only. Like most twentieth-century philosophers of education, he ignores coeducation's philosophical history, which is ancient: Plato, whose Academy was coeducational, includes in the *Republic*, V, Socrates' argument for providing both sexes the same education within a Guardian class organized without families.

But in its thinnest, descriptive sense, as Dewey's own self-contradictory polemic and Booker T. Washington's also influential conception of racially segregated coeducation for ex-slaves at Tuskegee both illustrate, coeducation need not denote the same education for both sexes. Washington's coeducational curriculum includes home economics for women and other vocational training for men, whereas W. E. B. Du Bois constructs implicit premises for a more radical concept of coeducation in *The Souls of Black Folk*, by narrating the tragic case of an intellectually hungry woman's poverty, educational deprivation, domestic enslavement to family cares, and early death from overwork, largely because of her brothers' uneducated domestic skills and responsibility. These three pragmatists' theoretical differences on gender questions in education following abolition of slavery suggest a seldom noted need for interracial theorizing about coeducation. This entry looks at coeducation as viewed by some key female thinkers.

Rationale

The most substantial English-speaking tradition of coeducational thought originated in 1791 to 1792 with Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which critiques slavery as it formulates coeducation in a thick normative sense. Admiring Catherine Macaulay's 1790 argument for coeducation in *Letters on Education*, Wollstonecraft constructs her revolutionary rationale for coeducation, without ever having experienced its formal practice, by critiquing the monarchist property system's moral miseducation of both sexes: patriarchal, sex-segregated education premised upon both an essentialist conception of sexual difference and an imperialist dependence upon slavery. Following her coeducational thought experiment, feminists have grounded their rationales for

coeducation in their own reflective responses to Wollstonecraft's and their other forebears' coeducational thought as well as their own different cultural landscapes. Thus, her coeducational inquiry set an agenda for subsequent practical experiments and thought experiments, as well as critical treatises, concerning coeducation across the English-speaking world. Despite some differences among feminists, the feminist tradition's rationales for coeducation are all rooted in philosophical concerns to foster just societies and good lives for all.

Louisa May Alcott's March family trilogy, for example, gives fictional narrative form to many of Wollstonecraft's philosophical ideas about coeducation. Although obviously not concerned with monarchism in the United States, Alcott does portray both sexes' miseducation vividly, endorsing the moral validity of Wollstonecraft's opposition to slavery and implicitly also her concern about the likely moral failures of a republic that fails to educate women for economic independence, competent motherhood, and full democratic participation as citizens, or to teach men to value them.

Among the first generation of women to enjoy access to higher coeducation and earn a Ph.D., African American, educator-orator Anna Julia Cooper amends Wollstonecraft's and Alcott's republican rationale for coeducation by insisting also upon its value for racial development through women's generously compassionate sisterhood and men's respect for their leadership, through a coeducational curriculum grounded in both the law of love and the law of reason.

In England on the eve of World War II, Virginia Woolf, in *Three Guineas*, accepts such earlier arguments for coeducation's democratic necessity with her own satiric accounts of higher education that fails to civilize men because it overlooks how an "unpaid-for" education does civilize some otherwise uneducated women; she updates Wollstonecraft's moral skepticism about a patriarchal domestic and political economy organized around property and empire, and constructs a cogent caveat about coeducation's strategic sufficiency for preventing war and protecting culture and intellectual liberty within such a morally questionable context.

Most recently, having studied Wollstonecraft's ideal of the educated woman and then invoking both Alcott's and Woolf's educational thought in *The Schoolhome*, Jane Roland Martin cites boys' brutalizing miseducation and girls' domesticating miseducation in the late twentieth century to retheorize the U.S. Constitution's concept of "domestic tranquility" as a foundation for rethinking coeducation's purposes relative to both sexes' education for morally responsible lives in the private family home, the public nation home, and the universal planetary home.

A New Vision

Affixing the prefix *co* to *education* thus may signify not just education of both sexes in one place but, as Cooper argues, the education of both sexes situated interdependently within social relationships, political-economic systems, cultural diversity, and moral responsibilities that construct their differences from each other as well as their nation's character. Proposing coeducation as one nonviolent revolutionary strategy necessary for a republic's moral health, Wollstonecraft theorizes a multi-institutional, culturally complex context for coeducation, simultaneously private and public. Critical of private education, such as that advocated by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and of public education, such as that offered by unregulated residential schools, she nonetheless advocates coeducation that combines both sexes' education to love with both sexes' education to reason: the former within loving, egalitarian homes and the latter within government-financed day schools for the rich and poor of both sexes. But no less concerned about imperial economic oppression than about sexual oppression, Wollstonecraft casts severe doubt upon the notion that education can remedy social ills without revolutionary politics, recognizing print media and churches as consequential agents of public education (and miseducation).

More optimistic about coeducation's power to address social problems, Alcott's coeducational thought experiment revises Wollstonecraft's multi-institutional context by conceptually integrating an egalitarian home that teaches loving life-practices with an inclusive school that teaches academic subjects by Socratic

method into a single private institution with a public conscience: Plumfield (in the book *Little Men*). Less optimistically, Woolf acknowledges practical difficulties in establishing and changing higher education institutions for moral purposes, theorizes their complicities with fascism and war, and advocates anarchic emphasis on critical moral education about comparable tyrannies and servilities in both private house and public world. Much as Wollstonecraft, Alcott, and Cooper do, but with more theoretical elaboration, therefore, Woolf advocates women's conscientious educative participation in print media and other extra-institutional cultural activities as an unofficial "Society of Outsiders" that may distinctively foster a civilizing coeducational culture in which men and women learn to speak honestly with one another.

Most recently, Martin acknowledges coeducation's multi-institutional configuration and theorizes a broadly applicable "gender-sensitive educational ideal," proposing a new concept of multicultural public coeducational schooling, the "schoolhome," as a "moral equivalent of home"; advocating "actions great and small" that academic women might take to transform higher coeducation; and conceptualizing "multiple educational agency" as effective means of cultural transmission that require ongoing systematic moral evaluation.

Coeducational thought following Wollstonecraft has also addressed, from various perspectives, the ends and means she claims for coeducation: (1) to confound the sex distinction, (2) to renounce sex privilege and foster equality, (3) to cultivate friendly intersex mutuality, and (4) to value childrearing as educational work that requires educated intelligence and that, to be morally sound, must meet the equality and mutuality conditions. Controversies among many twentieth and twenty-first century coeducational theorists have in various ways, to different extents, and for diverse purposes addressed those four coeducational ends and means postulated by Wollstonecraft—controversies that coeducation's commoner thin sense mystifies.

Susan Laird

See also Women, Higher Education of

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COLORBLINDNESS

Colorblindness is an individual and social idea based upon two primary notions: (1) that to overtly ignore a person's race alleviates the possible racism that might otherwise operate and (2) that the equal opportunity structure of U.S. society means that failures among various racial groups to achieve can be best explained by deficiencies in individuals rather than by inequities that result from group membership. Notions of colorblindness operate throughout educational policies and in all levels of personnel. Its pervasiveness makes it a critical educational issue, both within individual classrooms and in the interactions between students and teachers, as well as in understanding educational policies such as "zero-tolerance" discipline approaches.

Many people believe that *colorblindness*—the idea that racial and/or ethnic group affinity ought to be irrelevant to how one is treated in social and interpersonal

interactions—is the natural response to *racism*, which is often defined as the antipathy for or inferiorization of other people based on race. The notion of operating from a colorblind point of view has a long history in the United States, the rhetoric for which can be found embedded in several important American ideals such as universal meritocracy and the idea that "all men are created equal."

These ideas are manifest in the Thirteenth Amendment ending slavery and the Fourteenth Amendment offering equal protection under the law to all U.S. citizens. Colorblindness is an ideology frequently held by individuals but one that also works at the level of social policy due in large part to this historical legacy and rhetorical confirmation.

Historical Origins of Social Applications

During slavery, racism was overt and emerged from the notion of genetic inferiority of Blacks and other non-White races. Also known as "evolutionary" racism, slavery-era racism grew and was legalized during the Jim Crow era, which saw the undoing of much of the progressive social policy found in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. With legalized segregation supported by the *Plessy v. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court decision, Blacks and other racial minorities began to protest and initiated court cases that challenged legalized segregation in various arenas of public life. These cases culminated in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which found that the separation was inherently unequal. The civil rights era continued, breaking down the practices of evolutionary racism and promoting Black empowerment.

Racism in the twentieth century did not ebb, however; rather, a new incarnation of racism emerged. Colorblind racism, or aversive racism, led to the public's rejection of overtly racist statements. Political movements of the late twentieth century, countering outright racist acts and beliefs, used as their foundation the liberal notion of impartial and equal treatment of individuals and led to the pervasive idea of individual merit as the primary determining factor in one's

success. Contemporary views of colorblindness arise from this set of beliefs. The dominant idea here was that if one could squelch racist laws by eliminating racist talk and the belief systems that underlie such ideas, then race would no longer matter and individuals could be judged as individuals separate from their racial category.

These hopes, however, did not become reality. In fact, some argue that colorblindness as a social policy has maintained and exacerbated racism to epidemic levels. With regard to educational practice, Michelle Moses argues that while the civil rights era initiated important programs in bilingual education, multicultural curricula, affirmative action in higher education admissions, and remedial education, colorblindness is an insufficient philosophical foundation upon which to maintain one's support of these important programs. Instead, she and other authors argue that the present problems with racism and racial discrimination in the United States, particularly those affecting education, require *race consciousness*, if social justice is to remain the ultimate aim.

Colorblindness at the Individual Level

Colorblindness is also a philosophical and attitudinal position held by individuals. People working from a colorblind point of view generally believe that the safest interpersonal policy is not to notice or acknowledge someone's race; they claim that operating from a "colorblind" point of view inoculates them from possibly enacting deep-seeded racism. Essentially, a colorblind point of view purports to be an antiracist point of view. Thus, people working from this perspective may say to someone of color, "You're just my friend, I don't even notice that you're _____ (fill in race)."

Rather than reflecting an authentic, cultivated antiracist stance, Beverly Daniel Tatum argues that a colorblind perspective is more about civility and manners. She suggests that colorblind individuals have primarily learned that it is impolite to mention or discuss race, thus avoiding talk about race altogether. Such an outcome is only one of several detrimental results that multiculturalists commonly argue arises from harboring a "colorblind" perspective.

In addition to the taboo that is placed upon race and racial talk and dramatically limiting individuals' ability to explore this pressing educational and personal issue, colorblindness denies that race as a social construct (versus a biological one) influences the quality of one's life experience. If social conditions such as race no longer exist in a qualitative way, then colorblindness holds that essentially "we are all just individuals." Arising from this perspective is the idea that when people of color do not succeed, it must be due to individual deficits rather than the differential quality of educational, social, political, and economic resources and experiences that people of color endure. It purports that racial discrimination has ended and that racism is no longer problematic in U.S. society.

In addition, in this point of view intent, rather than effects, is emphasized, which puts enormous burden on the victims of racism to prove their case, while offering near immunity to transgressors because of a built-in benefit of the doubt. If, for instance, a colorblind individual says something a person of color finds racist, the colorblind person simply says "I couldn't possibly have meant that statement in that way, I'm colorblind to racial differences. We're all just human." Thus the victim of the racial epithet is left with the responsibility of defending the position in a nearly impossible situation.

Equally problematic is that colorblindness tends to "see" other racial groups while remaining blind to White as a racial category, effectively limiting the type of intense self-examination that most multiculturalists agree is key for White people in order to unlearn racism. Consequently, when mainstream Whiteness is not interrogated, mainstream culture is reified and assimilation becomes the key practice in creating racial integration, an idea that most multiculturalists would find deeply problematic.

Perhaps most damaging is the concomitant claim in colorblindness that color consciousness and race consciousness are inherently racist. Using the White supremacist as their example of an individual who is racially conscious, colorblind individuals suggest that to acknowledge race means to operate with antipathy and inferiorization as primary principles. Multiculturalists calling for race consciousness argue that instead of

replacing “evolutionary” or overt racism with the equally powerful yet more subtle form of colorblindness, U.S. society should move toward acknowledging the ways in which race influences the lives people lead and promote the ability to discuss openly these effects so that authentic solutions to the problem of racial segregation, discrimination, and hatred can be found.

Understood by some as progressive social policy, the notion of colorblindness is a historically charged, individually and socially detrimental ideology that is often used to frame educational policy. Ostensibly, colorblindness argues for omitting race as one among many factors when allocating educational resources. Such a position may appear like good policy for educational decision making. However, in a society where racism exists in countless ways and is prevalent throughout all public spheres, the notion of retreating from using race is completely implausible, if not impossible. Colorconsciousness, rather than colorblindness, is the educational policy that actually contains the greatest power in addressing the most pressing issues of educational equity that continue to worsen over time.

Sue Ellen Henry

See also Antiracist Education

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COMMERCIALIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Over the past two decades, business leaders have gradually instituted commercial logics and practices across the educational landscape for the purposes of making a profit, attracting a generation of loyal customers, and creating a positive image of the corporate involvement in social affairs. The commercial involvement in schooling has had a profound influence on how educators, students, and the general public view the purpose of schooling, on the state's role in relationship to its citizens and institutions, and on the nature of life inside classrooms. This entry examines the constitutive forces behind the commercialization of schools; documents how commercial imperatives are altering institutions of higher education, specific programs such as teacher education, and K–12 schools; and documents how educators, socially conscious students, and concerned citizens have taken action against this trend.

The Roots of Commercialization

The commercialization of schools is not a new phenomenon; businesses leaders have earned a profit from selling textbooks for many decades. However, a new tide of corporate involvement began in the 1970s and 1980s. During the Ronald Reagan administration, the Commission on Excellence in Education prepared a report, *A Nation at Risk* (1983), which found that U.S. students had fallen behind their counterparts elsewhere in academic achievement and placed the blame on schools. Critics of the report said that it unfairly targeted schools for outcomes that were really owing to the globalization of capital and deindustrialization.

From this point forward, a marked shift took place in the influence corporations would have in the domain of schooling. Under conservative administrations in the 1980s and 1990s, Western governments cut funding to their public school systems, which opened avenues for increased corporate involvement in the education system. Increasingly, educational institutions turned to corporations for funding, resources, and guidance. In the case of underfunded K–12 schools and urban

community colleges, this outside funding was needed to meet students' basic needs. In the case of public colleges and universities, these business linkages were needed to remain on a par with competing private institutions across the region or country.

Commercialization and Higher Education

Within the context of higher education, corporate policies, practices, and market ideologies have braided together to infiltrate all aspects of campus life. For instance, many public institutions of higher education in the United States have lost significant amounts of funding from state governments and face strong competition for student dollars from the growing pool of for-profit higher-education institutions. University administrators are compelled to base hiring decisions, the utility of academic programs, faculty research, and student learning with a "bottom line" mentality. Not coincidentally, contingent adjunct faculty members are growing as the dominant teaching force; teaching assistants are used to replace full-time faculty members; prospective faculty are compelled to secure grants to obtain tenure-track positions; and programs that are not economically attractive are generally eliminated.

Meanwhile, university personnel often feel pressured to treat their students as "customers." They must meet student demands or face the possibility of losing needed resources with their institution, which may translate into losing their own positions. Since students have often come to view education as merely another commodity, deeming education as important to the extent it provides value in the marketplace, faculty modify their pedagogy to keep them "happy." They teach students what they find practical, rather than preparing them to become active citizens in the pursuit of forging a society predicated on justice and democracy.

Teacher Education

Looking more specifically at one academic program, teacher education, provides a view of how corporate dominance is now woven into the fabric of higher

education. Over the past decade, business and government leaders have instituted an array of business-oriented policies and practices for the purposes of making a profit and blocking teacher educators from guiding pre-service and in-service teachers to challenge institutional forms of oppression inside and outside of their classrooms.

For example, in 2001, President George W. Bush, with support from corporate leaders, proposed and later implemented the No Child Left Behind Act, which has had the effect of linking K–12 teaching expertise with mastering a fixed body of knowledge on corporate-sponsored examinations. While corporations gain financially from the standardization of teaching "expertise" by producing "teacher-proof" curricula, teacher educators are in turn compelled to redirect their pedagogies. This is done by forcing them to focus on helping students who plan to be teachers to internalize the basic facts and skills needed to pass certification examinations and demonstrate potentially questionable "accomplished practices" in the classroom instead of creating pedagogical projects that help future teachers become better teachers.

Likewise, teacher accreditation agencies, such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), have supported a market-driven approach to teacher education. They support Bush's NCLB and aim to regulate teacher-educators' labor in a similar manner. Such accreditation agencies envision teaching and learning as exercises with simple, quantifiable "outcomes," while concomitantly instituting learning standards that keep in-service and pre-service teachers from examining the social, philosophical, and historical dimensions of schooling.

Many corporations have also been behind the proliferation of market-driven teacher programs instituted across North America. For example, corporations, such as Kaplan Inc. and Sylvan Education Solutions, have designed technical coursework, computerized examinations, and professional development initiatives to help in-service and pre-service teachers earn their teaching credentials as quickly as possible. Schools of education and other corporate conglomerates have created similar, fast-track, alternative route programs. As a result, many future teachers are earning credentials without

taking *any* courses that might help them orchestrate classroom practices which might reveal or discuss social and economic inequalities.

K–12 Schooling

Irrespective of context, the vast majority of schools in North America have been forced to secure resources from corporations to meet students' needs. In exchange for monetary compensation, school districts have given corporations the exclusive rights to sell, market, and advertise their products to teachers and students.

Private firms have promised the antidote to decaying public schools and communities. They have gone into the business of building, financing, and wiring new, state-of-the-art schools in economically depressed areas. Corporate leaders argue that building technologically enhanced institutions will help marginalized students and communities lift themselves out of poverty. These school structures, however, may be challenged to overcome conditions such as urban blight, crime, and violence, or to destroy institutional practices that inhibit the educational performance of marginalized youth.

Reaction

Some working-class people and educators have argued that commercial involvement in schools is part of a much larger agenda to commodify all social life. On a large scale, global citizens have protested against international policies and institutions that have supported commercial over public interests, such as the WTO (World Trade Organization), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). On a micro-level of education, teacher unions, other labor councils, and socially conscious university students in Canada and the United States have written position papers, launched strikes and demonstrations, and adopted policies that oppose corporate involvement in public schools. Finally, teacher educators, schoolteachers, progressive organizations, and concerned parents have created online resources, hosted international conferences, and developed curricula aimed at challenging these

forces and reconstituting the notion of education as a public good.

Bradley Porfilio

See also Charter Schools

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COMMITTEE OF EIGHT

In 1905, the American Historical Association commissioned the first conference on the teaching of history in American elementary schools. The resultant report was titled, *The Study of History in Elementary Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Eight* (1912). It advanced a plan that increased the number of hours devoted to teaching elementary history, with a clear emphasis on U.S. history.

In the early 1900s, the teaching of history in U.S. primary grades remained largely unexplored. The reports of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven, other American Historical Association committees, which researched secondary school history teaching, served as blueprints for this later investigation of history teaching in elementary schools.

The Committee of Eight employed novel social science methods for its study of elementary history teaching methods. The Committee of Eight sent circulars of inquiry to approximately three hundred superintendents of schools throughout the United States and examined the replies, analyzing the existing condition of elementary history teaching. Suggestions and recommendations were made to enhance the teaching of history in first through eighth grades. Members of the Committee of Eight included James Alton James, Henry E. Bourne, Eugene C. Brooks, Mabel Hill, Julius Sachs, Wilbur Gordy, J. H. VanSickle, and Henry W. Thurston.

Chara Haeussler Bohan

See also Educational Research, History of

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COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN

In 1893, the National Educational Association (NEA) established the Committee of Fifteen, whose purpose was to revise the elementary curriculum in American public schools in much the same way that the NEA's Committee of Ten was revising the secondary school curriculum. Groups such as the American Herbartians, under the leadership of Francis W. Parker and Frank and Charles De Garmo, called for an elementary school curriculum that was child centered and focused on the moral development of the child. More conservative approaches, led by figures such as William Torrey Harris, argued that the curriculum should be primarily

concerned with preparing the child for his or her place in society.

The arguments of the committee are important in that they reflected tensions at work within American schools that would be debated for years to come. Should the schools and their curriculum focus first and foremost on the development of the child, or should they simply train students to meet the basic social needs of the culture? The conservative, less child-oriented stance predominated, setting a tone for years to come, and was further reinforced by the social efficiency movement, which viewed schools as “factories” that turned out students to meet the commercial and cultural needs of American society.

While on the surface, the decisions of the Committee of Fifteen may seem obscure, they represent the codification of an important trend in the history of American education—one involving the emphasis in public education on the needs of society to predominate over the needs of the personal development and growth of the child. This trend has continued into the contemporary era, as manifested in recent educational reforms such as the No Child Left Behind legislation.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Committee of Ten; National Education Association

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COMMITTEE OF SEVEN

The Committee of Seven's (1896–1899) report, titled *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Seven*, had a significant and lasting impact on the practice of history and social education in American schools. Concerned about the status of historical studies in secondary education, August F. Nightingale, Chairman of the National Education Association's Committee on College Entrance Requirements, asked historians at the 1896 meeting of the American

Historical Association to provide a report detailing the practice of teaching history in American schools. As its charter, the committee planned to make recommendations about the teaching of history and to foster more uniformity in secondary school history.

A committee was appointed, and to make an accurate evaluation, they conducted a nationwide survey of the subject of history in schools, analyzed the resultant data, and made appropriate recommendations based upon the social science findings. The Committee of Seven considered the scope and sequence of history offerings in secondary schools and suggested college entrance requirements. The report recommended a four-year course of study that included ancient history, medieval and modern European history, English history, American history, and civil government. The report also proposed that amount of time students engaged in historical studies increase and supported a broadened conception of citizenship. The report had a lasting impact upon historical studies in secondary schools, as a four-year course of study remains typical of many curriculum offerings.

Members of the committee, all members of the American Historical Association, were: Andrew McLaughlin (chairman), Herbert B. Adams, George L. Fox, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles H. Haskins, H. Morse Stephens, and Lucy M. Salmon. Six members were prominent historians. George L. Fox, Headmaster of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, Connecticut, was the only individual practicing in a secondary school. The only woman on the committee, Lucy Maynard Salmon, was chair of the history department at Vassar College.

Chara Haeussler Bohan

See also Citizenship Education; National Education Association

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COMMITTEE OF TEN

The Committee of Ten was convened in 1892 by the National Education Association. The purpose of the committee was to develop recommendations for a standardized high school curriculum. Leading educators of the time were worried that too great a degree of variance existed in basic high school curricula across the country, resulting in a lack of consensus on what an educated person should know and generating confusion in college entrance requirements. Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, was appointed chair of the task force. All but one member, William Harris, then U.S. Commissioner of Education, were at the time college/university presidents or secondary school principals or headmasters.

Nine subcommittees were formed, each to study a specific academic area: Latin, Greek, English, other modern languages, mathematics, physical sciences (physics, astronomy, chemistry), natural sciences (biology, botany, zoology, physiology), civics (history, civil government and political economy), and geography (physical geography, geology, meteorology). Each of the subcommittees was comprised of ten members, mostly college professors or presidents and secondary-school principals and headmasters. Per the guidelines of the Committee of Ten, each of the subcommittees convened three-day conferences in separate cities (except for Latin and Greek, both of which met in Ann Arbor, Michigan) from December 28–30, 1892. The conferences were designed so that each subcommittee would respond to a standard set of eleven questions regarding how a course of study should be designed and implemented at the secondary school level. Each subcommittee was to produce a conference report for the committee based on the assigned questions.

The conference reports were submitted to the committee in October 1893. Chairman Eliot prepared a draft report, and in November 1893 the Committee of Ten met at Columbia University in New York City to prepare the final draft, which included a minority report authored by James Baker, president of the University of Colorado. The final report was the subject of much discussion from the moment it was released. The initial circulation of 30,000 copies, published by the U.S.

Bureau of Education, was distributed free of charge. An additional 10,000 copies were published and sold out within six years.

The final report included multiple sample courses of study. Committee recommendations included the amount of time spent per day, week, and year on each subject, as well as the proportion of time that each subject should occupy in the high school curriculum. These recommendations influenced later work by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching that resulted in the standard unit of credit for high school work. Though ostensibly a project designed to recommend standardization in the high school curriculum, the final report included recommendations for the first eight years of schooling in preparation for high school. The report was noted for the recommendation that all students in a high school, whether college-bound or not, should take the same course of study.

Greg Dubrow

See also Committee of Fifteen; National Education Association

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COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

The idea of community of practice (CoP) has been appropriated by agencies whose enterprise is concerned with teacher education. Its use as a unit of analysis has been limited. However, the Finnish activity theorist, Yrjö Engeström, has developed a theory of activity systems that may be useful for modeling a CoP. Engeström argues that a CoP is an activity system by another name. Members of an activity system transform the shared objects to produce individual and shared

outcomes, learn to solve problems that disrupt their activity, transform existing practices, and develop new practices to sustain the activity system. This entry looks at the theoretical background of these ideas and then examines their implementation in education.

Intellectual Roots

Since the early 1900s, behaviorism, led by Edward Thorndike and B. F. Skinner, and social constructionism, led by John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky, have competed to influence the education of children and teachers. Behaviorists view learning as a process of enhancing individual cognition *inside* the heads of individual learners and reduce the learning environment to a minor role. Teaching is understood as the transmission of skills and subject matter to learners through instructional scripts and repeated exposure. The focus of instruction is on engaging learners in attending, listening, viewing, reading, and recalling, and processing information taken in. Assessment of learning is usually based on criterion-referenced, norm-referenced, and high-stakes tests.

Learning to teach is generally conceptualized as the sequential mastery of decontextualized skills and subject matter presumed to enable the performance of behaviors associated with effective teaching. The certification of teachers is based on standardized measures of subject matter and pedagogy and the evaluation of artifacts produced during courses, field experiences, and student teaching.

In contrast, social constructionists view learning as the outcome of participation in socially organized, goal-oriented activity. Learners interact with their environment, indicate to themselves what information is important, and construct its meaning through social interaction with others. Material and social resources *outside* the individual are given primacy. Learning is understood as the internalization of cognitive structures located, first, in the structures of social interactions. The process of internalization hierarchically restructures the contents of memory and cognitive processes. Teaching is conceived as arranging the distribution of learning resources so that they are accessible to learners and coordinating social interactions among learners.

Although behaviorism has exerted the most influence on education, educational theory and practice have been making a gradual turn to a social constructionist view. Based on the work of John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky, a family of theories has emerged that include sociocultural studies, distributed cognition, community of learners, situativity, and community of practice. Common threads of these theories include the ideas that (a) learning is accomplished through participation in activity that emphasizes social and environmental factors, (b) learning and development are the outcomes of culturally mediated (tool-mediated) activity, (c) learning occurs across multiple contexts, and (d) knowledge is created in communities.

Definitions

The current interest in CoP has been energized by the Institute for Research in Learning at Stanford University and the work of Jean Lave, Etienne Wenger, Ann Brown, and Joseph Campione. While the others were more interested in adult learning, Brown and Campione were interested in explaining classroom learning. Broadly conceived, the idea of CoP represents the fusion of two concepts, community and practice, to explain learning and development.

Community

The origin of community is Latin, *communitatem* and *communitas*, meaning community and fellowship, and *communis*, meaning common, public and shared by many. The meaning of *community* evolved in a variety of senses (e.g., coming together; unity of collective will; holding something in common, such as interests, goods, and identity; and bringing forth a feeling of agreement and a unified participation). Communities have often been referred to as thought communities, communities of concept users, discourse communities, speech communities, virtual communities, communities of reflective practitioners, communities of memory, and communities of practice.

The German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies described two kinds of communities. *Gemeinschaft*

communities are informal communities constituted of informal, self-regulated collective relationships. Members, who are inducted informally, share common values, rituals, and meanings and engage in cooperative activity to attain a common goal. Examples of informal communities include collectors of baseball cards, dance clubs, little league baseball teams, community bands, and bowling leagues. Informal communities regulate themselves on the local level.

In contrast, *gesellschaft* communities involve contractually coordinated, formal relationships. Members are inducted formally. The most common idea of a formal community refers to the aggregate practices of a professional group. The group displays a sign pointing to the professional activity in which it engages, for example, the practice of law, medicine, or architecture. Communities such as departments of education, safety, health, and schools are communities legislated and funded by the public to assist in meeting needs of the public. Services and goods provided by formal communities have value and meet standards generally set by the larger professional communities to which they belong. The larger professional communities are responsible for their codification and certification and are empowered to evaluate and sanction performance.

Practices

Practices are observable actions. However, not all actions are practices. Swerving a car to miss a pothole and dashing to the sink to turn off the spigot before the sink overflows are responses to environmental stimuli rather than practices. Greeting a dinner guest by saying, "Come in! We are glad you could come!" or the habits of an actor preparing for a role are practices. Institutions, such as schools, are constituted of practices, for example, organizing students by grade levels, changing classes, assigning lockers to students, requiring students to take end-of-semester exams. Examples of teacher practices include writing interim reports, completing report cards, and convening parent-teacher conferences and back-to-school nights. As practices are repeated again and again, they come to be expected to normatively recur.

Characteristics of Community of Practice

A CoP is a cultural-historical-social space defined by a set of shared objects that glue its members together and provide direction for its central activity and by the *practices* that mediate its activity. Members of different backgrounds, professional preparation, and expertise complement each other as they enact practices to accomplish personal and collective goals. A common discourse coordinates the activity of members and brings forth the thoughts, actions, values, attitudes, and objects for the generation of practice. The discourse provides a framework for what thinking, speaking, and writing counts as meaningful, expected, and acceptable performance, and provides opportunities for members to make their knowledge and skill explicit, to argue, and to challenge each other's beliefs.

The membership of a CoP reflects levels of expertise, ranging from that of novices to experts. Categories such as old timer and newcomer are ways of organizing mutual participation rather than identifying levels of performance. The desire of novices to increase their skill levels and understandings leads to their acquisition of new practices.

There is an explicit and agreed-upon relationship between the newcomer seeking membership in a CoP and an old timer of the community. The old timer possesses a license to interpret and evaluate the performance of the newcomer in relation to the performance of practices of the CoP. In turn, the newcomers agree to be apprenticed to and evaluated by the old timer. Apprenticed participation provides members with identities, tool kits, ideologies, discourses, values, and ways of thinking that characterize one as a practicing member of the particular CoP.

Teacher Education

Teacher education is an enterprise that involves movement back and forth across contextual boundaries. Institutions of higher education and local education agencies collaborate to arrange university and classroom experiences that provide teacher education students with learning experiences across multiple contexts. The CoP of teacher education is organized to

develop and implement teacher education programs and to communicate about teacher education in ways that make sense to prospective teachers, classroom teachers, researchers, policy makers, and the public. The CoP of classroom teaching is organized to provide pupils with learning experiences leading to the attainment of educational outcomes. Both CoPs collaborate to provide the route by which teacher education students acquire teaching practices.

The practice and practices of classroom teaching include most everything teachers do that contributes to their planning and interactions with students; their interactions with colleagues, administrators, and parents; and what they think, believe, and value about professional teaching. The major practices of classroom teaching are to (a) provide instruction, (b) establish meaningful relationships with students, (c) develop meaningful relationships with colleagues and administrators, (d) establish meaningful relationships with parents, (e) maintain continuous professional growth and development, (f) engage in reflection, (g) and transform practices.

Teaching practices are enacted by the application of the common declarative (what), procedural (how), and conditional (when and why) knowledge to accomplish bundles of tasks. Classroom teaching provides a good example of practices. As an illustration, the practice of providing classroom instruction is expected of teachers of every subject matter at every level of schooling. Planning is accomplished by skill in coordinating the application of declarative, procedural, and conditional knowledge necessary to accomplish a bundle of *tasks* that include (a) deciding about goals of instruction, (b) determining students' instructional needs and learner characteristics, (c) deciding what to teach and how much time to allocate for instruction, (d) identifying students' instructional levels, (e) selecting instructional materials and strategies, (f) grouping students for instruction, (g) deciding how to measure the effects of instruction, and (h) anticipating problems that might occur during the lesson and planning solutions that are held in abeyance.

An Activity System by Another Name

Teacher education and teacher education candidates' acquisition of teaching practices are the outcomes of

collaboration between two CoPs, the university and a local school. The professional trajectory of prospective teachers is a gradual transition from peripheral participation to full participation in professional practices. In the beginning, core education foundations courses and early field experiences, followed by methods courses and clinical teaching experiences, and student teaching enable prospective teachers to begin their participation in both CoPs. Their professional trajectory moves on to a beginning teacher-induction period that is often supported with a teacher-support network that opens the gateway to a professional teaching career.

Yrjö Engeström argues that a CoP is actually an activity system that is organized around the shared objects of its central activity. The shared objects shape and provide direction for individual and collective activity. Figure 1 applies Engeström's model to two interacting CoPs collaborating on teacher education.

As can be seen, the mediating components of each CoP include: (a) *members*, the diverse subgroups and individuals who transform the shared objects into collectively and personally shared outcomes; (b) *objects* consist of the material, ideal, and social material that is transformed into outcomes; (c) *outcomes*, the collectively and individually expected and desired products produced and received by members; (d) *tools*, the set of instrumental and psychological tools used by members to mediate activity directed toward objects; (e) *division of labor*, the organization and roles of members and what tasks are performed, by whom, when, how, and where; (f) *rules and procedures*, the explicit and implicit rules and procedures that coordinate performances and govern interactions within, between, and among CoPs; and (g) the *community of practice*, all members who share the outcomes and values of the main activity. In addition to collaborating on teacher education, both CoPs interact with a diverse group of

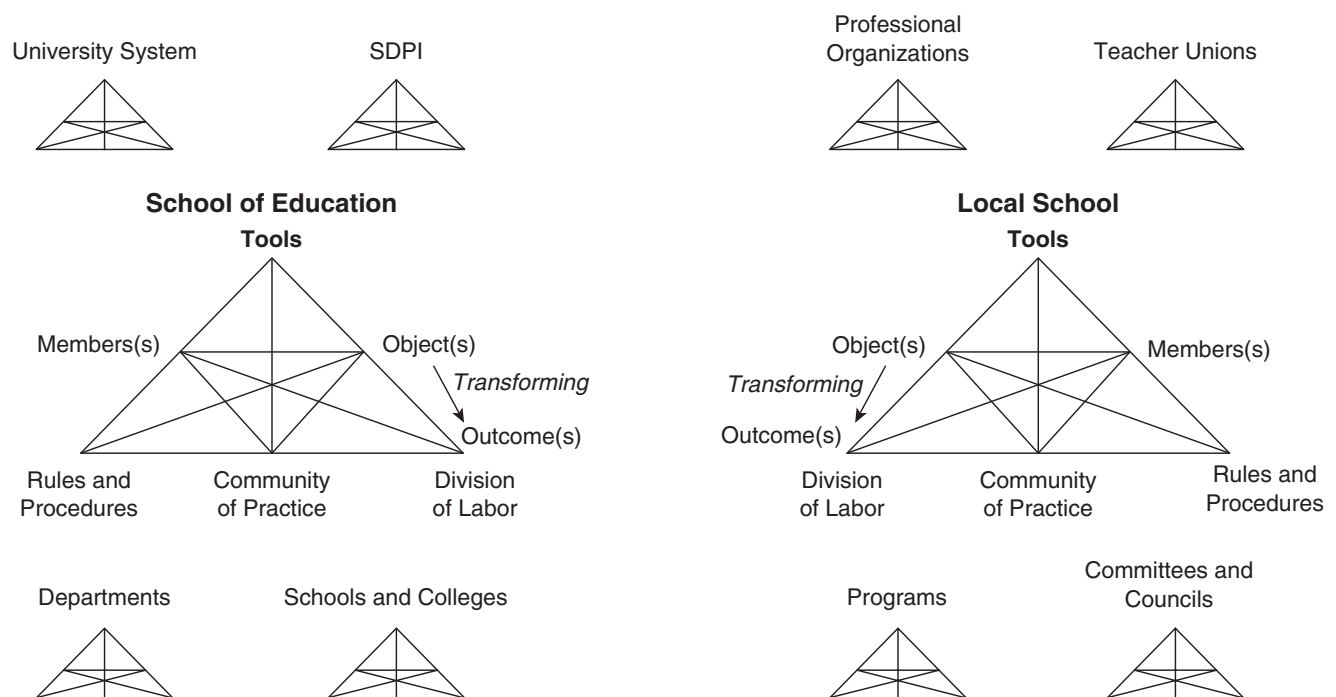


Figure 1 Interacting Communities of Practice

local and distant CoPs that affect their individual activity and their collaboration on teacher education.

Figure 2 provides a model of the teacher education program as a CoP. As can be seen, the main outcome is certified beginning teachers who can enact the practices of professional classroom teaching. The objects to be transformed into outcomes are undergraduates who seek teacher certification, information, experience, understanding, reflection, and social justice. The tool set used to mediate transformation of objects into outcomes include a conceptual framework; professional discourse; state and national assessment tools; portfolio assessment; telecommunications; digital technology; multimedia; and a database management system for analyzing data, developing reports for state and national agencies, and archiving artifacts created by undergraduates of the program. The curriculum is aligned with national and state standards. Rules and procedures are comprised of traditional academic rules, compliance with national and state

standards, performance of supervised field experiences and student teaching, and the presentation of a professional portfolio by undergraduates. The division of labor includes university and school of education faculties, departments, committees, and school of education professors who assume the role of professors-in-residence at the school site and supervise field experiences and student teaching, and cooperating classroom teachers who are trained to provide clinical supervision to apprentice undergraduates. The members of the CoP consist of all the subgroups with a central interest in or a key responsibility in the teacher education program and its outcomes.

Figure 3 models the local school collaborating with the teacher education program. Like most schools, the expected outcomes include improved basic knowledge and skills underlying performance on statewide measures of achievement and an in-service education program to improve classroom teaching. The objects to be transformed include students and

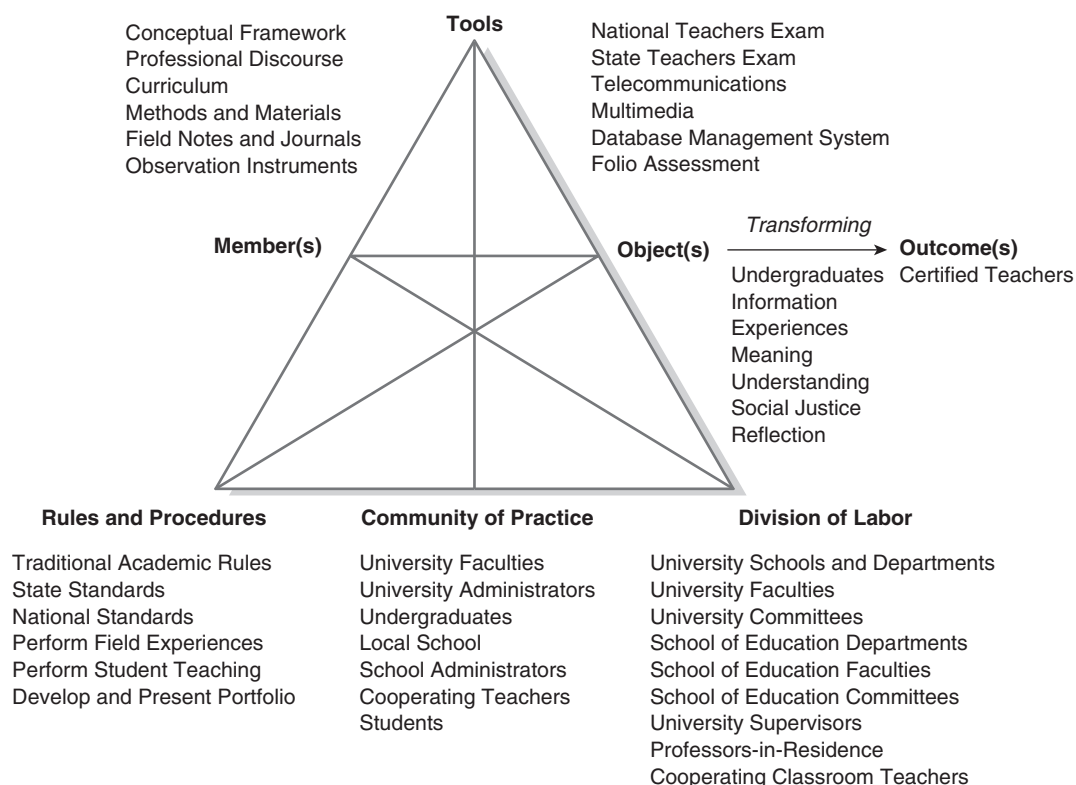


Figure 2 Teacher Education Program

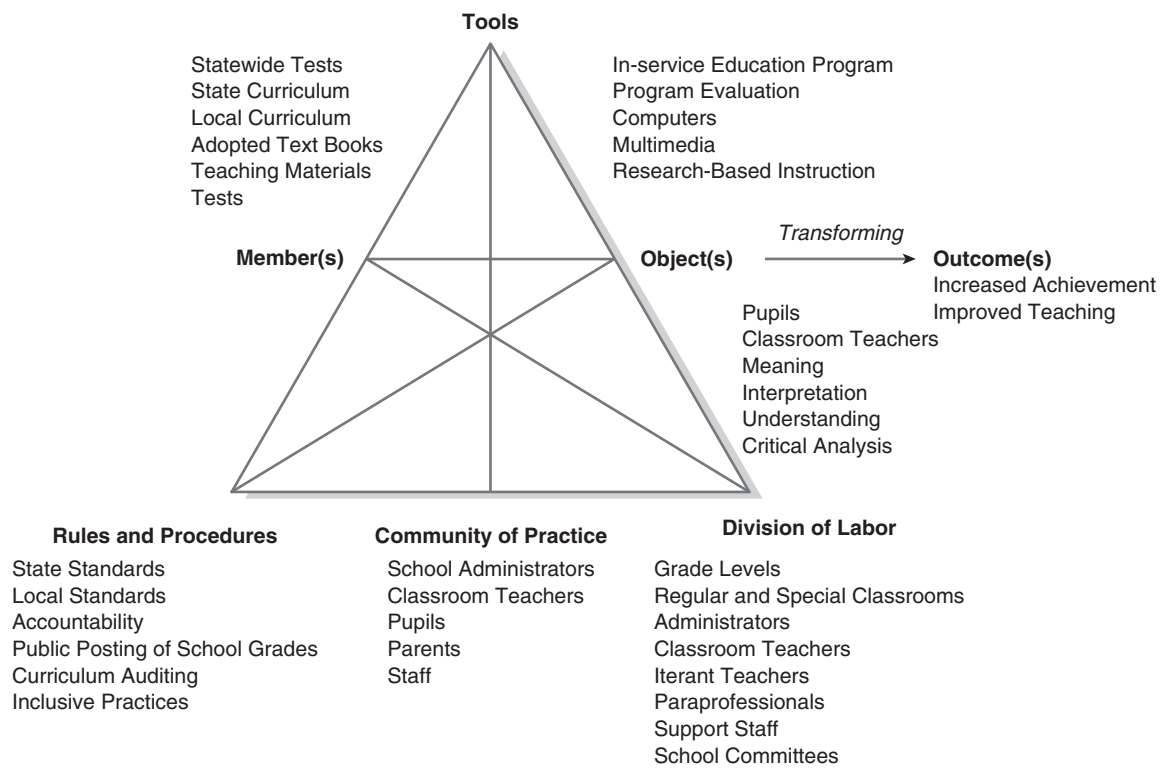


Figure 3 Local School

classroom teachers, meaning, interpretation, understanding, and critical analysis. The rules and procedures governing the CoP include the requirement that instruction focuses on state standards; schools receive publicly posted grades based on the performance of students on statewide achievement test performance, curriculum auditing, and inclusive practices. Tools include a system for evaluating the professional performance of teachers, statewide criterion- and norm-referenced tests, research-based instruction, curriculum, local testing program, in-service education, computers, and, multimedia.

Communities of practice and their collaboration are not tranquil and stable states. Disequilibrium and perpetual change is more like their normal state. They are riddled with problems created by the dynamics inherent in social systems. Communities of practices are constantly colliding with each other, creating endless issues that must be resolved.

Contradictions, disruptions, and breakdowns occur between the components mediating their activity and must constantly be repaired. The multiple intentions and motivations of individual and collective members who share the same resources are also problematic. The engine that transforms and sustains CoPs is fueled by motivation of their members to collectively learn, invent, and import innovations to repair breakdowns and ruptures, problems, and resolve critical issues.

In summary, the CoP concept is built on a rich intellectual tradition. The application of Engeström's activity system model to teacher education is useful for understanding the inner workings of CoPs and their collaboration in teacher preparation. The model provides a way for researchers and evaluators to analyze the contradictions, breakdowns, and disruptions and shuttle qualitative and quantitative data back and forth to explain how CoPs attain or fail to attain their outcomes

as they churn through cycles of transformation and expansion and sustain themselves.

*William E. Blanton, Adriana Medina,
and Paola Pilonieta*

See also Teacher Preparation

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COMPANY-SPONSORED SCHOOLING

Beginning in the early nineteenth century and ending only after World War II, American companies frequently engaged in industrial welfare plans that included extraordinary investments in company-sponsored education. Industrial towns, with company houses, churches, recreation, and medical care, dotted the American landscape. Still, the most expensive and significant welfare programs involved company schools, which made a significant contribution to the history of education in the United States. They also helped provide a relatively smooth transition from an agrarian past to an industrial future. This entry recounts their history and assesses their impact.

Educating Good Workers

In 1913, a number of interested companies formed the National Association of Corporation Schools, an organization supporting the educational efforts of businesses as diverse as the Colorado Fuel and Iron in Colorado; Ellsworth Collieries and Cambria Steel Companies in New Jersey; Akron Iron in Buchtel, Ohio; the huge Piedmont and Pelzer textile manufacturing plants in South Carolina; and the Red Jacket Consolidated Coal and Coke Company in West Virginia. These and many other companies operated their schools to reduce absenteeism and turnover, increase workplace efficiency, defeat union organizing campaigns, and raise the moral quality of their workers. The children enjoyed what seemed to be an unalloyed benefit of free schooling, but it was often an education that also increased dependence on a single industry and failed to provide skills and knowledge that might have been taken elsewhere.

Many company schools began with a sponsored kindergarten program. Company and school officials recognized that education would be most effective if

children were brought into the system at the earliest possible age, even in industrial sites such as coal mining that generally offered little work to women, who were free to stay home with their children. In addition, many industrialists recognized that their workplaces would later be more stable if the language barriers between immigrant workers could be removed. The kindergartens provided an opportunity for students, at the best possible age, to be immersed in English.

Following kindergarten, children often found themselves in company schools whose primary purpose was not general education but the teaching of the proper “habits of industry,” deference to authority, and appreciation for efficiency on the job. These attributes became more crucial as technological and managerial advances allowed for the increasing recruitment of unskilled or semiskilled workers. Tending dirty and dangerous machines, these employees engaged in often repetitive and boring hours of work, which created an immediate need for “industrial discipline.” Company officials throughout the country discovered that six or seven years in their schools could develop in children the discipline they needed to complete their work, and to do so while becoming progressively more efficient and loyal.

Seeing these advantages, hundreds of industrialists made substantial investments in company schools. They built the schools, often immediately next to the factory; set the curriculum; and hired, trained, and paid the teachers who often lived on the factory premises in boarding houses or “teacherages.” In many cases, company officials also helped to write or design books that instructed students on typical school subjects, but in the context of the industry itself. Cotton mill workers, for example, learned math—but often only by calculating answers to practice problems that foreshadowed the work they would soon face in the mills. In every instance, company officials kept a close eye on expenditures and the effect their investments were having on the transformation of their employees into efficient, loyal, and docile workers.

Evaluating Outcomes

The quality of company education is difficult to assess. Still, evidence suggests that while company schooling

was quite effective in creating workers with the proper respect for work and authority, students gained very little beyond basic literacy in most cases. The schools were often poorly maintained, and in many cases the teachers had little or no training that might prepare them for their work with the students.

The teaching staff was also completely aware of its mission, and comprehensive general education was a fortunate byproduct for a few, not a goal of the schools or the companies involved. To compound the problem, company schools often operated on an abbreviated schedule—sometimes for only three or four months a year—and children were routinely pulled out of class to assist in the mines or mills if there was a sudden demand for more labor.

Finally, many students had no opportunity to pursue an education beyond the eighth grade. Companies often did not provide schools beyond this level because they needed the children to go to work, and many officials feared that education beyond the eighth grade might prepare students for jobs other than in the sponsoring industries. When students did have a chance for further education, it tended to be some form of advanced manual or vocational training that was suited for the particular industry that provided the opportunity. The huge Parker School District in Greenville, South Carolina, for example, featured a three-story cotton mill on its campus. Students were expected to be cotton millhands.

No discussion of industrial schooling can ignore the role of company libraries. Often reflecting the desire to “Americanize” immigrant workers, as well as ease the strain of industrial work and life, company libraries became a characteristic feature of many welfare plans. Some were small operations, while others held as many as 45,000 volumes and were operated out of the company schools. In most of these libraries, of course, the selection of books and magazines remained the prerogative of company officials, and most of the books appear to have been works of simple fiction or biographies, with a strong emphasis on “Horatio Alger” stories from which patrons learned that with the proper attitude toward work, thrift, and family, workers could rise from modest beginnings to prosperity. Naturally, of course, any literature that

suggested a hint of support for organized labor or socialism was excluded, but even many other sources of ideas, such as *Harper's Weekly*, often failed to pass management censorship restrictions.

While most of the old company-owned schools are now gone, even today companies continue to educate by offering on-site courses in technical trades and vocational studies, while significantly supporting local community colleges as well. Through their efforts, working-class children by the millions have learned to adapt to the new demands of industrial life and work, and scores of companies have discovered the importance of specialized education for even the youngest of children.

Bart Dredge

See also Education, History of; Libraries, History of

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to the work of Parisian Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775–1848). Sometimes referred to as the "father of comparative education," he compiled data about education across Europe and developed a plan to promote international data collection and analysis to guide educational reform, that is, to address the problem that the physical, moral, and intellectual dimensions of schooling do not meet the needs of young people or their nations. Jullien developed a method of collecting statistics through distribution of a questionnaire to government ministries that became the compiling descriptive statistics by contemporary international agencies, such as UNESCO and OECD.

In Asia, however, the field is said to have emerged during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE to 220 CE) and the Tang Dynasty (618–906 CE) in China, given that educational ideas and practices were borrowed and lent across nations in the region. Moreover, the scholarly study of education in other countries was initiated in 1849 by Xue Funcheng, who delineated the educational system in four countries to inform Chinese educational policy in line with broader moves to reestablish economic prosperity and political stability in the wake of China's defeat by Western forces in the first opium war in 1840.

The distinction in origins of the field is not only one of geography but also one of definition and identity—that is, what constitutes activity in and who should be considered a member of comparative and international education.

COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The field of comparative and international education has a long history, although some argue that it is still in search of a distinct identity. This entry describes the individuals, organizations, and issues that have shaped the field, creating the problem or advantage of its multiple identities.

Historical Roots

In most North American and European literature, the field of comparative and international education is traced

Traditions and Identity Sources

One source of identity for the field involves "travelers," who wrote up more or less systematic and in-depth "tales" of their visits to one or more countries with the intent to encourage compatriots to "borrow" the good ideas and practices they observed. An American, Horace Mann, would be a good example of this type of effort, focusing on European societies during the first half of the nineteenth century. Similarly, Englishmen Matthew Arnold and Michael Sadler and Russian Leo Tolstoy traveled abroad to observe educational systems in other countries and document their findings at home. Sadler's writing was distinct, in that he advocated against borrowing organizational and methodological

educational elements from other country systems, arguing that such elements could not be divorced from their local context for use in another country context.

A second identity source for the field is associated with scholars based in Europe and North America during the first half of the twentieth century—Nicholas Hans, Isaac Kandel, Friedrich Schneider, and Robert Ulrich. They—as well as Ruth Hayhoe and Edmund King in the second half of the twentieth century—employed an idealist, humanist approach to investigate ideas and forms of education across countries in an attempt to illuminate historical trends in school systems within societal contexts. Their concern was less with borrowing educational ideas than with understanding how over time education systems are connected to societies in which they are located.

A third identity source is that associated with C. Arnold Anderson, Mary Jean Bowman, George Bereday, William Cummings, Max Eckstein, Erwin Epstein, and Harold Noah, who styled themselves as practitioners of the (social) science of comparative education. For them, the purpose of comparative education is to develop lawlike, quantitative generalizations about the relationships among different input and output variables related to education. Their perspective is often described as structural functionalism, with its faith in the application of empirical research and scientific methods to the study of education and the social sciences in general. Often such research has sought to illuminate how older and newer societies develop and modernize along a single continuum of stages.

In contrast to the structural functionalist perspectives of the “scientists,” another identity source is associated with those who investigate education and society relations from a conflict perspective, a trend that developed within comparative education initially in the late 1960s. Robert Arnove, Martin Carnoy, A. H. Halsey, Gail Kelly, Vandra Masemann, John Ogbu, Nelly Stromquist, and Mathew Zachariah sought to document—and critique—how educational organizations, content, and processes functioned to preserve unequal power and wealth relations across ethnic, gender, and social class lines within countries and between core and periphery countries internationally. In addition to the kinds of inequality research undertaken within the

United States by social foundations scholars, scholarship within comparative and international education has sought to counter the thesis that all nation states “develop” or “modernize” along the lines of Western states. Moreover, these scholars argue and seek to document how the implementation of “Western” educational systems may contribute to reproducing economic and political underdevelopment and dependence on (Western) industrialized states. Finally, some of these scholars, notably Masemann, argued for the use of more qualitative methods of research, in order to examine school processes within the school and classroom, which could not be generated through large-scale, quantitative studies.

Postmodernism and poststructuralism have also informed the work and identity of comparative educationists. For instance, Rolland Paulston’s “social cartography” project during the latter part of his career serves to illustrate this strand of the field. Paulston, along with Esther Gottlieb and other colleagues, sought to “map” the range of ideas and authors in the field. They and others reflecting a postmodernist or poststructuralist (e.g., Anthony Welch and Thomas Popkewitz) identity have sought to avoid privileging any particular theoretical or methodological metanarratives or the realities purported to describe and analyze through these narratives.

Another identity source for comparative and international educators is associated with the “problems” approach to comparative education and, at least in theory, what some would term international education activities. Brian Holmes draws on John Dewey and Karl Popper in articulating his approach to comparative education work: problem analysis; policy formulation; identification, description, and weighting of relevant factors in a given context; and anticipation, prediction, and monitoring the outcomes of policies.

While international education practitioners are also often informed by one or more of the other perspectives in comparative education, their activity appears to resonate best with Holmes’s problem approach. These practitioners are those that work for bilateral or multilateral assistance organizations (the United States Agency for International Development, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency, UNESCO, World

Bank, etc.) or as consultants to such organizations, either individually or through a variety of “firms” which bid on contracts and grants from the international agencies. They do not mainly engage in scholarship to illuminate or critique educational phenomena, but rather seek to adapt (with greater or lesser degrees of caution) lessons learned in other countries to the contextual reality of another country. The more applied nature of their work does not prevent us from recognizing comparative education and international education as closely connected, “fraternal or Siamese twins,” as David Wilson has characterized the two subfields.

Organizational Structures

The World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), which was established in 1970, has operational relations as an NGO with UNESCO, and (in 2007) included thirty-five constituent national, regional, and language-based comparative education societies as constituent members. National organizational members of the WCCES are from Argentina, Australia and New Zealand, Brazil, Britain, Canada, China, Cuba, Czech Republic, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Mexico, Netherlands, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Spain, and the United States. A major vehicle for promoting research and policy dialogue internationally is the WCCES’ triennial World Congress, which has been held in Africa (South Africa), Asia (Australia, Japan, and Korea), Europe (e.g., Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, France, Switzerland, United Kingdom), Latin America (Brazil and Cuba), and North America (Canada) since 1970.

One of its constituent organizations of the WCCES is the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), a U.S.-based organization with a very international membership. Founded as the Comparative Education Society in 1956 and renamed in 1969, CIES grew out of efforts to organize international study tours for U.S. educators and to improve and expand academic programs and scholarship in the field. Its journal, the *Comparative Education Review*, and its annual conference attract considerable attention, participation, and recognition among comparative education scholars, education policy makers, and international education

practitioners, many of whom are also members of other national, regional, and language-based comparative and international education societies.

As is the case in any field, comparative and international educators publish their work in a variety of books and journals. And while their work appears in more general social science and educational research journals, some of the most important work is made available through the following specialized journals (with the organizational base noted): *Asia Pacific Education Review*; *Canadian and International Education*; *Comparative Education*; *Comparative Education Review* (U.S. CIES); *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education* (British Association of Comparative and International Education); *Current Issues in Comparative Education*; *Globalization, Societies and Education*; *International Journal of Educational Development*; *International Review of Education* (UNESCO International Bureau of Education); *Korean Comparative Education Society Journal*; *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education* (UNESCO Institute of Education); *Research in Comparative and International Education*; and *World Studies in Education*. These tend to attract authors and readers with overlapping, though somewhat different, identities in the field of comparative and international education.

The following universities in the United States are among the most recognized for offering doctoral programs that prepare comparative and international educators, although not all of them have specialized programs with either comparative or international in their names: Chicago; Florida State; Harvard; Indiana; Maryland; Massachusetts-Amherst; Michigan; Michigan State; Pennsylvania State; Stanford; State University of New York at Albany and at Buffalo; Teachers College, Columbia; and University of California at Los Angeles. And a small sampling of institutions offering similar programs in other countries includes: Ain Shams University (Cairo, Egypt); Beijing Normal University; German Institute for International Educational Research (Frankfurt); Comparative Education Research Center, Hong Kong University; Institute of Education, University of London; International Institute of Education, University of Stockholm; Ontario Institute for the Study of

Education, University of Toronto; Seoul National University; University of Havana; University of Paris; and University of Tokyo.

Comparative and international educators are employed in various national government agencies, including units of ministries or departments of education. In addition, they work within—or serve as consultants to—a variety of bilateral “international development” agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Japanese Agency for International Cooperation and Assistance, and the Swedish International Development Agency. Other contexts for activities that contribute to and draw on knowledge in the field are multilateral organizations, for example those associated with the UN system (UNESCO; UNICEF; UNDP; Institute of Education, Hamburg; International Bureau of Education, Geneva; International Institute of Educational Planning, Paris) as well as regionally framed organizations (European Commission, Organization of African Unity, Organization of American States, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). In addition, an increasing role in shaping educational policy and in funding international education projects is played by (regional/global) financial institutions (African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and the World Trade Organization).

Major Topics

Besides a focus on education and national economic development and the status and work of teachers, comparative and international educators have developed scholarship in relation to the following topics: factors affecting achievement, inequalities in access and attainment in education, educational reform, democratizing education and educating for democratic citizenship, and world systems/globalization. Each of these is discussed briefly in turn.

A variety of individuals, organizations, and projects have focused on documenting and seeking to explain differences in academic achievement within and across countries, using large-scale, quantitative studies. Perhaps the most important contribution to this literature is the work organized through the International

Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) initiative. Having maintained a strong focus on mathematics and science, these studies involving teams of researchers from some “developing” and more “developed” countries have also examined the issues in literacy and civic education. The objective has been to provide cross-national data that enable scholars to better understand how social and educational variables (e.g., curriculum content, teacher qualifications, teacher behavior, and student characteristics) are related and inform policy debates in individual countries and internationally on how to enhance the achievement of various groups of students.

Related to the issues addressed by IEA, but usually pursued more by researchers espousing conflict perspectives, are empirical studies and policy and curriculum analyses that seek to investigate the degree to which and why various groups (females, ethnic minorities, and lower social classes) are less “successful” in gaining access to and attaining credentials from public and private schools and universities. The theoretical perspectives and the quantitative and qualitative methodological traditions that inform this work would be familiar to those who do such work in the social and cultural foundations of education focused on the United States, but an important difference—and potentially a real advantage—is that the findings are compared across societal contexts. This allows sometimes for firmer generalizations but also requires more complex and qualified accounts, such as when measures of socioeconomic status used in industrialized countries are not related to attainment in less industrialized societies. When done well such work considers carefully the local, national, and global contexts in which the quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analyzed.

Both comparative education researchers and international education practitioners are interested in the conditions and processes that constrain or enable various kinds of “reform” in education. Such reforms might concern how the system is organized (e.g., decentralization or privatization), how teachers and administrators are prepared and help to develop their capacities, the degree and forms of community participation, the nature of curriculum and examination systems, and how teachers and students interact in

classrooms. Analyses of education reform tend to be framed from functionalist or conflict perspectives, with the respective approach tending to highlight the evolutionary/consensual or the conflict-laden and dialectical nature of the reform process.

Thus, the work is not unlike historical and sociological analyses of education reform in the United States, although a range of societies are included in the analysis of national case studies. What is quite different, however, is the focus on international relations in the reform of education, again differentiated by functionalist and conflict perspectives. Here the question is how more “developed” or “powerful” countries “lend” or “impose” reforms on less-“developed” or “powerful” countries. These issues are also of great interest to international education practitioners. Not only do they have to determine what policies and practices should be recommended or mandated as “conditionalities” as part of loans as well as technical assistance, or training projects. They also have to deal with the politics within international organizations and societies regarding the appropriateness of such transnational activities.

In recent years comparative and international educators have given more attention to what has been labeled as the “democratization” of education. Partly, this reflects scholars, policy makers, and practitioners appropriating “democratic” terminology to refer to long-standing concerns. For instance, equalizing access to and achievement through schooling are now sometimes referenced as democratization. Increasing participation in school affairs by students, parents, business owners, and other community members (both in terms of the number and variety of people involved and in the degree of decision-making authority) is also discussed under the rubric of democratization of education. A focus related to democratization concerns how education contributes to socializing students to become effective citizens within democratic societies. In this regard, the studies and projects broaden the conception of the purpose of education beyond producing human capital (economic roles) to include constructing citizens (political roles). For instance, the 2002 IEA study of civic education across sixteen countries examined the relationship between the curriculum, the teaching methods, and what students learn that informs their

potential to participate in society as citizens. More focused studies of civic and citizenship education across and within cultures have sought to determine how political and social forces may influence what and how citizens are taught and the nature of relevant extracurricular, but school-based, activities. Such work has been undertaken both in long-standing “democracies” and in nations (including many former Soviet republics and Central and Eastern European societies) that have more recently moved toward Western democratic structures and procedures.

Finally, comparative and international educators (e.g., Robert Arnove, Nicholas Burbules and Carlos Torres, Mark Ginsburg, John Meyer and Michael Hannan, and Nelly Stromquist and Karen Monkman) have focused their attention on the world system and globalization. They have addressed economic, political, technological, and cultural forms of globalization, raising questions as to whether local and national education systems are responding effectively (whether proactively or reactively) to these dynamics as well as how education promotes understanding and actions that shape the nature of globalization and its impact on different societies. In addition, comparative and international educators have focused on whether the globalization of education policies and practices represents a convergent and/or divergent process as well as whether such developments are viewed positively and/or negatively by international agency representatives, government officials, and citizens in different regions and nations. Increasingly, “globalization” has found its way into official documents of national governments and international (bilateral and multilateral) organizations, and thus has become part of the landscape in which international education practitioners work.

It should be clear that there are multiple identities possible within the field of comparative and international education. While some might view this as a weakness of an academic or professional field, we view this as a sign of strength, enabling scholars, policy makers, and practitioners to find space and contribute based on their own multiple roles and identities.

Mark B. Ginsburg and Alison Price-Rom

See also Globalization and Education

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COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

During the 1960s, a new approach called *compensatory education* was created to support access for academically underprepared and economically disadvantaged students. Compensatory education focuses on the individual student and the living and learning environment in which the student interacts. Proponents of this approach charge that environmental conditions, often induced by poverty, are responsible for the poor academic achievement of students. Common activities of this approach include: academic preparatory work, supplemental learning enrichment activities, higher parental involvement in school, and systemic changes in the school learning environment. During the early 1960s, national civil rights legislation established the Office of Compensatory Education within the U.S. Office of Education.

Elementary and Secondary Education

Federal legislation through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and amended by the No Child Left Behind Act created a family of compensatory elementary and secondary education programs. These programs include: Head Start, Early Reading

First, Education for Homeless Children and Youth, Even Start Family Literacy, and Title I. Title I (now called Chapter 1) is the largest of these programs. It provides financial support through state and local education agencies to schools with either high numbers or high percentages of economically disadvantaged children.

More than 50,000 schools serving about 12 million students across the United States use Title I funds. If 40 percent or more of the children in the school meet federal poverty guidelines, a school may offer Title I services to all students, regardless of their economic background. Some schools focus on providing supplemental reading and mathematics instruction. Other schools focus on extending the learning environment and providing preschool, after-school, and summer bridge programs. Parental involvement is a key component.

Transition and Postsecondary Education

Concurrent with development of the aforementioned programs, compensatory education programs were created for eligible postsecondary students and those who desired to attend college. Among its provisions, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and later the Higher Education Act of 1965 expanded access to higher education for disadvantaged students in two ways: TRIO programs and need-based financial aid for economically disadvantaged students (Pell and Perkins Grant programs).

TRIO refers to the original “trio” of programs (Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Support Services) funded by the federal government at hundreds of colleges to encourage access and success of previously disenfranchised students. Eligibility was limited to students who met one or more of the following criteria: neither parent completed college, were economically disadvantaged, and/or had an eligible disability. Common grant features included academic enrichment activities, career counseling, cultural enrichment activities, and setting high expectations for college graduation. Additional TRIO programs created later were Talent Search, Student Support Services, Educational Opportunity Centers,

and the Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program.

David R. Arendale

See also Civil Rights Movement; Economic Inequality

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COMPLEXITY THEORY

Complexity theory, along with fractal geometry and chaos theory, is one of the “new sciences” that came to prominence in the latter part of the twentieth century. These three fields contribute to a new awareness that nature in its organization is complex, fractaled, and turbulent. This is quite different from the past (modernist) view that nature is simple, linear, and stable in form and organization. The new theory and its application to education are described in this entry.

Order Out of Disorder

Isaac Newton, in the seventeenth century, believed nature to be “pleased with simplicity” and “conformable to herself.” Charles Darwin brought forward a different view, one wherein nature is capricious or random in its development. “Chance caught on a wing” is the way one scientist has phrased evolutionary development. In their study of nature, contemporary scientists, using the mathematical tools of nonlinear dynamics and the power of supercomputers, posit that nature is in form *self-organizing* and that the disorder observed in the cosmos, universe, and world is really an “orderly disorder.” Models of this “stable” disorder are found in avalanches, economic systems, evolutionary

development, galactic births and deaths, human bodily and social systems, and population dynamics—to name but a few. What looks and appears disorderly is really a new type of order, an order emerging from (and even embedded within) disorder.

The implications of this for education are immense and radical. Up to the present day, education, in its forms of curriculum design and instructional strategies, has been premised on a simple design, directly transferable. To think of learning, not as a passive, receivable act—with the mind a *tabula rasa* imprinted by teaching—but as an interactive, dynamic, and self-organizing process challenges past (and even present) methods of syllabi design, lesson plans, and instructional strategies.

Self-Organization and Emergence

Self-organization, whether in computer simulations, in ecological, environmental, information-processing models, or in social interactions is the defining characteristic of all complexity research and study. Whereas imposed organization—be it institutional (including education), political, or religious/philosophical (God as progenitor of the West's *Great Chain of Being*)—is always top-down, self-organization *emerges from* an interactive base of particulars. Life itself at the cellular, species/human, and social levels is an example of such a self-organizing system. As particulars or events interact, they do (under certain conditions) form a system: an interactive, dynamic, creating system. Complex networks arise from simpler networks, as in evolutionary theory; or conversely, simple, unifying networks emerge from complex interactions, as in galactic order, human bodily systems, or population dynamics.

Self-organization refers not to an individual self becoming consciously organized but rather to a dynamical system—sometimes large, sometimes small—organizing (even transforming) itself in particular phases of its development. Such a system, often labeled antichaotic, existent in all natural sciences but most prominent in the biological/living sciences, maintains its stability even as the interactions within itself and between itself and its environment proliferate.

Complex *adaptive* systems is another phrase used here, to indicate the system's overall ability to maintain order as events or particulars within the system experience change. Bodily immune systems or neurological systems are examples of this—as cells both die and regenerate, the system maintains its overall harmonious functioning. At a *critical* point, though—far from equilibrium or the system's center, out near “the edge of chaos”—a small perturbation or occurrence leads to a major, transformative change. In this view, chaos is embedded within complexity.

Evolution here is not simply the result of random or chance occurrences but is rather a natural, interactional, complex process. Organization emerges, freely and spontaneously—“order for free”—from what seems to be chaos. For those complexity theorists studying evolutionary development, “natural selection” is not the one and only way species evolve. Rather, development is stochastic, combining elements of randomization with those of natural emergence. Such emergence (arising more *from* than *toward*) is sporadic, spontaneous, and unpredictable (although deterministic, at least in a probabilistic sense).

Implications for Teaching

The educational implications of this emergent or self-organizing process are numerous and radical; most significant is the recognition of order emerging from interactions—it need not be imposed. In fact, imposition may well be a hindrance to development. If development is indeed a stochastic process—interactions among elements or events themselves interacting with random external events—then the educational design of curricula, teaching strategies, syllabi, or lesson plans needs to be rethought.

At the very least, flexibility needs to be built into the structure of curricular design and teaching strategies. Even better would be syllabi or lesson plans that emerge, a real challenge to any educator. “Teachable moments” would now be not a surprise but expected. Here, the abilities a teacher needs to possess go beyond the skills and methods usually offered in teacher preparation or school mentoring courses and situations. Further, to guide a situation toward a far-from-equilibrium

situation—away from stability, toward “the edge of chaos,” without going over that edge into an abyss—requires a sense of feeling for the situation not present in current teacher-centered (or even student-centered) designs. Situations become their own managers and guides, with teachers (and students) playing important but nondominating roles. Ambiguity, uncertainty, imbalance, chance, probability all take on importance as issues, not to avoid, but to utilize.

All the foregoing represent a major shift in curricular design, instructional strategies, and teacher-preparation courses and experiences. This shift is away from preset goals, experiences prechosen to mirror those goals, experiences organized to achieve the preset goals, and assessment as to how the preset goals have or have not been achieved. The shift is toward a curriculum *rich* in problematics, *recursive* in its (nonlinear) organization, *relational* in its structure, and *rigorous* in its application.

Wm. E. Doll, Jr.

See also Chaos Theory

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COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOLS

The comprehensive high school is a unique product of efforts intended to serve the educational needs of a modern democratic society. Comprehensive high schools are designed to educate students and prepare them to adequately navigate employment, the duties of citizenship, and other facets of adult life. In comprehensive high schools, students have access to a vast array of course offerings (e.g., foreign language, home economics) and extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, clubs) resulting in a diploma. The diploma serves as a standard, signifying minimal competence to enter postsecondary education or to obtain competitive employment. This entry discusses the development of comprehensive high schools and their current configuration.

Historical Background

For a number of years, secondary education was confined to particular geographic areas (i.e., urban centers). The creation of secondary education, particularly high schools, was a reflection of progress in American society. Limited options for children meant little to no education after four or five years of instruction in the most basic of skills. Many children were not exposed to any formal schooling, leaving many illiterate. In response to this great need for formal education especially in large urban areas, comprehensive high schools were designed with the intent of teaching children not only basic skills for labor, but just as importantly, skills in citizenship.

The modern, large comprehensive high school can be dated to the ideas espoused by James Conant. Conant was primarily interested in the structure of high schools (e.g., four grades) and their organization (e.g., adequate course offerings to prepare children for employment). After assessing the landscape of high

schools, Conant came to the conclusion that high schools had to be bigger to better serve students. This notion had its basis in several ideas about how secondary schools should operate, one of which included the lack of efficiency of smaller schools, which could not offer students a wide assortment of courses.

The notion that high schools had to be bigger has been confused and resulted in schools well beyond the notions of the earliest educators responsible for developing secondary education. In the early to mid part of the twentieth century, high schools enrolled small numbers of students (e.g., 100 to 250). As high schools grew and enrolled more than 400 students, many perceived these schools as too big and perhaps insensitive to the needs of students. In spite of the surrounding controversy, comprehensive high schools did grow much larger than 400 students and some have grown to enroll more than 5,000 students.

The combination of Conant's work and a burning desire to improve the educational lot of the greater society served as the backdrop for the development of modern secondary education. This movement began shortly after the turn of the last century with a report from a committee appointed by the National Education Association. In 1918, the *Cardinal Principles* report delineated seven guiding principles for secondary education. These principles included: (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home-membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character. The principles were intended to be broad, to ensure that a substantial differentiated curriculum could be developed and implemented as a way to include the large numbers of students who were entering secondary school after World War I.

It is no mistake that almost any course of study could be included under any one of the seven principles. Conversations about the prevalence of varying intelligence among individuals (as described by psychologists like G. Stanley Hall) and the declining influence of parents (as described by philosophers like John Dewey) were among several factors that influenced educators to create large high schools that could accommodate the variability of the population. A comprehensive system of secondary education was necessary to prepare citizens to make meaningful contributions to society

(e.g., uphold democratic ideals) and prepare students to fill the many positions in the growing factory-based industries (e.g., automobile manufacturing).

Today's High School

High schools have long been conceived of as the pinnacle of American education, serving as an "equalizer" for society's children. The question surrounding the legitimacy of this task as well as the realistic prospect of ever providing adequate preparation for the majority of American children has been a point of contention dating back to the first days of large comprehensive high schools. The right to compulsory education is a well-established part of American history, and the delivery of that education has evolved from the limited focus on vocational tasks to include the wide array of curricular fields and other social services.

The American high school as we know it today, tuition-free, based in a larger school district, with four grades, and dividing time and space into major and minor courses, has existed for the last 150 years. Comprehensive high schools have a distinctive "presence" in most communities. Many members of the community are proud of the "look and feel" of the high school and express this civic pride with clothing and slogans; at times, they provide financial resources to support the sport teams or clubs. Large comprehensive high schools can serve thousands of students (e.g., 1,500 or more depending on the school district and geographic location) and hold fast to strict curricular divisions, intended to provide academic and vocational education.

A diverse mix of students, educational professionals, and other community members come together to provide educational experiences highlighted by a focus on preparation for participation in the local community as well as the greater society. Many of the most highly revered ideals have been incorporated into the secondary curriculum to ensure that children are exposed to some of the most sacred ideas about the American way of life. These ideals have been passed on within the classrooms, hallways, and auditoriums of large comprehensive high schools.

The increased size of high schools has coincided with a growing number of children "who fall through

the cracks.” It is possible that the students described in this way could have benefited from a number of different services available in schools (e.g., remedial instruction or family support services). In order to serve a large number of students with varying degrees of need, it is necessary to create schools with an unwieldy infrastructure, leading to an ironic turn of events—students left without any services.

Charles Dukes

See also Small Schools Movement

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COMPULSORY EDUCATIONAL ATTENDANCE LAWS

Compulsory education requires by law that all children receive some form of schooling. Compulsory education is largely seen as being a universal good for the child, as well as the society in which he or she lives. Less often, it is considered to be a means by which the state can exercise control and influence over its citizens. This entry looks at the history of this practice, relevant court rulings, and critiques.

Historical Background

The first compulsory education law was passed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1642. The law removed control of education from the clergy and placed it under the direction of citizens or “selectmen” of the colony.

It required parents and craftsmen or masters to make sure that their children were able to read. In 1647 a general school law, known as “The Old Deluder Satan Act,” was passed requiring towns in the colony to establish schools. The law took its name from its first line, which made reference to Satan. It was based on the belief that children had to be able to read the Bible and other religious texts in order to overcome his influence.

The first state in the United States to enact a compulsory education law was Massachusetts in 1852. Extremely limited in scope, the law required that children under fifteen years of age could only be employed if they had received a minimum of three months of schooling prior to their employment. Compulsory education laws were proposed in Illinois as early as 1838, but were only first enacted in 1883. The last state to require compulsory education was Mississippi in 1918.

Compulsory education at the high school level became widespread throughout the United States during the Great Depression. The shortage of jobs available to youth made schools a good place for them to be instead of out on the streets where they would compete with adults for scarce jobs and potentially become unruly. In this context, schools took on a greater custodial function—one that they still maintain to a large degree today.

Court Rulings

Whether or not the state has the right to compel students to attend only public schools was decided by the Supreme Court in the case of *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925). In 1922, Oregon passed a law requiring all children between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public schools. The idea was to provide all children with a uniform education subject to state control. It was argued that Oregon had an interest in making sure that its future citizens were educated sufficiently to hold jobs, to vote, and to understand and appreciate “American values.” The law had the effect of closing down all private education—in particular, Oregon’s Catholic schools.

It was eventually overturned on the basis that it interfered with the rights of parents to direct the

upbringing and education of their own children. The decision did not interfere with the state's right to regulate, in terms of minimal standards, the teaching and content of the curriculum. Thus, it could require that teachers in a private school have a certain minimal level of education and that even a private school curriculum include subjects such as civics and American history.

In the 1972 Supreme Court case of *Yoder v. Wisconsin*, the issue of family rights and compulsory education was addressed once again. In the action, Amish parents maintained that the attendance of their children in schools beyond the eighth-grade level threatened their survival as a religious group. This was based on the Amish belief that knowledge received from books represents a distraction from the message God provides in the Bible and that attendance at school beyond a certain point would divert Amish children from the beliefs of their community.

The Court maintained that both the beliefs of the child and the parents needed to be taken into account, and various accommodations were set in place that allowed the Amish to continue to follow their religious beliefs. School attendance beyond eighth grade would not be required—thus contradicting the general rule that children attend school until the age of sixteen. In this context, the decision of the court took into account basic principles of religious freedom—specifically the rights guaranteed under the Establishment Clause of the Constitution.

The idea of universal and compulsory education for all children was reinforced on an international basis when in 1948 the United Nations issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which it called for compulsory elementary education for all children. In April 2000, 1,100 delegates from 164 countries reaffirmed this principle at the UNESCO-sponsored World Education Forum in Dakar by adopting the Dakar Framework for Action, which established the goal of free compulsory and high-quality education for all children by the year 2015.

Critiques

There have been a number of useful systematic critiques of compulsory schooling since the 1960s, including

Paul Goodman's *Compulsory Mis-Education* (1962), which argued that public schools represented a "compulsory trap"; Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society* (1970), which called for the elimination of traditional schools through a process of deschooling; and John Holt's *Escape from Childhood: The Needs and Rights of Children* (1974), which declared that children should have the same rights as adults and not be compelled to attend institutions such as schools if they did not wish to do so.

In his book *Horace's Compromise* (1984), TheodoreSizer argued that society has made schools much more difficult places in which to teach and learn by compelling unwilling students to attend them. More recently, John Taylor Gatto in *The Underground History of American Education* (2003) has argued that the schools are part of a larger social and cultural system intended to suppress personal freedom and keep power in the hands of a political and social elite. In order to do so, mandatory or compulsory education is a requirement.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Child Labor; United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

See Visual History Chapter 23, Compulsory Education and Truancy

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Web Sites

- Dakar Framework for Action*: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf>
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

COMPULSORY HETEROSEXUALITY

Feminists conceived the term *compulsory heterosexuality* to signify the institutional pressures on women to be heterosexual, thereby ensuring men's rights of physical, economic, and emotional access. The term *compulsory heterosexuality* was first used at the 1976 Brussels International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women to draw attention to the worldwide persecution of lesbians.

Adrienne Rich more fully conceptualized "compulsory heterosexuality" in arguing that, despite qualitative differences in women's experiences across cultures and history, women's heterosexuality is not simply an issue of sexual "preference" or "orientation" but an ideology maintained by force that convinces women of the inevitability of marriage and sexual orientation toward men, even when unsatisfying or oppressive. Rich further argued that a wide range of legal, political, religious, social, economic, and physical barriers prohibit women from determining the forms that sexuality will take in their lives. Some customs that enforce women's heterosexuality are easily recognizable: chastity belts, clitoridectomies, foot binding, veils, rape, child marriage, arranged marriages, and pornography. However, other practices, such as taboos against homosexuality and the historical erasure of lesbian existence, obscure alternatives for same-sex bonding. Further, pervasive social, economic, legal, and educational inequalities ensure women's dependence upon men for survival.

Since Rich's work was published, queer theorists have demonstrated that compulsory heterosexuality also negatively affects healthy development of gay men and boys. Almost from birth, families teach not only acceptable gendered conduct, dress, and character traits, but disdain for cross-gendered behaviors. Compulsory heterosexuality is reinforced and expanded by religious institutions, peer groups, and the media, where heterosexual love is often presented as the only viable option and the value of nonheterosexual relationships may be omitted entirely, denounced, or denigrated.

Some school personnel, especially in religious schools, may educate for compulsory heterosexuality through the curriculum proper. More often, especially in

public schools, teachers, administrators, counselors, and staff educate for compulsory heterosexuality through the hidden curriculum. Without ever openly denigrating nonheterosexuals, teachers of young children often encourage children to play in "gender appropriate" games and role-plays, reinforcing the notion that only certain ways of play or acting are socially acceptable. In fact, studies show that the worst verbal assault one can make against a young boy is to call him a girl.

When derogatory epithets surface among older children or youth, many school personnel refuse to challenge the language, intent, and misconceptions that are being wielded against gay and lesbian persons and identities. Researchers have documented that adolescents believe that being called "gay" or "lesbian" is the worst insult that can be leveled against them. Teachers' silence about lesbian and gay identity in fact speaks very loudly. Whether because of ignorance, design, or benign neglect, feminists and other scholars assert, these factors all contribute to a hidden curriculum of compulsory heterosexuality where every child is presumed heterosexual until proven otherwise and those children who are homosexual are labeled "defective."

Susan Birden

See also Hidden and Null Curriculum; Homophobia

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COMPUTER-ASSISTED INSTRUCTION

American education has long incorporated technology in K–12 classrooms—tape recorders, televisions, calculators, computers, and many others. Computer-assisted instruction (CAI) refers to the use of computers and computer-related applications such as the Internet to

support instruction and cognition. CAI also takes into consideration the processes involved in the integration of these technologies into existing curricula. Research on the effectiveness of computer use on educational outcomes is mixed, but suggests that computer-based instruction increases student achievement at least as much as more conventional modes of instruction. While information technologies, more specifically desktop computers, have had an enormous impact on American business and how business is transacted over the past several decades, instruction at the K–12 level has not undergone the “megachange” that technology was predicted to produce in U.S. schools. However, CAI is still an important component of curriculum in the Information Age. CAI may include: assessment of students, presentation of educational materials, repetitive drill practice, game-based drills, and tracking of student performance and progress. This entry looks at the growth of CAI from a tool used to facilitate drills to a central player in preparing students for a digital society.

Early Applications

The first computers used for instruction were computer-driven flight simulators used to train pilots at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the 1950s. Before the introduction of microcomputers, computer companies such as IBM pioneered efforts in helping to define the role of computers in education. In 1959, schoolchildren used IBM computers for the first time, for solving arithmetic problems.

In the early 1970s, IBM produced the first instructional mainframe with multimedia learning stations and worked with universities to develop CAI materials. For example, Stanford University’s Patrick Suppes, considered the grandfather of CAI, developed the Coursewriter language to create reading and math drill-and-practice lessons, setting the standard for subsequent instructional software. After systematically analyzing courses in arithmetic and other subjects, Suppes designed highly structured computer systems featuring learner feedback, lesson branching, and student recordkeeping.

During the 1970s, another influential source of CAI was the University of Illinois PLATO system.

This system included hundreds of tutorial and drill-and-practice programs. Like other systems of the time, PLATO’s resources were available through time-sharing on a mainframe computer. Mainframes and minicomputer CAI systems, often developed by universities to serve school districts, dominated the field at the time. However, high maintenance costs and teachers’ dislike of centralized control by district personnel eventually led to a decline in their use by the late 1970s.

With the development of the stand-alone, desktop computer in the late 1970s, control of educational computers was in the hands of teachers. Educational software became more widely available and was designed to meet teachers’ classroom needs. With federal funding, the Minnesota Educational Computing Consortium (MECC) became the single largest computer software provider at the time. Teachers initially sought to be actively involved in the creation of software and other facets of computing, but interest faded as teachers realized how time consuming that would be. To make CAI more cost effective, districts purchased integrated learning systems (ILSs) that were administered via a central network and that used prepackaged curricula to support standards-based instruction, shifting control of educational computing again to a central source.

In the late 1970s, the idea of CAI developed into computer literacy, as skills in programming and word processing were seen as essential for functioning in society. Non-computer-literate students were predicted to become educationally disadvantaged. Lack of agreement on what exactly these “essential” computing skills should be and how to best measure them caused this idea to fade. In the 1980s, mathematician Seymour Papert’s LOGO programming language sought to shift the focus from drill-and-practice applications of technology to viewing computers as a tool for problem solving. While some research did indicate positive effects from the use of LOGO, by the 1990s, LOGO was all but forgotten in educational circles.

In the 1970s and 1980s, drill-and-practice software was readily available and commonly used in classrooms. Often mimicking electronic flash cards or workbooks, this type of software showed math problems or tested vocabulary, giving simple feedback after a student response. However, incorrect answers often yielded more intricate or interesting forms of

feedback, leading students to purposely give wrong answers. Further, issues with a limited catalog of software titles, aging hardware in the schools, inadequate staff development, and a perceived lack of direct correlation between technology and traditional school curricula led to a waning interest in educational technology.

The Internet Era

The dawning of the Internet era in the 1990s reignited teacher interest in using CAI. Mosaic, the first browser software, transformed a formerly text-based Internet, used predominantly by the engineering and scientific communities, into an easily accessible medium combining text and graphics. With the arrival of the new millennium, educators and students delighted in the connectivity that the Internet era ushered in. Further, the proliferation of educational software titles, efforts to address compatibility issues among operating systems, and successful attempts at meaningful integration of school curricula with emerging technologies spurred educators to reevaluate technology's role in classrooms. E-mail, videoconferencing, portable wireless devices, multimedia capability, and ease of access to online resources led to increases in distance learning opportunities.

While educational games and drill-and-practice software continued to be popular in schools, common uses of CAI now routinely include tutorials, simulations, and other open-ended applications to encourage divergent thinking. As new technologies were being adapted for classroom use, the International Society for Technology in Education developed the National Educational Technology Standards (NETS) for teachers, students, and administrators to provide a framework to guide classroom activities and foster the cohesion that was previously lacking.

CAI software, often called instructional software, teaches specific skills and knowledge, often narrowed to a specific content area and grade range. This is in contrast to tool software, which can be used in general to help students through problem processing at any grade level and in any content area, including word processors, concept processors for outlining ideas, spreadsheets, databases, audio-video editors, presentation

programs, Web browsers, Logo programming language, and others.

Today, computers are powerful enough to act as file servers, and CAI can be delivered either through an integrated learning system or as stand-alone software. Typical CAI software provides text and multiple-choice questions or problems to students, offers immediate feedback, notes incorrect responses, summarizes students' performance, and generates exercises for worksheets and tests. CAI typically presents tasks for which there is one correct answer; it can evaluate simple numeric or very simple alphabetic responses, but it cannot evaluate complex student responses.

Outcomes Research

While the ubiquity of classroom technologies cannot be denied, clear impact on student academic achievement is not easy to determine because of sparse empirical evidence mostly due to methodological problems. A great deal of research was conducted during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s on the effects of computer use on student achievement, attitudes, and other variables. Lack of depth in CAI inquiries makes generalizations difficult. Studies of effectiveness often pit one computer application against another or compare computer-based methods to teacher-directed activities. This type of "horse-race" research mentality does not yield effective data from which to draw conclusions.

Despite the lack of comprehensive studies of overall use, substantial research has examined the effects of using computers for particular kinds of instruction across a wide range of topics and age groups. Qualitative inquiries on the uses of computers in classroom instruction have documented positive effects on student affect and student and teacher motivation, as well as some positive impact on learning in specific classroom contexts.

Research clearly indicates that merely installing the hardware does not produce the desired outcomes. One of the main reasons for this is that technology has often been introduced as an addition on to an existing, unchanged classroom setting. Nowadays educators have a more integrated vision in which technology is considered together with the educational strategies, contents, and activities of the classroom, realizing that

successful and effective learning with computers must rely on sound instructional practices that are congruent with how teaching and learning are viewed today.

Social Context

Historically and presently, the introduction of technologies in education has at times coincided with a need to improve educational outcomes or solve problems in U.S. schools. For example, after the Soviet launching of the *Sputnik* satellite in 1957, the National Defense Education Act sought to place overhead projectors in classrooms as a way to improve science and math achievement in public schools. In the 1960s, educational television for youngsters, often featuring culturally diverse children and themes, brought into focus a changing U.S. demographic and their social and literacy needs. Educational television flourished, capturing the interest of the American populace. After the publication of the report *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, which highlighted the shortcomings of American schools, educational reformers urged better integration of CAI to support a student-centered, inquiry-based mode of learning in classrooms.

During the 1990s state and federal initiatives sought to increase educational technology in classrooms and to link the nation's classrooms to the Information Super Highway in an effort to prepare students for the world of work in a digital society. The sophisticated educational software available today bears only minimal semblance to early electronic applications. Today, electronically linked text, or hypertext, "intelligent" computer tools that shape computer programs to suit learner needs, and integrated learning systems that monitor progress in academic subjects provide an endless number of CAI opportunities. A strong argument for increasing CAI is that computers are essential for preparing students for an increasingly digital world. Add to this the likelihood that school will be the only place the urban poor will ever use a computer before going into the job market, and it becomes even more imperative that schools maximize how CAI is used.

Presently, many state and national educational initiatives are supporting technology reform efforts in many schools. Educators realize that electronic communication is becoming less an option and more a

requirement for students' success in the twenty-first century. The International Reading Association recognized this in its 2001 position statement on integrating technology into the literacy curriculum. Becoming fully literate, the association argues, includes becoming proficient in the new literacies of information and communication technology. Therefore, literacy educators have a responsibility to integrate emerging technologies into the literacy curriculum in order to adequately prepare students for their role in society. In simplest terms, information and communication technologies in and out of the classroom are redefining teaching and learning.

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See also Computing, Ethical Issues; Digital Divide

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COMPUTING, ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethics is the branch of philosophy that asks and addresses questions regarding right and wrong behavior. The contemporary industrialized world's heavy reliance on computers to accomplish a variety of tasks heightens the importance of ethical computer use. Schools are charged at some level with allowing students to consider the ethical ramifications of their actions in general. Computer use in schools is not exempt from this task. Indeed, it is now more important than ever for all members of the school community to ask difficult

questions about how they and others can use computers in ethical ways in different contexts. Some of the ethical issues differ little from those in the day-to-day world without computers, that is, the “offline” world, but are nonetheless important in the online setting. Others are more specific to the online world in terms of the potential damage that computer misuse can bring compared to the offline context. The ethical contexts discussed in this entry include netiquette, censorship, digital copyright, and privacy.

Netiquette

Netiquette is a portmanteau of *net* for Internet and *etiquette*. Like etiquette for daily conversation in schools, netiquette is a way of establishing a more productive and respectful setting between school participants via appropriate means of expression. Common guidelines of netiquette are rooted in both notions of everyday courtesy in the offline world and the special circumstances of online communication. For instance, harassment, abusive language, and unnecessarily lengthy monologues should be discouraged just as much online as they are in the offline classroom setting. However, typing in all caps is a uniquely online version of shouting. Moreover, forwarding irrelevant e-mails and sending files too large for most computers to handle interferes with school community members’ computer usage and should be avoided.

Censorship

To receive federal funds for computing equipment and Internet access, schools and libraries must abide by the Children’s Internet Protection Act (CIPA). CIPA requires that these public institutions use filtering software that blocks access to online material that is “obscene, child pornography, or harmful to minors.” While case law continues to evolve on defining the rights of students and teachers in cyberspace, this major statute stands in force.

Supporters of the law cite it as an efficient way of harnessing the power of the Internet for pedagogical purposes while blocking its more unsavory sections from students. Critics point out that corporations who manufacture the filtering software may have hidden

political and social agendas reflected in the lists of blocked Web sites. These lists are not available to public scrutiny since they are considered trade secrets. Moreover, many Web sites, either intentionally or unintentionally blocked, do not have any objectionable content. Teachers and administrators are advised not only to monitor Web sites that students attempt to access, but also to monitor software that blocks Web sites that may be educationally benign or beneficial.

Digital Copyright and Fair Use

Generally speaking, the same copyright legislation that forbids large-scale unauthorized duplication and use of copyrighted works in the offline world applies to the Internet as well. Consequently, schools can be held liable in civil courts for students’ sharing copyrighted music, movies, software, and other media over the Internet. The benefits and perils of sharing copyrighted works online are highly contested and involve their own set of ethical questions. Still, few would call the use of PreK–12 school networks to share copyrighted files for solely recreational purposes ethical.

Policies and related debates over the degree of latitude educators and students should be given to distribute or exhibit copyrighted works typically concern four factors. These include the action’s pedagogical value, its impact on the work’s marketability, the nature of the work in question, and what portion of the total work is used in terms of length and the specific portion. Traditionally, educators have relied on the fair use doctrine of copyright law to legally copy part or, less commonly, the whole of copyrighted works for pedagogical purposes. The doctrine itself was enshrined in the Copyright Act of 1976.

Nevertheless, Congress further tightened copyright protection in cyberspace in 1998 by passing the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA). The DMCA makes it a federal offense to interfere with any digitized anticopying mechanism put in place by the copyright owner of a digital work. Even bypassing anticopying mechanisms to garner material that is normally protected under fair use is largely illegal under the DMCA. The Librarian of Congress gave “media studies or film professor[s]” permission to bypass these restrictions to make film compilations

for exhibition in college and university classrooms in November 2006. It is unclear if this relatively narrow exception applies to teachers and students in the PreK–12 school system.

Prosecutions of copyright infringement for teacher-supervised computing activities are rare, in part because the fair use doctrine presents obstacles for copyright holders to pursue legal action. Nevertheless, teachers and students should exercise discretion in the portion of the copyrighted work they copy for school use; generally the longer it is, the more likely fair use does not protect the action.

Privacy

Internet access provided by schools to their students comes with the expectations that schools own the means of this access and that students are primarily using it to perform school-related tasks. Legally speaking, student activities and correspondence on school networks are treated the same as student grade and behavior records. That is, school faculty and parents can access what their students and children have been doing on school networking equipment. Typically this is recorded on school hard drives and network servers in the form of saved e-mail messages that students have sent and received as well as logs of what Web sites students have visited. The same principle applies to faculty computing activities, which can be monitored by school administrators as well.

If these principles are not consistently made clear to students and faculty, then they may act indiscriminately on reasonable expectations of privacy regarding their Internet access. It is neither unusual nor unreasonable for members of the school community to sometimes go online for personal reasons. Moreover, students may use the Internet at school to gain information or access communities they are forbidden to retrieve at home, such as Web sites related to religion, politics, or sexual orientation.

Privacy laws heavily favor school personnel's and parents' right to access their students' and subordinate faculty's school records. However, monitoring potentially embarrassing personal messages and browsing or interfering with a student's identity formation begs difficult ethical questions for school practices.

Administrators and faculty should formulate online privacy policies that take these concerns in addition to relevant legislation, school objectives, and community input into account. In addition, all members of the school community should be made aware of those policies once they are in force. This is so that they can know what behaviors are expected of them and their children, and what input they should give in future policy revisions.

A Different Ethics?

It is debatable whether computer usage in schools raises fundamentally different sorts of ethical questions than those educators and students normally face. Some argue that the sort of misbehavior students and other members of the school community have engaged in online differs from common offline misdeeds only in their greater reach through a wider channel. The effects of decisions made in online computing can have a greater impact, but they are similar in nature to everyday actions in schools. Others argue that since students and educators increasingly participate in online activities as members of virtual communities, the nature of related ethical questions changes.

Virtual communities found on online forums, for instance, can accomplish similar pedagogical tasks. An example would be an analysis and critique of mass journalism guided by experts such as the online *Columbia Journalism Review*. This invites ethical questions of who should have control over the curriculum, what the nature of online learning should be (if) contrasted to offline pedagogy, and how complementary an online community should be to the school community.

Whether or not the nature of online computing alters fundamental questions of ethics, there are enduring issues that educators and students should be aware of. This enhances the role of computing in schooling and creates a platform for further discussion of ethics that is a cornerstone of a liberal education.

Brent Allison

See also Computer-Assisted Instruction; Technologies in Education

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CONFEDERATE TEXTBOOKS

Opposition to the use of school textbooks written by Northern authors—which to a large degree reflected a set of values and beliefs that were specific to the North—became a particularly prominent issue in the years immediately prior to the Civil War. This entry looks at the history of that conflict and at the creation of alternative textbooks by the Confederacy that were more consistent with their political and ideological values.

A Northern Bias

Throughout the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, the writing and publication of textbooks in the United States was dominated by the North. With the exception of William Holmes McGuffey (1800–1873), the principal textbook authors prior to the Civil War were from New England. Noah Webster, Jediah Morse, S. G. Goodrich, C. A. Goodrich, S. Augustus Mitchell, Jesse Olney, and Emma Willard were all from Connecticut; Lyman Cobb, William Woodbridge, Richard Parker, and Salem Town were from Massachusetts; while John Frost was from Maine, and Benjamin D. Emerson from New Hampshire.

The South's dependence upon the North for textbooks reflected an important difference in the economy of the two cultures. During the nineteenth century, the manufacture of textbooks was a complicated and

expensive process. Because of the widespread use of illustrations, major investments had to be made not only in engravings, but in the physical plants required to produce such works.

Southerners' resentment over their dependence upon Northern textbooks, authors, and publishers was very strong. Many popular writers, as well as educators, questioned the appropriateness of the information included in the texts brought down from the North. Prior to the Civil War, Southern authors argued that the textbooks produced by the Northern publishers had the earmarks of sectionalism and were clearly biased against Southern values and traditions.

In addition, textbooks produced in the North were often highly inaccurate when used in a Southern context. Northern textbooks, for example, often discussed towns and counties, when parish divisions were used in places like Louisiana. Northern crops were used to describe agriculture, but not Southern products such as cotton. Most objectionable to Southerners was the frequent criticism of slavery by abolitionist-oriented textbook authors. In the great majority of Northern textbooks, slavery was attacked as a corrupt institution that had to be eliminated at all costs.

The Southern Response

Protests over abolitionist content in textbooks written and manufactured in the North were widespread in the South during the 1850s. Popular journals such as *DeBow's Review* ran a series of articles criticizing Northern textbook content, while also calling for the establishment of a Southern textbook industry. The importance of the textbook issue was also reflected in the actions taken by the various Southern commercial conventions. The commercial convention which met in Charleston in 1854, for example, supported the publication of textbooks in the South, as did the convention in New Orleans in 1855.

Economic factors also played an important part in the South's opposition to Northern textbooks. Numerous authors argued that by buying their textbooks from the North, the South was in fact paying an indirect tax to the North, in which Southern capital was being expended on an inferior product. Many

Southerners came to believe that there was no reason that the South could not write and manufacture its own textbooks. The need for the South to manufacture its own textbooks became increasingly significant as the sectional conflict grew. Yet despite the passage of numerous resolutions and the organization of various committees at the Southern commercial conventions, little progress was made by the South prior to the Civil War in developing its own textbook industry.

With the advent of the Civil War, the South could no longer avoid the problem of manufacturing and producing its own textbooks. Various states throughout the Confederacy put forward legislation to promote the adoption of Southern texts and to eliminate any Northern materials from use in the education of their children. Georgia, for example, established a textbook competition to encourage the creation of a spelling book that could be used in the “common schools” throughout the Confederacy.

Within a relatively short period of time, numerous Southern texts were written and manufactured. A careful examination of these works shows them to be highly dependent upon Northern textbooks for much of their material. Typically, they were poorly printed and relatively brief in their content. It is unfair in many respects to use them as examples of what the South could potentially produce, since the priorities imposed by the war, as well as the shortage of materials necessary to manufacture books, precluded the production of higher quality works.

Lessons of the Conflict

The content of the Confederate textbooks can provide us with important insights into the South’s perception of the North. While heroes of Southern origin such as George Washington figure prominently in Confederate texts, there is no mention of New Englanders such as Joseph Warren and John Adams. In works such as Marinda Branson Moore’s *First Dixie Reader* (1863), comparisons are made between the life of the Black slave laborer and the free White laborer in the North that clearly suggest that the conditions of life are superior for the Black worker.

Both the North and the South were acutely aware of a textbook’s potential to establish the values and

norms of the children who read it. The conflict over textbooks in the years prior to the Civil War, and the eventual creation of distinctively Southern textbooks during the Civil War, was a reflection of the two profoundly different cultures that had emerged in the North and the South by the time of the Civil War.

Following the Civil War, there was a conscious attempt on the part of the North to develop textbooks by authors who were acceptable to the South. While the Civil War had removed the issue of slavery and abolition from American textbooks, it also forced Northern textbook authors and publishers to take into account the distinctiveness of the South as a region, its economy, geography, and traditional culture. In doing so, the textbooks published after the Civil War began to reflect not simply the regional interests and needs of the North but also those of the South, and of a previously divided nation intent upon reuniting itself and developing a more unified national consciousness.

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See also Catechisms; Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Textbooks, History of

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CONSTRUCTIVISM

In education, constructivism refers to theories of knowledge and learning. These theories state that knowledge is constructed rather than received from an

objective world or external reality. For example, knowledge does not exist in a book but rather is produced by the reader in the process of reading. In day-to-day practice, however, constructivism is much more complicated; philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, scientists, and educators approach and understand this “simple” theory of knowledge and learning quite differently. Thus, constructivism perhaps is understood best as an academic construct or metaphor that describes many different ways of thinking about learning and knowledge acquisition, as summarized in this entry.

Theoretical Background

Constructivism does not have a clear beginning: No single person or movement appears responsible for developing or laying the foundation for modern-day constructivist theories. The seeds of constructivist approaches, though, regularly are traced to Giovanni Battista Vico, Paul Goodman, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, John Dewey, and Lev Vygotsky. While these early thinkers did not label themselves as “constructivists,” their key ideas have constructivist elements.

Constructivism primarily is a synthesis of ideas from philosophy, sociology, psychology, and education. For instance, the philosophy of poststructuralists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes ushered in postmodernism and its skeptical attitude toward objectivity. In sociology, works like Berger’s and Luckmann’s further support the idea that knowledge is constructed, not given. But it was psychology—Jean Piaget and Vygotsky and later Jerome Bruner and Ernst von Glasersfeld—that shaped early constructivism.

Constructivism describes a theory of both knowing and learning. Even so, certain fields focus more intently on “knowing” (e.g., philosophy and sociology), whereas others focus more on “learning” (e.g., psychology and education). As a theory of knowing, constructivism is based on the idea that knowledge does not exist in an objective world, outside of the “knower.” Instead, knowledge is constructed by people. This epistemology is often understood in relation or opposition to objectivism. While any nonconstructivist

epistemology is labeled objectivist, objectivism holds that the purpose of the mind or knowledge is to mirror the “objective” real world. But, based on findings in science, philosophy, sociology, math, and psychology, constructivists now hold that knowledge does not exist independently of a knower; rather, it is constructed individually or socially.

Constructivism as a theory of learning, or psychological constructivism, emerged from the work of cognitive psychologists such as Piaget, Vygotsky, and Bruner. With the rise of cultural psychology, two perspectives became dominant: individual constructivism and social constructivism. While these two schools of thought differ, perhaps as ends of a continuum (i.e., one focuses on the construction of meaning inside a person and the other focuses on the construction of meaning among people), others have argued that all learners construct meaning socially as well as individually.

Individual or cognitive constructivism initially evolved from Piaget’s work, specifically on genetic epistemology. Cognitive constructivism developed as a reaction to behaviorist and information-processing theories of learning. It conceptualizes learning as the result of constructing meaning based on an individual’s experience and prior knowledge.

Social constructivism grew from the work of individual constructivists as well as Vygotsky and others who took a social and cultural perspective of knowledge creation. Pure social constructivists believe that learning occurs via the construction of meaning in social interaction, within cultures, and through language. To confuse matters, in the sociology of knowledge, the philosophy of science, and the history of science, social constructivism denotes a field of study that focuses primarily on the social construction of science and scientific facts.

Implications for Education

In education, constructivism emerged formally as a theory of knowledge and a theory of learning during the 1980s with the works of Bruner and von Glasersfeld, which attracted the attention of educators during the early 1990s. While labeling oneself as a constructivist is now in vogue and the idea that knowledge is constructed is accepted widely, the emergence of construc-

tivist learning theories and the constructivist pedagogies that followed created a major paradigm shift in education. Thus, greater emphasis has been placed on the learner's prior experience rather than the teacher's and on the active construction of knowledge rather than the passive receipt of information.

As a theory of learning, constructivism focuses on the implications of "constructing knowledge" for learning. Typically approaching constructivism from a psychological or cultural perspective, educators emphasize the role of learners rather than that of knowledge. Generally, educators are interested in implications of constructivist theories for practice and learning (and to a lesser degree of knowing) rather than their ontological or metaphysical implications.

While constructivism is not a theory of teaching, constructivists argue that pedagogy should be based in theories of learning to ensure that teaching always centers on student learning. Recently, constructivist theories of learning have sparked reforms in teaching practices, suggesting that learning environments focus directly on students, the importance of context, authentic problems and tasks, discovery learning, student's prior knowledge, group projects and discussion, student choice, and authentic assessment.

Explicit strategies or approaches to learning also have been identified that support individual and social learning: Anchored instruction, situated learning, and cognitive apprenticeship are just a few different approaches to teaching and learning that draw from constructivist theories. Anchored instruction involves lodging instruction in an authentic problem-based story, case study, or situation in which students generate and test possible problem solutions. Situated learning emphasizes learning through social interaction and collaboration in authentic contexts. And cognitive apprenticeship, like traditional apprenticeship, relies on pairing a guide or an expert with a learner in an authentic study but focuses on making thinking explicit.

Despite the implications, adopting a constructivist theory of learning does not preclude teacher-centered approaches to teaching and learning, because both knowledge and learning are the result of construction regardless of the teaching approach. In education from a constructivist perspective, teachers are encouraged to become student centered because constructivism is

first and foremost a theory of learning and knowledge acquisition, and the primary learner is the student.

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See also Active Learning; Cooperative Learning; Critical Thinking; Philosophy of Education; Sociology of Education

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CONTEXT IN EDUCATION

Human thoughts, meanings, interpretations, and understandings are basically formulated and negotiated through activity that is influenced by environmental conditions. Understanding and explaining the ways in which environmental conditions influence humans engaged in individual and collective activity within and among institutions is a major problem of educational theoreticians, researchers, and practitioners. A common perception of environment is that humans act on it rather than interact with it. However, active humans and active environments act on each other. *Context* is a

unit of analysis that is often used to account for how environmental conditions shape human activity.

Definition

Context is derived from the Latin *contexere*, “to join together,” and *texere*, “to weave.” Context has multiple meanings (e.g., circumstances, settings, activities, situations, and events).

A context is constituted of the interweaving of elements mediating human activity, including material, ideal, and social objects; instrumental tools, such as computers, rulers, and pencils; psychological tools, such as everyday and institutional discourses and cognitive strategies; and rules and regulations, division of labor, participant roles, participation structures, and discourses. The dynamic interrelationship among these elements *is* a context. At one and the same time, human activity affects context and context affects human activity, co-constructing each other.

Courtney Cazden represents context as a set of concentric circles in which an activity of interest is located near the center, constituted by and constituting levels of context. Concentric circles reveal the embedded nature of the interactions constituting activities of interest, for example, teacher and pupils engaged in a literacy lesson arranged for the accomplishment of a literacy task lead to the acquisition of a concept or skill; teacher education candidates observing or participating in classroom literacy instruction; teachers participating in a professional development activity; or a professor and students participating in a methods class of a teacher education program.

Education Example

Figure 1 illustrates the idea of using concentric circles to analyze the interplay among levels of context and their potential effects on classroom instruction (top half of the model) and teacher education (bottom half of the model). First, consider the literacy lesson at the core of the concentric circles. The lesson is located in an instructional group, in a classroom. The lesson is structured according to the normative practices of the school in which the classroom is located and the professional practices of the particular classroom teacher. Schools

and classroom teachers vary in the way they interpret literacy curriculum and instruction. The literacy curriculum and instruction are regulated by policies of the state department of education, federal mandates, and local boards of education. Curriculum and instruction are organized and guided by the literacy curriculum of the local school system. The selection of and emphasis placed on the particular literacy task pupils are expected to accomplish in the lesson are influenced by statewide tests of achievement and the public posting of grades schools receive based on their performance on the tests. From this perspective, it is easy to understand how the literacy lesson of interest and its qualities are shaped by the interplay between and among a number of interacting contexts. In a sense, the literacy lesson is “caused” by other contexts.

Turning to the bottom half of the model, it is possible to consider the interactive effects of context on the preparation of prospective teachers. Teacher-education accrediting organizations, such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, and professional associations, such as the International Reading Association, set standards related to teaching in general and to literacy instruction in particular that teacher education programs are expected to meet in order to be professionally accredited. Similarly, the state department of education sets performance standards that teacher education programs must meet for accreditation and standards their students must meet in order to obtain teacher certification. Teacher education candidates participate in learning experiences that are organized by a conceptual framework that specifies the philosophical and theoretical orientation guiding the program and its structure, including subject matter, instruction, and where, and how students will participate in field experiences and student teaching. Similar to classroom instruction, the teacher education is caused by the interaction of layers of context.

The literacy lesson in the core circle is the nexus where the two complementary contexts merge and co-construct both classroom literacy instruction and the education of prospective teachers. On the one hand, interactions among the layers of one context “author” the literacy lesson before teacher education students arrive to observe or participate in the lesson. On the other, teacher education students bring with them

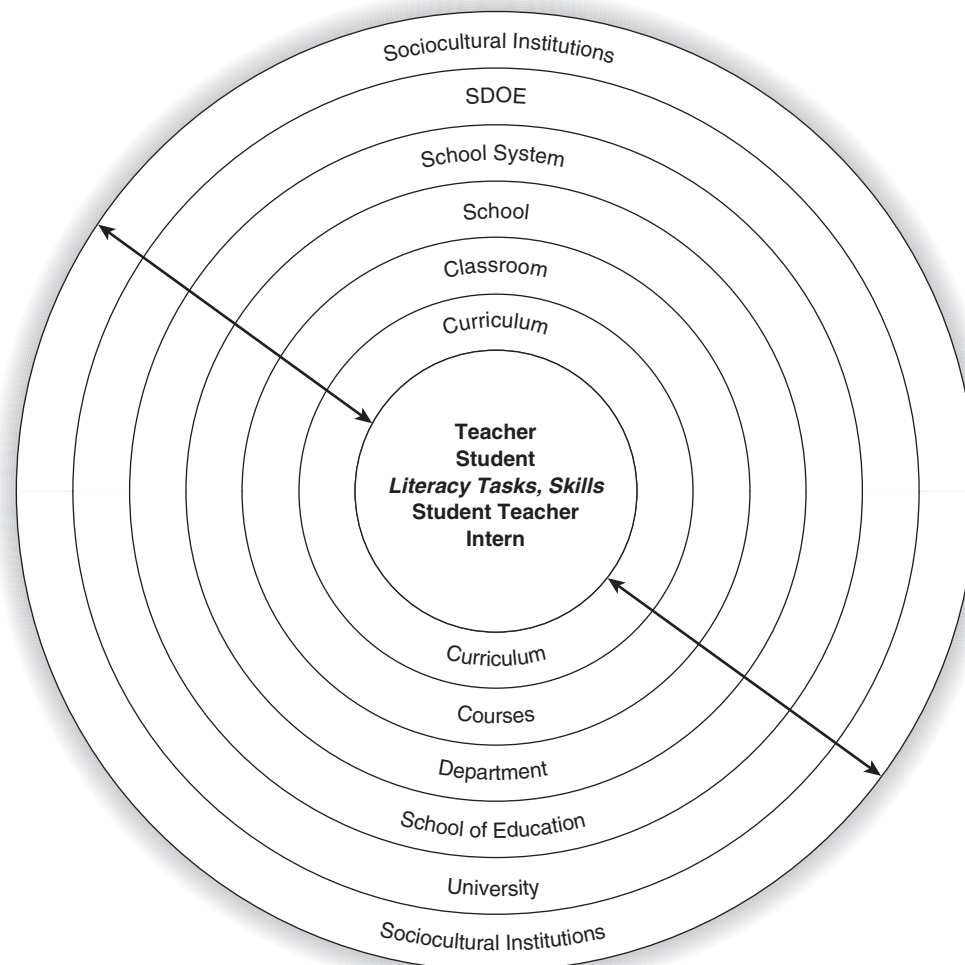


Figure 1 Interplay Among Levels of Context

Source: Blanton, W. E., Shook, A., Hocutt, A., Medina, A., & Schumm, J. (2006). Professional development of reading teachers: Biography and context, p. 105. In K. R. Howey, Linda M. Post, & N. L. Zimpher (Eds.), *Recruiting, preparing, and retaining teachers for urban schools* (pp. 101–225). Washington, DC: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Used with permission.

“authoring” effects of interactions among the layers of context of their teacher education program. As the contexts of classroom instruction and teacher education interpenetrate each other, they co-construct a unique learning context for both students and teacher education candidates.

In summary, the interactive effects of the environment and human activity are bidirectional. Context and activity co-construct each other. Context is a useful unit of analysis for analyzing these effects. Contextual analyses can increase the understanding of what facilitates or inhibits teacher and student responses to classroom interventions and how patterns

of activity within and among educational institutions affect teacher preparation.

William E. Blanton and Adriana Medina

See also Qualitative Research; Teacher Preparation

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COOPERATIVE LEARNING

Cooperative learning was first proposed in response to traditional curriculum-driven education. It is a strategy in which small groups of students with different levels of ability engage in a variety of activities to improve their understanding of the topic. Each member of the group is responsible for learning what is taught, but also for helping other group members learn, thus creating an atmosphere of achievement for all. Students work through the task until all members of the group understand the concept. Inherent in cooperative learning is the assumption that learning is an active, constructive process that depends on rich context, that it is social in nature, and that it works best with diverse learners.

Cooperative learning is based on the social interdependence theories of Kurt Lewin and Morton Deutsch.

These theories and associated research explore the influence of social structure on individual interactions within a given situation, which then affect the outcome of those interactions. David Johnson and Roger Johnson (University of Minnesota), Elizabeth Cohen (Stanford University), and Robert Slavin (Johns Hopkins University) have spent years researching cooperative learning and are considered pioneers in this area.

Cooperative learning groups typically include the following key components: social interaction of students within groups, group incentives that motivate students to urge others in the group to perform well, equal opportunity for each member, specialization of tasks, individual accountability, and competition among groups. It is important that educators do not mistake this strategy as group work, in which students are merely seated next to each other and possibly create a product together. Cooperative learning, instead, is characterized by both individual and group accountability and achievement. Students should be arranged in heterogeneous groups, and should be given clear expectations for cooperative learning tasks.

Five elements are crucial to cooperative learning groups:

1. *Positive interdependence* means that the efforts of each group member are required in order for the group to succeed. It is based on the belief that each group member has something unique to contribute because of his or her resources and/or role or responsibility in the task.
2. *Face-to-face interaction* refers to the group members promoting success for each other. Group members teach what they know to the other members and orally explain, describe, and talk their way through solving problems. Each group member checks to see that other members are gaining understanding of the topic or task.
3. *Individual and group accountability* means that no one gets out of doing work and that each member is responsible for contributing. This element happens more easily when group sizes are small, when they are observed for participation, and when members are assigned roles or tasks.
4. *Interpersonal and small group skills* refers to the various social skills that must be present (and often must be taught) to cooperative learning groups. They include, but are not limited to leadership,

conflict management, communication, trust building, and decision making.

5. *Group processing* refers to the ability of the group to discuss how well they are achieving their goals, how effectively they are working, what they are each doing that is helpful, and the ability to make decisions about behaviors that are helping (or hurting) the group.

Cooperative learning is thought to be popular and easy to implement at any grade level. Results have included: improved behavior and attendance, increased motivation and self-confidence, increased liking of school and fellow students, and improved academic achievement. Cooperative learning is also thought to increase self-esteem, utilize higher-level thinking skills, increase students' appreciation of different points of view, develop social skills, and enhance students' satisfaction with their learning experiences.

Classroom activities that promote cooperative learning include: think-pair-share, round-robin brainstorming, jigsaw, numbered heads, literature circles, and reciprocal teaching.

Jodi C. Marshall

See also Sociology of Education

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pain to alter misbehavior. This entry looks at the history of corporal punishment in schools, the contemporary situation, and research on its impact.

Historical Background

Caution and debate about the use of corporal punishment has a long history in education. The roots of corporal punishment can be traced back to the early history of the education system. Almost from the very beginning of schooling, there have been discussions about the use of techniques intended to alter misbehavior. The religious foundation of the American education system has had a significant influence on the conception and ultimate use of corporal punishment. Conceptions about the nature of childhood, based on the King James Version of the Christian Bible (i.e., spare the rod, spoil the child), have traditionally served as one of the most frequently cited justifications for the use of corporal punishment.

The use of corporal punishment also has another interesting aspect to its history. There is a general belief that the intensity of punishment correlates with its effectiveness. In other words, if a more intensive punishment technique is used, the child is more likely to engage in more appropriate behavior in the future. Thus, one of the most intense forms of punishment that can be applied is corporal punishment. There is no empirical support for this notion nor does it seem like a favorable prospect for children attending schools.

It was not until well into the twentieth century that some began to question the validity of corporal punishment in schools. This is not to imply that educators, parents, and community members in general did not have concerns about the use of corporal punishment, but as the knowledge base of child development and the negative side effects of punishment became clearer, more questions were raised about its use in schools.

Historically, one of the most significant events took place in the mid-1970s. In two landmark cases, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that the use of corporal punishment in schools neither violates the Eighth Amendment protection against cruel and unusual punishment nor breaches the due process guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment (*Baker v. Owen*, 1975; *Ingraham v. Wright*, 1977). Thus, the foundation was

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal punishment is one of the most long-standing issues in education. There is no general consensus on the measures necessary to ensure student compliance in schools. Therefore, a number of techniques have been used, and some have involved the infliction of

laid: Corporal punishment could be used in schools, and in many areas the use of corporal punishment has survived.

The United States is unique in a number of ways, and one distinction pertains directly to corporal punishment. The United States is one of two countries choosing not to ratify the Convention on the Rights of Child, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1989. The document calls for a number of protections of children, including protection from violence. Corporal punishment is legal in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia. The highest incidence of use is reported in the southern region of the United States, with Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas, making up the top ten. In spite of this, some major urban cities (e.g., Atlanta, Chicago, New Orleans, and New York) have banned corporal punishment and some entire school districts have banned the practice in spite the legal status of corporal punishment in the rest of the state (e.g., Broward County, Florida).

Is It Effective?

The legal status of corporal punishment does not address the core matters regarding its validity. There is little debate about the intent of corporal punishment: All generally agree that techniques to alter student misbehavior should be used to promote a safe, effective, and efficient learning environment. What is often debated is the use of a technique that is based on the infliction of pain.

Punishment, like many concepts that have been empirically evaluated, falls victim to completely different meanings in and outside of the laboratory. Social science researchers (e.g., psychologists) and the rest of general society have completely different conceptions about the meaning and appropriate use of punishment. The meaning of corporal punishment to general society is accepted as any punishment that inflicts bodily pain to alter misbehavior. While many accept such a definition as clear and concise, for social scientists, this definition is problematic. In contrast, social scientists define punishment as any action or event following behavior that results in the likelihood of that behavior not occurring in the future. It is possible for particular

actions or events to become “punishers.” For example, a student may have several unpleasant interactions with a teacher, and the teacher becomes a “punisher,” leading to the likelihood that the student will attend school infrequently or perhaps stop attending school at all. Thus, it is clear the meaning and intent of the term *punishment* does not necessarily coincide with past and current practices in schools.

The use of punishment is not only intended to stop the occurrence of misbehavior; many believe that the use of punishment techniques, most specifically corporal punishment, will actually teach children to discriminate between appropriate and inappropriate behavior. This has not been supported in a number of rigorous tests, resulting in weak support at best for the use of punishment in general and corporal punishment in particular. Therein lies one of the most highly debated issues in education: Should corporal punishment be used, and if it is applied, when, where, and who should apply this technique?

Punishment has been researched for a number of years and there is solid evidence to indicate that a number of side effects can result from its use. These include the following: (a) it provides a model of aggression for students to follow, (b) it teaches that physical outbursts are an acceptable way of resolving conflict, (c) it may lead to decreased learning, (d) it may result in poor attendance, and (e) it may create an aversion to those responsible for delivering the punishment. Corporal punishment is often thought to be one of the most intense forms of punishment to be applied as a measure of last resort. This should lead to the development and use of progressive steps to be used when misbehavior occurs, ensuring that corporal punishment is not the first step and is used only sparingly, as a number of techniques will be applied before corporal punishment is even considered. This does not seem to be the case in many schools, especially those in urban areas. The arguments for and against the use of corporal punishment will continue to be discussed back and forth in the absence of empirical support for its use as well as a high level of social acceptance from general society.

Charles Dukes

See also School Law

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CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION

The relationship between public schooling and the economic workings of capitalist society has long been a concern of social theorists, from European neo-Marxists such as Louis Althusser and Paul Willis, to American critics of industrial/corporate capitalism like Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, and Martin Carnoy. Early initiatives by the business sector to reform public education usually focused on tailoring the curriculum to the needs of industry; critiques of such initiatives stressed the school's role in preparing students to be docile workers within a stratified labor market.

In the decades since these critiques evolved, however, both capitalism and public education have undergone profound changes. The U.S. economy, and public life in general, have been transformed by the advent of digital information and communications technology; corporations aggressively market their products to a huge student population with billions of dollars in disposable income; and beleaguered government entities are increasingly turning to for-profit, private corporations to manage public institutions like hospitals, prisons, and schools. Given the pervasiveness of these developments, it is hardly surprising that new and varied

linkages have arisen between public education and private capital and that educational debates are increasingly articulated in the idiom of the corporate boardroom. This entry looks at this phenomenon by focusing on its evolving perspectives about students.

Students as Workers

Larry Cuban identifies two key periods of business-inspired school reform. The first, from 1880 to 1930, was a response to the economic and social transformations that accompanied the rise of U.S. industrialism and the concomitant waves of European immigration. Despite the thousands of immigrants and rural Americans flooding the cities in search of factory jobs, employers had trouble finding workers with the technical skills they needed. Around the same time, the invention of the corporation revolutionized the organization of large businesses. The increasing concentration of wealth and power in corporations, along with the professionalization and bureaucratization of management, meant that U.S. capitalists were well positioned to reform schools to better meet their labor needs.

Industrialists also began to feel the pressure of global competition more acutely and to look to the European technical schools of the time as a model for U.S. school reform. The business sector found common ground with progressive social reformers, who saw public schooling as a potential solution to the social ills of burgeoning urban slums.

Armed with new principles of “scientific management” and new technologies of standardized assessment, this alliance gave rise to the vocational education movement; within a few decades, this movement had reshaped the purposes, curriculum, and organization of public schooling. By the 1930s, high schools had ceased to be selective, elite institutions that prepared the children of the wealthy for college, and had become mass institutions that prepared more than half of all U.S. youth between the ages of fourteen and seventeen to enter the world of work.

Students as Raw Materials

Reform initiatives of this era cast students not only as future workers, but also as the “raw materials” in a

technical process of refinement. The business model of educational management focused on the quality of the final product, that is, young people possessed of the skills and orientations required by business. The apprenticeship model of learning gave way to the institutionalized transmission of skills, with the attendant emphasis on bureaucracy, hierarchy, standardization, and certification. In addition to teaching technical skills, schools were expected to instill in students habits of punctuality, obedience, efficiency, and other characteristics of a “good worker.”

In contrast to the “administrative progressives,” with their emphasis on education’s potential contributions to the national economy, “pedagogical progressives” drew on the ideas of John Dewey for inspiration. They focused on “the whole child” and on teaching and learning as a means to develop students’ intellectual gifts and civic sensibilities, thus deepening their critical engagement within an expanding, democratic public sphere. Although these ideas gained an important place within educational discourse, the administrative progressives had a deeper and more lasting influence on how most modern schools—their personnel, curricula, pedagogy, and assessment practices—are organized and managed.

To this day, the business model of management holds a firm place within the discourse of educational administration and policy making. Local, state, and national panels of “educational experts” invariably include business leaders, who often argue (or assume) that the primary goal of schooling is to increase economic competitiveness, and describe students in terms of “human capital” and “value added.”

From *A Nation at Risk* to No Child Left Behind

In the late twentieth century, corporations’ roles expanded in many aspects of public life. In 1983, during Ronald Reagan’s presidency, the link between schooling and national economic health was further strengthened with the release of *A Nation at Risk*, the report of the president’s National Commission on Excellence in Education. This report warned of “a rising tide of mediocrity” in education, sounding the alarm in explicitly nationalist terms. A much-quoted

passage from the introduction reads: “If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. . . . We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament.”

A Nation at Risk deepened the focus on educational outcomes (as opposed to pedagogical processes) and called for widespread reform based on the development of standards-based curricula, a longer school day and year, and more rigorous requirements for high school graduation and admission to college. These recommendations eventually evolved into the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, passed by Congress in 1994. However, given the limited federal role in educational decision making, the specific substance of reforms remained primarily in the hands of the states, and by the end of the century many of the stated goals had still not been reached.

It was not until 2002, under President George W. Bush, that the federal government assumed a more concrete and authoritative role in educational reform, with the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act (actually the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965). NCLB, as it came to be known, set specific goals and deadlines for improving student performance and eliminating “achievement gaps” between students of different ethnicities and income levels. Critics argued that the measures established in pursuit of these goals were based on an overly narrow definition of student performance, and limited schools’ options with regard to pedagogical strategies to address achievement gaps. Furthermore, NCLB was in large part an “unfunded mandate,” in that it set strict requirements for school districts to continue to receive federal funding (which generally constitutes about 15 percent of their operating budget), but did not make available the fiscal resources to carry out the required measures.

The emphasis on “accountability” included sanctions at various levels if performance requirements were not met: students could be retained or prevented from graduating; merit pay could be withheld from teachers and administrators; and schools could face reduced funding or even reorganization, under which the entire teaching staff could be replaced. Simultaneously,

school districts were experiencing a fiscal crisis brought on by the new federal requirements, increasing enrollments (especially of low-income and immigrant students), and squeezing state budgets. This combination of factors opened the door to a new era of corporate involvement in education.

Students as Consumers

Faced with rising costs, shrinking budgets, and the threat of sanctions, schools turned to the private sector for help. Corporations moved quickly into the gap, motivated in part by an important realization: that business had an interest in students not only as workers, but as consumers. As corporations became aware of the huge potential of the “youth market,” they began to seek new means and venues through which to tap this market. Shifts in educational policy provided a range of opportunities to reach students with corporate messages, from traditional forms of advertising, to product placement in educational materials, to the publishing boom in standardized tests.

Advertising

Increasingly, businesses are “partnering” with schools, offering financial support in exchange for access to a captive student audience for their advertising. Examples include corporate sponsorships of school sports arenas and uniforms, school cafeterias serving fast food from Burger King and Pizza Hut, and soda contracts that pay schools to install vending machines in their hallways (often with “sales quotas” that put pressure on school administrators to increase students’ soda consumption).

In elementary schools, students’ academic performance may be rewarded with coupons for free meals at Sonic or Taco Bell. Printed materials sent home with students, such as monthly lunch menus and order forms for school book fairs, contain word games and advertisements featuring well-known cartoon characters with marketing tie-ins to movies, toys, and fast food. Forty percent of U.S. high schools also broadcast Channel One, whose daily program (which is obligatory for students under the terms of the contract) consists of twelve minutes of teen-oriented news and two minutes

of commercials; its advertising rates are comparable to those for prime-time network television.

Curriculum Materials

In addition to explicit advertising through traditional media like television ads and stadium scoreboard signs, many corporations have developed curriculum materials for use in public schools. These materials use academic subject areas as contexts for promoting commercial products; for example, teachers can use brightly illustrated books and online lesson plans to teach young students “M&M Math,” with the colorful candies as counters; Revlon offers lesson plans that guide students to explore the relationship between their hair and their self-esteem; and Exxon produces classroom videos on ecofriendly oil-drilling practices.

Since these materials are sent free of charge to teachers (even teachers who have not requested them), they are often eagerly adopted by schools struggling under shrinking budgets. Furthermore, since they involve no financial outlay on the part of the school district, such materials are not subject to the (often lengthy) vetting and review process that regular textbooks undergo. Given these highly profitable developments in school-based media, it is hardly surprising that entire advertising agencies and trade journals dedicated to tapping “the student market” have sprung up.

Standardized Testing

NCLB’s emphasis on “accountability” dovetails with corporate interests in less obvious ways as well. The law gave rise to an explosion of standardized testing in public schools, and the “high-stakes” consequences of students’ performance on these tests leads many schools to invest thousands of dollars in test preparation materials. Schools’ financial outlay around standardized testing has been a huge boon for textbook publishers. Critics stress the financial cost to schools and the educational cost to students of making standardized tests the central focus of instruction and assessment. Some have also denounced the channeling of billions of education dollars into scandal-plagued but profitable private ventures such as “Reading First” (owned by McGraw-Hill, whose

CEO Harold McGraw is a long-time friend and supporter of the Bush family) and “Ignite Learning” (owned by George W. Bush’s brother Neil).

Other Indicators

In addition to school-business partnerships, ads in curriculum materials, and the publication of standardized tests and drill booklets, the incursion of private interests into public education is also reflected in educational policies favoring charter schools and vouchers (under the rubric of “parental choice” and “flexibility”). Over the last two decades, both Republican and Democratic administrations have displayed a strong commitment to free-market policies, as well as to expanded federal control over schooling; one result has been to apply the logic of the free market to education, by making schools compete with each other for students (especially “desirable” students, i.e., those who raise a school’s average test scores). Standardized accountability measures, which are published in local newspapers, serve as the basis for “comparison shopping” by parents.

Numerous critics have noted the growing trend of “contracting out” to private companies such government functions as military support, administration of social services, prison systems, and, increasingly, the delivery of educational services. Many educators feel that their professional priorities—prioritizing the well-being of children, encouraging a wide range of public debate, and deepening our democracy by cultivating well-informed, critical citizens—are incompatible with corporations’ inherent mission of maximizing profits and prioritizing the interests of stockholders. Nevertheless, given the growing corporate influence in all areas of public life, the corporation’s role in educational policy and practice seems unlikely to diminish in coming years.

Aurolyn Luykx

See also Educational Reform; Privatization; School Choice; Scientific Management; Standardized Testing

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CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

What we now call “distance education” began long before computers linked students and teachers. From the 1890s on, a wide range of private companies, public universities, and enterprising individuals sold instruction by mail. State and federal regulations were so meager before the 1930s that even the sham schools thrived. The popularity of this form of education diminished after 1930, but before then more students enrolled annually in correspondence courses than entered colleges and universities. This entry looks at the history of correspondence schools: why students enrolled, what schools offered, how standards were developed, and why this educational option declined.

Student Motivations

Acquiring a better job was the reason why most people took a correspondence course. They wanted to learn the specific skills necessary for a promotion or for self-employment. The early-twentieth-century labor market changed more rapidly than the curriculum of the public high school, where only a small fraction of adolescents graduated, and vocational training was in its infancy. For an unskilled or semiskilled laborer, home study promised a brighter future in expanding sectors

of the workforce. For White-collar workers, the field of business abounded with mail-order courses, especially in accounting and sales. For several professions where educational credentials were not yet a precondition of taking licensing examinations, coursework in law, engineering, and architecture could be purchased.

Not everyone sought vocational goals, to be sure. Self-improvement was pursued through courses in music, art, foreign languages, social skills, physical fitness, and hobbies such as radio repair. The popular Arthur Murray dance studios began as correspondence courses. Nearly any academic subject could be studied, from basic mathematics to Hebrew. The schools offered whatever the marketplace would buy—the largest firms had hundreds of courses—although the vocational fare outsold all else.

To help students succeed, the correspondence schools relied on concise texts. The schools often created their own materials rather than assign someone else's books and articles. Most courses had a series of sixteen- to thirty-two-page lessons. Short sentences, simple words, first- and second-person diction, copious pictures: The lessons were designed to be easier to grasp than those in traditional textbooks. The courses focused on practical applications rather than theoretical foundations, and they assumed that learning was linear: Students were expected to master each lesson before starting the next one. Examinations posed short-answer questions calling for restatement or paraphrase of specific passages in the lesson (art, drafting, and creative writing were the exceptions). Comments from the instructors were usually prompt and apt. Telephone calls and personal meetings were not provided, although a few schools offered several weeks of on-site training at the end of the coursework. Grading was generous, with far more As than Bs and very few failures.

University Home Study

Several of the premier universities included home study as part of their outreach to adults in their region. William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago, had led a successful correspondence school, and he admired the home-study work of the Chautauqua summer gatherings, which mixed instruction, entertainment, and religion. Harper

celebrated the “extension” work of major research universities, sure that their mission of cultural evangelism should include instruction for nonmatriculated students by means of traveling libraries, itinerant lectures, evening classes, and home study. Most of the larger state universities shared his point of view, with the University of Wisconsin foremost in creating multiple educational opportunities for residents far from the campus. At Wisconsin and elsewhere, at least one year of college credits earned through the mail could count toward a bachelor's degree.

The universities' home-study departments never reached the scope and scale of their for-profit counterparts. When annual enrollments in university home study peaked in the 1920s, they were only 15 percent of the half million who bought home-study courses elsewhere. The greater prestige of a University of Chicago or Wisconsin did not offset several disadvantages. Many faculty refused to participate, and many administrators subordinated home study to other extension work. On most campuses, correspondence courses lacked the aggressive recruitment undertaken by the for-profit companies.

Advertising budgets were modest, and promotion by field agents paled in comparison with the solicitations by the salesmen employed by many for-profit schools. Universities preferred to recruit, quietly, from constituencies they knew needed and wanted their service, such as small, rural high schools eager to augment their patchy curriculum. And rarely did higher education target burgeoning sectors in the job market by introducing courses wholly unrelated to familiar academic departments—teacher education, yes; air conditioning and diesel engines, no.

Developing Standards

The legitimacy of home study suffered from the mischief of countless fly-by-night schools. Seeing quick and easy profits in this mail-order business, hundreds of unscrupulous entrepreneurs tried to lure the naive and gullible. Deceptive inducements to enroll were common—ads placed in the “help wanted” columns, claims that no talent was necessary, bogus scholarships, and other misleading incentives. Many schools' names—university, federal, association, national—distorted

their small size. Overblown claims about the employment prospects for graduates were rife. Even when the advertisements were truthful, the pitch from the salesmen often promised the impossible, especially in regard to the job market.

In 1926, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), working with eleven large schools, developed rules of ethical conduct. By 1940, the FTC had issued several hundred cease-and-desist orders, and the federal postal inspectors had prosecuted some schools for mail-order fraud. Internal regulations also took shape. Approximately 50 of the over-300 schools were founding members of the National Home Study Council (NHSC) in the late 1920s, the first association created by the proprietary schools. NHSC knew that the deceitful schools hurt the reputation of all schools, and it therefore supported the FTC guidelines.

Yet many NHSC schools continued to use one (legal) device that caused much ill will: Students signed binding contracts to pay the full tuition whether or not they persevered. Because only a small fraction ever finished their course, many schools aggressively sought payment, often relying on collection agencies and lawsuits. Whenever the dropout had a reasonable excuse to stop, the relentless enforcement of the contract generated bad publicity for correspondence courses.

For many legislators, the FTC and NHSC accomplishments were too modest. Nearly every state enacted regulations in the 1930s and thereafter. Requiring schools to secure a license was common, and that entailed the submission of advertisements, contracts, texts, financial statements, and other evidence of legitimacy. The states curbed the reach of the good as well as the poor schools by stiffening the requirements for licensure in many occupations. For instance, accounting had attracted thousands of home-study students in the early twentieth century, but by the 1930s, most states required two or four years of college, not just success on an examination previously open to anyone.

Postwar Decline

As an academic credential, home-study enrollment lost value as other sectors of American education

expanded. Students who previously dropped out and wanted to return often had no better choice than home study. After World War II, they were more likely to be near a community college, a branch of the state university, or an evening class at the local high school. The expansion of enrollments left fewer stragglers by the wayside, and those who did languish now had fresh chances to catch up by earning traditional secondary and postsecondary credits and degrees.

Furthermore, there were fewer and fewer attractive jobs open to students who prepared solely through home study. Employers preferred or required other credentials when they hired and promoted, leaving the freelance market in art, writing, and photography as the one area where home study grew significantly in the 1950s and 1960s. Vendors of education through the mail still found students for the service they had always provided: convenience at a reasonable cost for anyone interested in knowing more and doing better.

The total number of students enrolled throughout the 1950s and 1960s stayed in or near the half million range achieved in the 1920s, but as a fraction of overall academic enrollments, home study declined. In the 1970s and 1980s, tighter state and federal regulations squeezed enrollments, as did the relentless growth of community colleges. In the 1990s, distance education revived the popularity of learning at home, and many vendors supplied what even the established correspondence schools could not offer: the traditional academic diplomas necessary for career mobility in early twenty-first-century America.

Robert Hampel

See also Distance Learning

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CRITICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF EDUCATION

Critical geography, a distinct yet varied subfield of geography, seeks to understand how the social construction of space and place interacts with and reinforces structures of power and personal and group identity. A critical geography of education tries to understand how the lived experiences of schools (i.e., students, teachers, and the larger community) are defined, constrained, and liberated by spatial relationships. To understand how critical geography engages such a complex set of issues, one must begin with definitions.

Terms and Concepts

In traditional conceptions, the terms *space* and *place* are used interchangeably, with little to no distinction. To geographers, however, the difference between the terms is the basis of their entire field of study. Geographers begin to think of *space* as the physical attributes of the world around us or, more theoretically, the spatial forces at work on people. While this is what most of us think of as geography—things like mountains, rivers, borders, and capitals—spatial forces also include less tangible forces such as economics, politics, and culture. Geographers point out that something like a national border certainly represents the spatial but is human made, can change all the time, may have varying levels of importance, and ultimately may mean different things. Space, therefore, can be both natural and human made, with key characteristics within which humans interact with both constraints and possibilities.

Place, on the other hand, is a particular form of space—one in which people have imposed meaning onto particular locations or spatial characteristics. All people have places that hold special meaning to them for any variety of reasons, good or bad. Recent theoretical geographers, informed by parallel developments in Marxist, feminist, and poststructural social theory, have become interested in the processes involved in space becoming a place and what that might mean for the

people involved. As these processes undoubtedly involve issues of power and identity and operate in simultaneous and complex ways, to take up this field of study requires some distinction; that distinction is known as critical geography.

Power, for critical geographers, is always a key component in spatial relations. For example, school spaces for young people are defined by restrictions and privileges. At certain times of the day students can be only in certain parts of the school property; simply being in a particular area can mean big trouble for adults. This shows how those that have power—in this case, teachers and administrators—can define the limits of where youth can and cannot go. This happens all the time in social relations.

Furthermore, young people themselves engage in similar practices. A common example could be how seating patterns in a school cafeteria are divided up. Although there are usually no official rules as to who sits where, students typically think of certain areas as their own or, sometimes dangerously, clearly belonging to another group. Critical geographers would think about all the factors that come into play in the process of making those spatial divisions for students and then think about what those separations might mean in the development of their identities.

Identity—commonly expressed in the question “Who am I?”—involves how people come to see themselves as individuals and as members of larger society. Critical geographers suggest that this process of identity formation always happens in spaces that both construct and limit possibilities and the places that have already been invested with meaning. A critical geography of education insists on including all the varying forces that act on young people, educators, and community members as they come to know themselves and their place in the world.

Although most education scholars would suggest that the process of identity formation takes place in dramatic ways during the period of adolescence, most contemporary thinkers describe the process of identity as one that is continual and ever-changing. This is to say that for critical geographers, place and space play a role in setting the limits for a person’s process of identity and simultaneously reflect and come to have

meaning in the interaction with the identities of those young people. Some might suggest that the question “Who am I?” needs to begin with the spatial twist of “Where am I?”

Looking at Schools

The geographies of schools serve as a point to begin looking at youth and educators and their intersections with power and identity within a spatial frame. Beginning at the smallest scale, some scholars study the physical geography of classrooms themselves and map out how the teachers interact with students, how the students interact—or don’t interact—with each other, and how bodies themselves are arranged and arrange themselves.

Expanding the scale, other researchers study school buildings and architectural layouts to see if the experiences of students are in some way controlled by the physical nature of a school campus. Many of these thinkers, for example, suggest that racial segregation continues to happen in desegregated schools through the tracking of students through certain classes and therefore through certain parts of the building.

Other researchers offer an analysis of schools that begins with the unequal system of school funding based on property value and the taxes the states collect. How neighborhoods themselves are segregated and how resources are spread out across school systems might be the basis of their study. Critical geography, interested in coming to understand human interaction in all its complexity, would insist on an analysis that includes all these scales at once.

While schools might be a place to start such study, they should not be the markers of where to stop. Many studies of youth and education tend to stop at the doorway of the school, failing to recognize how young people bring the worlds of their homes and neighborhoods into the school everyday and also how events in the school day are carried outside the four walls of school buildings. Very often, youth culture is simply divided into studies of school experiences and studies of rebellion—or what some call “deviance.” Critical geographers think that division is too simple an explanation or even description of the lives of young people. Critical geography also insists that trying to understand

students’ experiences in schools must include some understanding of the spaces and places that the students bring with them—in other words, educators must know where kids are coming from.

Finally, it has been suggested by some critical geographers that if an individual or group enjoys some degree of power, then they must be able to have some control of space. If this is true, then some study of the spaces that are controlled by youth should become a part of our study of human geography. How students divide up the spaces of schools and neighborhoods shows how structures of power are at work within those groups and speak to how the culture of those young people works. Assumptions about youth and what was once termed deviance no longer sufficiently explain the behaviors, cultures, or geographies of young people. Thus critical geography offers another insight into the particular ways in which identity is formed as a process, how structures of power operate on young people, and how youth culture responds to the places in which it resides.

Robert J. Helfenbein

See also Critical Theory; Cultural Studies; Marxism; Postcolonialism; Postmodernism

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CRITICAL LITERACY

Critical literacy has its origins in progressive traditions and the Frankfurt School. It argues that, to become truly literate, students must move beyond simply decoding text and absorbing facts and information to thinking critically about what they

learn and apply it to their lives. Critical literacy recognizes that learning involves power relationships, ones that are often defined by how language is used to shape discourse.

Critical literacy is most commonly associated with the work of the Brazilian educator Paul Freire (1921–1997). In works such as *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and *Cultural Action for Freedom* (1972), Freire argues that knowledge that is imposed through a “banking model” (one that deposits facts and ideas into the learner) is of little value and often is used as a means of domination. Instead, he argues that learners need to become critically literate. In this context, learning to read represents not just a technical skill, but the development of a critical social and cultural awareness.

Thus, in his system of adult education, Freire has learners explore “generative” themes in order to learn reading and writing. These themes are drawn from real issues in adults’ lives, such as work, family, taxes, and politics. In this regard, Freire’s work is similar in purpose to that of the American philosopher John Dewey, which emphasized that learning be connected directly to the actual life and experience of learners, and thus provide the foundation for them to become socially and politically engaged citizens.

Models of critical literacy often challenge the status quo. An example would be the systematic critique of the work conservative educational commentator E. D. Hirsch, Jr. In *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987), as well as subsequent works such as *The Schools We Need and Why We Don’t Have Them* (1996), Hirsch argues for a model of “cultural literacy” in which being literate involves a “core” body of knowledge—ideally based around the accomplishments and traditions of American society. Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., in his critique of Hirsch, *Critical Literacy: What Every American Ought to Know* (2005), has argued that Hirsch fails to take sufficiently into account the extent to which the ideas he emphasizes are representative of a dominant culture, which imposes its values and beliefs on individuals largely for its own purposes.

Hirsch includes in *Cultural Literacy* a list of 5,000 things “every American citizen needs to know.” Provenzo challenges Hirsch and his list with an alternative collection of 5,000 words and ideas. Unlike

Hirsch, Provenzo argues that there are many “lists” that could be constructed, but that the real issue is that children should learn a process of democratic dialogue and negotiation in which they debate what is important, rather than simply have it imposed as part of a banking model by self-selected authorities such as Hirsch.

In summary, critical literacy is grounded in the idea of critical pedagogy and learning. As such, it involves an essentially democratic and dialogic process—one based on critical thinking and reflection and open to many ways of viewing culture and society. In doing so, it embraces the diversity which is inherent in contemporary American culture.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Cultural Pluralism; Hegemony; Progressive Education

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CRITICAL MATHEMATICS

Critical mathematics education addresses three intersecting issues in educational theory: the question of a disciplinary orientation to curriculum development and design, the notion of “critical” educational approaches, and the peculiarities of mathematics itself as a nexus of educational and/or “critical educational” issues. This entry looks at the definition of mathematics from a critical perspective, discusses how critical mathematics is implemented, and examines issues of power and the impact of the new perspective.

Defining Terms

The modifier *mathematics* at once assumes a need for a special set of questions and issues peculiar to a

subject area while also raising the specter of challenges to a disciplinary orientation to educational programs. Is there something special about mathematics that warrants a separate entry in this volume, distinct from, say, language arts, social studies, science, vocational education, and so on?

One might define mathematics as a subset of literacy, involving reading, writing, listening, speaking, and otherwise representing ideas that focus on patterns, numbers, shapes, space, probabilities, and informatics. If so, do we need unique approaches to teaching, learning, and assessment, or are the methods of instruction and theorizing pretty much the same as for any other subject area of a school curriculum? Such questions are of interest because of the specific history of (Western) mathematics, which has so often been used as a model of rational thought and knowledge in general. Because this history is so intertwined with the history of Amero-European thought, mathematics is in its own way a symbol of the intellectual history of colonialism and imperialism, as demonstrated in the fields of ethnomathematics and in ideological analyses of mathematics as constructed in ways that mask its relationships with power and social inequalities.

The modifier *critical* is added by theorists who are concerned with the constraining and enabling functions of mathematics education within a democratic society: As with any form of education, mathematical experiences may empower and disempower at the same time. Many mathematical innovations have been created in order to serve those who control, for example, within the development of military weapons and strategies, governmental accounting systems, and business practices. Issues of access internationally and in local contexts set up systems of social reproduction of inequality, where students of mathematics at various levels of education experience different forms of mathematics curriculum, with further implications for equity and diversity.

On the other hand, movements to introduce critical mathematics education and mathematics education for social justice enable students to use mathematics as a tool for social critique and personal empowerment. And knowledge of mathematics, as with any specific knowledge area, can be used as a cultural resource for

reading the world and in the process transforming one's place within that world. Malcolm X's use of the concept of a variable for his name both represented the legacy of slavery and defined a political, cultural, and historic moment in the history of the United States. Students who invent their own algorithms for distributing governmental funds are confronted with the limitations of "mathematizing" social decisions.

Implementation

Critical mathematics education demands a critical perspective on both mathematics and the teaching and learning of mathematics. As Ole Skovsmose describes a critical mathematics classroom, the students (and teachers) are attributed a "critical competence." A century ago, mathematics educators moved from teaching critical thinking skills to using the skills that students bring with them. It was accepted that students, as human beings, *are* critical thinkers and would display these skills if the classroom allowed such behavior. It seemed that critical thinking was not occurring simply because the teaching methods were preventing it from happening; through years of school, students were unwittingly "trained" *not* to think critically in order to succeed in school mathematics. Later, ways were found to lessen this "dumbing down of thinking through school experiences."

Today, there is a richer understanding of human beings as exhibiting a *critical competence*, and because of this realization, it is recognized that decisive and prescribing roles must be abandoned in favor of all participants having control of the educational process. In this process, instead of merely forming a classroom community for discussion, Skovsmose suggests that the students and teachers together must establish a "critical distance." What he means with this term is that seemingly objective and value-free principles for the structure of the curriculum are put into a new perspective, in which such principles are revealed as value loaded, necessitating critical consideration of contents and other subject matter aspects as part of the educational process itself.

Christine Keitel, Ernst Klotzmann, and Ole Skovsmose together offer new ideas for lessons and

units that emerge when teachers describe mathematics as a technology with the potential to work for democratic goals, and when they make a distinction between different types of knowledge based on the object of the knowledge. The first level of mathematical work, they write, presumes a true-false ideology and corresponds to much of what is found in current school curricula. The second level directs students and teachers to ask about right method: Are there other algorithms? Which are valued to meet needs? The third level emphasizes the appropriateness and reliability of the mathematics for its context. This level raises the particularly technological aspect of mathematics by investigating specifically the relationship between means and ends.

The fourth level requires participants to interrogate the appropriateness of formalizing the problem for solution; a mathematical/technological approach is not always wise, and participants would consider this issue as a form of reflective mathematics. On the fifth level, a critical mathematics education studies the implications of pursuing special formal means; it asks how particular algorithms affect people's perceptions of (a part of) reality, and how people conceive of mathematical tools when they use them universally. Thus the role of mathematics in society becomes a component of reflective mathematical knowledge.

Finally, the sixth level examines reflective thinking itself as an evaluative process, comparing levels 1 and 2 as essential mathematical tools, levels 3 and 4 as the relationship between means and ends, and level 5 as the global impact of using formal techniques. On this final level, reflective evaluation as a process is noted as a tool itself and as such becomes an object of reflection. When teachers and students plan their classroom experiences by making sure that all of these levels are represented in the group's activities, it is more likely that students and teachers can be attributed the critical competence that is now envisioned as a more general goal of mathematics education.

Issues of Power

In formulating a democratic, critical mathematics education, it is also essential that teachers grapple

with the serious multicultural indictments of mathematics as a tool of postcolonial and imperial authority. What was once accepted as pure, wholesome truth is now understood as culturally specific and tied to particular interests. The mathematics-military connections and applications of mathematics in business decisions are examples in this sense of fantasies of power and control rather than consistently literal forms of control and power.

Critical mathematics educators ask why students, in general, do not readily see mathematics as helping them to interpret events in their lives or gain control over human experience. They search for ways to help students appreciate the marvelous qualities of mathematics without adopting its historic roots in militarism and other fantasies of control over human experience.

One important direction for critical mathematics education is in the examination of the authority to phrase the questions for discussion. Who sets the agenda in a critical thinking classroom? Authors such as Stephen Brown and Marion Walter lay out a variety of powerful ways to rethink mathematics investigations through what they call "problem posing," and in doing so they provide a number of ideas for enabling students both to "talk back" to mathematics and to use their problem solving and problem posing experiences to learn about themselves as problem solvers and posers, instead of as an indicator of their abilities to match a model of performance.

In the process, they help to frame yet another dilemma for future research in mathematics education, and education in general: Is it always more democratic if students pose the problem? The kinds of questions that are possible, and the ways that people expect to phrase them, are to be examined by a critical thinker. The questions themselves might be said to reveal more about people's fantasies and desires than about the mathematics involved. Critical mathematics education has much to gain from an analysis of mathematics problems as examples of literary genre.

And finally, it becomes crucial to examine the discourses of mathematics and mathematics education in and out of school and popular culture. Critical mathematics education asks how and why the split between popular culture and school mathematics is evident in

mathematical, educational, and mathematics education discourses, and why such a strange dichotomy must be resolved between mathematics as a “commodity” and as a “cultural resource.” Mathematics is a commodity in the consumer culture because it has been turned into “stuff” that people collect (knowledge) in order to spend later (on the job market, to get into college, etc.). But it is also a cultural resource in that it is a world of metaphors and ways of making meaning through which people can interpret their world and describe it in new ways, as in the example of Malcolm X. Critical mathematics educators recognize the role of mathematics as a commodity in society; but they search for ways to effectively emphasize the meaning-making aspects of mathematics as part of the variety of cultures. In doing so, they make it possible for mathematics to be a resource for political action.

Potential Impact

The history of critical mathematics education is a story of expanding contexts. Early reformers recognized that training in skills could not lead to the behaviors they associated with someone who is a critical thinker who acts as a citizen in a democratic society. Mathematics education adopted the model of enculturation into a community of critical thinkers. By participating in a democratic community of inquiry, it is imagined, students are allowed to demonstrate the critical thinking skills they possess as human beings, and to refine and examine these skills in meaningful situations.

Current efforts recognize the limitations of mathematical enculturation as inadequately addressing the politics of this enculturation. Mathematics for social justice, as advocated by such authors as Peter Appelbaum, Eric Gutstein, and Sal Restivo, uses the term “critical competence” to subsume earlier notions of critical thinking skills and propensities. A politically concerned examination of the specific processes of participation and the role of mathematics in supporting a democratic society enhances the likelihood of critical thinking in mathematics, and the achievement of critical competence.

Peter Appelbaum

See also Curriculum Theory

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CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Critical psychologists consider society unjust for many and want to do something about it. They believe that psychology has the potential to bring about a significantly better world in keeping with its ethical mandate to promote human welfare, but it has failed to do so. Critical psychology is a movement that calls upon psychology to work toward emancipation and social justice, and it opposes the use of psychology for the perpetuation of oppression and injustice.

Thus, critical psychology is an alternative approach to the entire field of traditionally practiced psychology. It can be understood as a metadiscipline that urges the field of psychology to critically evaluate its moral and political implications. It differs from traditional psychology in fundamental ways. Generally, critical psychology emphasizes social justice and human welfare while holding that the practices and

norms of traditional psychology obstruct social justice to the detriment of marginalized groups. It highlights the need to critically reflect on largely accepted psychological theories, methods, concepts, and practices and aims to transform the discipline of psychology in order to promote emancipation in society. This entry examines the field's values, beliefs, and practices and discusses implications of educational policy.

Values and Beliefs

Critical psychology considers certain values primary, mainly social justice, self-determination and participation, caring and compassion, health, and human diversity. Values such as these guide critiques of current social structures and inform proponents' visions of a better society. They direct attention beyond individuals toward institutional barriers that maintain oppressive practices. From a critical psychology perspective, the underlying values and institutions of psychology and modern societies reinforce misguided efforts to obtain fulfillment while maintaining inequality and oppression.

Critical psychologists view the good society as based on mutuality, democracy, and distributive justice. They define problems holistically in terms of psychological and social factors related to disempowering and oppressive circumstances. Health status or well-being is viewed as being embedded in collective factors in society, not just individual factors. Collective factors such as social, political, cultural, economic, and environmental conditions are thought to have a powerful influence on the well-being of individuals. Critical psychologists believe that social and political conditions free of economic exploitation and human rights abuses determine quality of life.

Critical psychologists also have distinctive views about the nature of the world and the people who inhabit it. Mainstream psychology's focus is on individualism and a belief that the individual is the proper object of study. Critical psychology views the individual and society as so fundamentally intertwined that they cannot be separated from one another in any way that makes sense.

Critical psychology critiques the presuppositions and perceptions of knowledge in psychology. Adherents

view knowledge as infused with political uses and embedded within subjectivity of its creators. Knowledge is seen not as an objective reflection of reality but as dependent on varying historical social arrangements. Critical psychologists ask: Whose interests are supported by knowledge and its application? Who has the power to legitimize a particular form of knowledge over others? Liberation psychologist Martin-Baro suggests that psychology should be looking at issues from the point of view of the dominated—a *psychology from the oppressed*. The task for critical psychology is to question knowledge, to understand how it arose, and to demonstrate whose interests are served and whom it oppresses.

Practices

Given these values and beliefs, critical psychologists promote transformative *ends*—structural changes that benefit the powerless—while also considering the *means* used to achieve those ends. From a critical psychology perspective, these values and beliefs require alternative methodologies. Proponents believe that methods should be chosen based on the ability to create findings that are practically relevant in the real world and benefit the powerless. Critical psychologists depend mostly on qualitative approaches, as qualitative methodologies have several distinct features that facilitate critical analysis: an open-ended stance, reflection on subjectivity and bias, concern about relationships, and complex, open-ended questioning and analysis. It has been argued that the progress in statistics and experimental design is in reverse proportion to being able to apply results to real-world contexts. As researchers and practitioners, critical psychologists reflect on their existing practices and scrutinize their efforts. They try to understand how their own power and subjectivity influence what they do and feel and study.

The structural phenomenon of power has widely been neglected in traditional psychological discourse and research. Critical psychology defines power as the capacity and opportunity to fulfill or obstruct personal, relational, or collective needs. Practitioners make explicit the pervasive influence of power in all they do as psychologists. Particular forms of knowledge are supported by particular societal and psychological practices. These practices are in turn reinforced by

particular distributions of power. Critical psychologists believe that power should be shared equally and that legitimacy comes through a democratic process that professional psychology, community and educational settings, and society at large generally lack. Mainstream psychologists and others whose activities depend upon psychology's status quo often have a personal and professional interest in maintaining and supporting particular forms of knowledge. Critical psychology is about understanding how power pervades what psychologists do and help to transform that awareness into practices that promote liberation and well-being.

Implications for Policy Studies

Methodology

An educational science influenced by critical psychology would involve students, parents, teachers, and school administrators in the tasks of critical analysis and transformation of educational situations. It would develop research partnerships to decide the means and ends of the investigation and utilize participatory action research approaches because transformation cannot be achieved without engaging the wisdom of the social actors affected. It would ask citizens and stakeholders what they would change in their settings, while promoting participants' self-determination and democratic participation in the research project. It would create a climate of collaboration and foster a sense of collective ownership to ensure that there is follow-up of research recommendations.

It would rely on qualitative approaches because these are more suited to understanding the differing perspectives of people and groups whose voices have not been adequately heard. Following this model, researchers should attempt as much as possible to accurately hear what their informants are saying. They have a duty to analyze informants' voices, but that they must do so in a way that remains accountable to them.

Focus of Research and Action

Quite possibly, the most difficult thing for researchers and practitioners to confront is the misguided belief that their work is entirely apolitical. All educational research

is generally interested in educational policy, or how the educational system is organized and operated. An educational discipline influenced by critical psychology would be concerned with these questions: Does the field of education promote social justice or injustice? Do educational policies and procedures promote the status quo or equitable reform? Can research, teaching, and practice be redesigned to advance the interests of powerless groups? For whom is educational research directed? Whose interests will be served? Is there an awareness of the societal repercussions of the field's theories and practices, or is the field oblivious of its potential negative effects? Do researchers, theorists, and practitioners declare their values or do they assume that what they do is value free? What are the cultural, moral, and value commitments of the field? Researchers in the field must be well grounded in a critical perspective, aware of their own values, politically astute, interpersonally skilled, and passionately committed to the issue under study.

A critical psychology-influenced field would study content at different ecological levels of analysis and be concerned with identifying and exposing those aspects of social policies that frustrate the pursuit of empowerment, human development, and social justice. Beyond mere identification of those aspects, critical actors in policy studies would be oriented toward transforming the unjust conditions that place obstacles in the way of achieving educational goals. They would frame research topics and questions in action-oriented terms of how they will advance the interests of the vulnerable groups under study. Even at the individual level, they would examine individuals in their cultural, organizational, community, and macrosocial context. They would go beyond seeing problems in education only as technical problems to be solved with technical solutions. Thus, a critical educational science, as described by Wilfred Carr and S. Kemmis, has the aim of transforming education, not just explaining or understanding its different aspects.

Scot D. Evans and Isaac Prilleltensky

See also Policy Studies; Social Justice, Education for

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Web Sites

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<http://www.discourseunit.com/arcp.htm>
- Psychologists Acting With Conscience Together (Psyact):
<http://www.psyact.org>

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race theory posits that racism, White privilege, and historical context dominate and permeate institutions and systems, social norms, and daily practice. The U.S. judicial system, in this view, represents and institutes traditional historical narratives that disadvantage people of color. Research in critical race theory has a conceptual framework based on the experiences of people of color, rather than using the experience of Whites as the norm. Critical race theory can also be described as a movement of those who hope to study and transform the relationships among race, racism, and power. This movement includes activists and scholars in education, sociology, ethnic studies, and women's studies. In education, critical race theory challenges dominant education theory, discourse, policy, and practice by inserting the voices of students and communities of color and centering their experiential knowledge. This entry provides a brief overview of critical race theory and discusses its influence in education and education research.

Background and Tenets

Critical race theory grew out of a confrontation between critical legal studies researchers, dominated by White males, and a core group of legal scholars seeking to situate race at the center of the discourse.

Among those leading this burgeoning form of scholarship was Harvard law professor Derrick Bell, known to many as the movement's intellectual father figure. Bell was a law professor at Harvard Law School until the early 1980s, when his departure and the refusal of the school's administration to hire another professor of color to teach his class on race and constitutional law led some students to question hiring practices. The controversy impelled young scholars and law professors to convene a summer conference in 1989 in Madison, Wisconsin, where they began to outline the assumptions, arguments, definitions, and future research agenda for critical race theorists.

Scholars of critical race theory hold that racism is endemic and ingrained in U.S. society and that the civil rights movement and subsequent laws require reinterpretation. Concepts of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy must be challenged, they say, providing a space for the voices of marginalized people to be heard in discussions of reform. Whiteness is constructed as the "ultimate property" in this line of thought. Commitment to social justice and an interdisciplinary perspective are also features of critical race theory.

In addition to these central tenets, the concept of "interest convergence" is essential to an understanding of critical race theory. Bell first introduced the interest convergence concept when he expanded upon traditional interpretations of the *Brown v. Board of Education* landmark court case. In his view, African Americans' demands for racial equality will be met only when Whites believe it will serve their interests, too, and the legal system will not correct injustices if doing so poses a threat to the status of middle- and upper-class Whites.

Working from that perspective, Bell contended that the *Brown* decision was not based on a moral or human rights rationale. Rather, the decision came as a result of reasons directly affecting White citizens: (1) the threat of a spreading communist movement, which worried U.S. leaders about its standing in the foreign relations community; (2) the end of World War II, which meant that returning soldiers of color would demand an improvement in civil rights and educational opportunities; and (3) the need to promote economic growth or industrialization, which even in

the South meant that segregationists had to consider changing the economic structure in ways that would maintain U.S. superiority. Bell contended that a civil rights strategy seeking change solely on moral grounds, as exemplified by desegregation of schools, may not be the best way to advance the interests of people of color.

Bell also laid the foundation for discussion of the first major tenet of critical race theory—the permanence of racism—in his book *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*. In his final chapter, “Space Traders,” Bell discussed structural racism in society by writing a counterstory of fictionalized space aliens. In the story, White power brokers bargained, negotiated, and dealt away Black citizens to these fictional aliens because it ensured their own survival. The story stresses how Black citizens are relegated to an inferior or expendable status in U.S. systems, structures, and daily life. Like Bell, Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic stated that racism is the normal routine and the everyday experience of most people of color. Charles Lawrence developed this tenet by introducing “unconscious racism” to the discourse. He noted that racism is part of U.S. history and the nation’s cultural heritage and influences everyone influenced by that belief system—even if they are not aware of it.

Influence in Education

Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate were the first to consider the usefulness of critical race theory frameworks in the study of educational issues; they cautioned researchers about embracing the new theoretical framework. However, scholars soon began to tell the stories of students and communities of color in higher and public education, integrating critical race theory with their research agendas while promoting social change. Utilizing critical race theory methodologies to provide a space for the voices of marginalized communities and students to emerge was an important addition to the educational literature.

Others situated their research in educational policy and politics. Laurence Parker proposed a framework for analyzing policy decisions by scrutinizing them and the conditions they create for students of color. After many years of scholarship, critical race theory

has emerged as a powerful tool and one that remains to be fully explored.

Enrique Alemán, Jr.

See also African American Education; Civil Rights Movement

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CRITICAL THEORY

Critical theory was born in Europe out of concerns among scholars about the powers of fascist states in the mid-twentieth century. The legacy of the so-called Frankfurt School is embodied in many research studies, critical pedagogies, and utopian visions put forth by critical theorists in education for the past forty years. Critical theorists see education as a tool used by the ruling elite to sustain oppression along the lines of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. They have also offered pedagogies designed to rebuild schools and social and economic institutions in what they see as more egalitarian ways. Scholars in schools of education employ various methodological tools and theoretical insights across disciplines to reveal what causes social domination and suggest ways to subvert the corporate ordering of life. This entry briefly examines the origins of critical theory, then looks more closely at the many ways it has been applied in education research.

The Frankfurt School

The ideological and philosophical underpinnings of critical theory are generally associated with the Western European philosophers and social theorists who forged the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in 1929. By the early 1930s, scholars such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Franz Neuman, and Walter Benjamin, like others across Western Europe, were deeply concerned about the rise of fascism, mass consumer culture, and the state's desire to circumscribe intellectual inquiry and critical dissent by the masses through science and technology.

Unlike other radical scholars in this era, who linked the ruling elite's power to purely the antagonistic relationship between labor and capital, the group excavated the intellectual work of scholars such as Karl Marx, Max Weber, Sigmund Freud, and Friedrich Nietzsche, to understand how the political and economic elite might cement their control over social institutions and the means of production. For instance, the group provided a complex portrait of how institutions, such as the media, schooling, and political and government bodies breed a sense of false consciousness among the masses, enabling multiple forms of oppression and domination and engendering unjust practices and systemic barriers that perpetuate asymmetrical relationships in most social contexts.

Their interdisciplinary approach to understanding the social world also concerned itself with how their intellectual contributions can breathe life into building social movements that have the critical capacity to critique what gives rise to oppression and domination in economic and social contexts. They promoted the belief that it is possible to get beyond current social realities and build social and economic institutions predicated on improving the human condition and on embracing the values of democracy, equality, and justice.

The Frankfurt School scholars' ideas inspired and informed many marginalized scholars during the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, some African American, feminist, and neo-Marxist scholars and activists in the United States examined Herbert Marcuse's critique of U.S. society to gain insight in relation to how oppression on the axes of race, class, gender, and sexuality is promulgated by the dominant economic and cultural elite as well as to find inspiration that their intellectual and cultural work had the power to forge a utopian social world. Gradually, the theoretical contributions and visions of social and economic emancipation proffered by Frankfurt scholars and other enlightened citizens infiltrated schools of education.

Critical Theory and Education

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a growing group of scholars in schools of education across North America came to question positivistic types of research generated by scholars in clinical laboratories. Critical scholars

argued that these dominant forms of research did little to shed light on how larger institutional arrangements are inextricably linked to the conditions confronting students and teachers inside classrooms, to create instructional practices aimed to help all students learn, and to examine institutional practices and forms of knowledge embedded in schools, which often perpetuate the domination of the 'Other' at all levels of schooling.

For instance, in 1970, Ray Rist went inside elementary classrooms to pinpoint how teachers' expectations influenced impoverished students' academic performance. In his 1970 article "Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," he showed some ways that schools functioned as an appendage of the ruling elite. Educational institutions spawn the environment and practices that position many students to disengage from schooling, he thought. This cyclical process, in many urban school systems in North America, ensures that capitalists are supplied with a cheap source of labor to produce goods and provide services, he concluded.

Concomitantly, other scholars, such as Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, interrogated the myth that children succeed in schools purely by merit or cognitive ability. In *Schooling in Capitalist America*, the authors made a macroexamination of U.S. schools. They provided evidence of how the culture of schooling prepares youth for the adult work world and ensures class relationships are maintained in the wider society. Class analysis of schooling also became predominant in Europe, through the work of scholars such as Paul Willis and Angela McRobbie.

Impact on Student Identity

Rather than focusing more heavily on how capitalist relations of production affect youths' relationships in K–12 classrooms as well as impact relationships they forge outside of classrooms, the Europeans focused on how the cultural aspects of schooling and mass consumer culture together impact working-class youths' identities, their schooling experiences, and their occupational choices and opportunities. The European researchers' investigations were also designed to gauge whether working-class youth were active participants

in reproducing the same working-class status as their friends and family members. Finally, these researchers also hoped to determine whether it is possible to build a larger social movement by positioning working-class youth to understand that the larger social and economic arrangements serve the interests of political and economic leaders rather than their own interests.

The researchers found that working-class youth realize that schooling may not serve their best interest, and they actively resist the norms and values embraced by teachers, administrators, and some of their peers. They showed that despite being located within debilitating schooling structures, youth are active agents who have the power to generate a culture in opposition of the schools. Based on their findings, critical teachers and activists may be able to turn youth resistance into movements against the social and economic structures that they view as perpetuating the alienation and oppression of working-class citizens.

Freire and Oppression

During the 1970s, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* impacted scholars across the globe in relation to unearthing what larger political and economic forces generate unjust practices that create oppression in various social contexts as well as how to use critical forms of pedagogies to help students and working-class peoples see what causes oppression in their lived worlds, in their communities, and across the globe, while simultaneously guiding them to individually and collectively tackle the unjust conditions and lived practices girding their oppressive social relationships. Arguably, Freire's work served as a springboard to modernize critical theory.

Scholars have devised new theories and conducted research specifically designed to gauge what economic, social, and political forces cause suffering and oppression in educational systems and in the wider society. Teachers and activists alike have also developed new forms of pedagogies aimed to guide students to reflect upon the totality of social reality, to struggle actively against oppression, and to dream collectively about a world without a hierarchy based on the social markers of race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Issues of Race and Gender

Rather than focusing on oppression of working-class populations, a growing group of activists and scholars have illustrated how students are marginalized in schools based upon the social marker of race. For instance, scholars taking up critical race theory have shown how unjust practices in schools, such as zero-tolerance policies, IQ testing, school-funding formulas, tracking, high-stakes examinations, curricula focusing on the dominant culture's accomplishments, and teachers' low expectations, have collectively ensured that Blacks and Latinos/as disengage or underperform in schools as compared to their White counterparts.

Scholars such as John Ogbu and Signithia Fordham also contend that caste-like minorities, such as First Nation's people and Blacks who have been forced to assimilate to the dominant norms in North America, often hold oppositional attitudes toward schooling. Minorities may come to understand that schooling is set up to serve the interests of members of the dominant culture, instead of being configured to promote the intellectual and social growth of all students. Minority students who attempt to succeed in school often have to grapple with social reprisals from their peers and family members (the burden of "acting White"), as being successful in school is viewed as a negative trait. Students who are academically successful may be perceived as outcasts who are willing to denigrate their own culture in favor of embracing the values and beliefs of the oppressors.

Antiracist educators have also formulated Whiteness studies to detect how White citizens are afforded unearned privilege in schools and other social contexts. Some researchers have studied "up" to provide White youth and pre-service and in-service teachers with the reflexive outlet to think about the systemic nature of racism, institutional practices, and policies that have given them unearned power and privilege during their lifetime, and their biases and preconceptions about the Other. These educators have also created pedagogies earmarked to help White students recognize how to unpack the unearned privilege they accrue due to their skin color; they argue that the ruling elite reconfigures what is considered White or normal to keep its citizens divided. Such pedagogies also offer advice on how to

become allies with citizens across the racial spectrum to promote social justice in schools and society.

Feminist scholars have examined how gender may be mediated within schools to oppress many girls and women. For instance, scholars have shown how the formal curriculum of schooling fails to focus on the contributions of women, how girls endure sexual harassment in schools' hallways and classrooms, and how young women are often positioned to downplay their intellect in order to be accepted by their peers, male counterparts, and teachers. They have also documented how male governmental officials may fail to provide the needed resources, time, and training to female teachers so as to block them from implementing pedagogies that can promote gender equity, social justice, and cultural transformation.

Some contemporary critical theorists have attempted to get beyond determining how classroom dynamics unfold and illuminating students' identity formation process by gazing through only one social category, such as race, class, or gender. Instead, they have instituted qualitative studies inside and outside of schools to gauge how race, class, gender, and sexuality braid together to disempower specific segments of the school population. These theorists develop pedagogies that are inclusive of the lived experience of all students and envision new educational policies and practices that will help eradicate what they see as oppression on the lines of the aforementioned social categories.

New Pedagogies

Others have attempted to examine the educational experiences of students within specific social groups for the purpose of finding ways to build educational institutions that serve the interest of the public over the interests of political and economic elite. Although the scholars recognize how schooling structures ensure many minority youths' alienation and marginalization inside and outside of classrooms, they believe much is gained by highlighting how the socio-cultural processes and institutional practices embedded within certain schools help some minority students grow intellectually and socially.

Contemporary critical theorists have also taken several interdisciplinary approaches to understanding

the complexity of today's border youth, to promote pedagogies for social and cultural transformation, and to illuminate how unjust institutional arrangements become reinscribed in schools. For instance, cultural studies scholars such as Shirley Steinberg, Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., Joe Kincheloe, and Henry Giroux have shown how economic and political leaders utilize various forms of media and technologies to create debilitating cultural texts along the lines of race, class, and gender; in this way, these leaders have promulgated corporate and militaristic values over democratic impulses and imperatives and have demonized, trivialized, and commodified today's youth and the Other.

On the other hand, some scholars have shown how the cultural texts, along with the cultural work promoted by alterative youths' subcultures, can provide students culturally responsive education, pedagogies that spur them to understand the nature of the material world and the need to be active agents to promote social and cultural transformation in their schools and communities.

Curriculum Theory

Over the past several years, likewise, curriculum theory has taken an interdisciplinary approach to understand the relationship between power and knowledge and building equalitarian schools and a just society. Scholars typically foreground their experiences of what they believe curricula are, how curricula should be revamped to empower all populations across the globe, and how curricula should be configured in the future. In this vein, scholars such as Madeleine Grumet have employed historical methodologies, psychoanalysis, phenomenology, and autobiography to understand the social, personal, and political dimensions of women and teaching.

In addition, poststructural and postmodern theories have informed curriculum studies by deconstructing who has power to define "truth," by examining what groups create the "official knowledge" taught in classrooms and lecture halls across the globe, and by providing voice and space to marginalized students in classrooms, in the virtual world, and in writing projects. These outlets allow students to constitute their own form of selfhood, one that is free from social categories spawned by the cultural elite to control the Other.

Finally, queer theory and gay and lesbian studies have examined issues of masculinity in education, called into question the makeup of the teaching profession and curricula, and problematized the masculinization of computing technology and culture.

Movement to Marxism

Several scholars, such as Peter McLaren, Dave Hill, and Nathalia Jaramillo, believe critical theorists must retool their pedagogies and research designs to focus on how class exploitation is the key force behind growing hate, hostility, poverty, racism, and environmental degradation at today's historical juncture. They also have raised concerns and highlighted how corporatist practices and imperatives are flooding K-12 schools and institutions of higher education, so as to block critical theorists from conducting research and instituting pedagogies bent on bringing awareness of oppression along the axes of class, race, gender, and sexuality and how to promote global movements that support social and cultural transformation.

Brad J. Porfilio

See also Antiracist Education; Critical Race Theory; Feminist Theory in Education; Postmodernism; Whiteness and Education

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continuous effort to search for the essence of truth and expand the knowledge base. Critical thinking is an imperative for a cohesive social order as well as the development of an interdependent global focus. As such, it is a priority for educational reform ventures at all levels—from K–12 through postsecondary institutions—that attempt to foster higher order thinking skills in students and provide them with a holistic framework for discerning information in all terrains of scientific inquiry and sociopolitical agendas, toward the advancement of civilization.

Thus, the critical thinking objective, vis-à-vis methods of teaching, is for students to become engaged in a critical dimension—one where analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (higher order thinking skills) are practiced—as opposed to a didactic context where only fragmentation and rote memorization prevail as hallmarks of effective teaching and learning. Clearly, a critical thinker learns how to think rather than what to think.

History of Critical Thinking

The origins of critical thinking are usually associated with the Golden Age of Athens and Socratic questioning. Indeed, philosophy, from the Greek *filo sofia*—love of wisdom—encompasses the interdependence of constructs without clear delineations between disciplines and/or subject areas. It was in this context that the Greeks practiced the *trivium*—grammar, rhetoric, and logic—and *quadrivium*—arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. Socrates' teachings centered on a continuous dialogue and in-depth examination of an issue through the use of questions and answers to arrive at a quasi-finite conclusion or argument. This context served as the framework for what was to become the empirical view, practiced by Aristotle, as opposed to the idealistic or absolute world of ideas, promoted by Plato. In his painting *The School of Athens*, the Renaissance artist Raphael depicts the duality between the acceptance of absolute truths (Plato) and the questioning of static knowledge (Aristotle).

Indeed, it was the Aristotelian paradigm that eventually transcended through the ages and influenced the minds of those who played an active role in the Enlightenment; it was in this context that the adoption of skepticism and consistent intellectual debate were

CRITICAL THINKING

Critical thinking may be defined as the art of continuous questioning and analysis of two sides of an argument, problem, or context. Furthermore, the ability to think critically requires human beings to embrace a world free of orthodox views and/or sectarian, social norms, in a

accepted as essentials for objectivity or accuracy in thinking. On these premises, a liberal arts education model was founded in Europe and later implemented in the colonial colleges.

Critical Thinking and Teaching

Teaching students how to think cannot be carried out in isolation. The very nature of this intellectual exercise requires the absence of what educational thinker Paulo Freire referred to as “banking education”—where knowledge is literally “deposited” in the learner’s mind. Teaching students how to think calls for a reflective pedagogy or dialogue whereby the students and teacher collaborate and build on preexisting knowledge.

There are myriad teaching methods that will foster critical thinking skills. Each of these must promote the disciplining of the mind toward thinking that involves reflexivity, skepticism, and a holistic approach to teaching and learning. Teachers in the elementary grades may begin to move students beyond rote memorization and fragmentation of facts by providing them with opportunities for the appreciation of cultural diversity. At the postsecondary level, college professors must actively engage students in processes that demand the evaluation of knowledge. For example, in a college history course, students may be asked to read articles and consider the issue of “voice” within the context of historiography, given the dominant or sociopolitical forces of the period. Students in a sociology course may be required to develop an archival document that represents a specific neighborhood or community.

Thinking that does not allow one to question or analyze two sides of an argument is driven by fallacies and, thus, is nonprogressive in the human quest to advance knowledge. The first decade of the twenty-first century calls for a global citizenship platform. This requires that individuals practice a liberal education and be able to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the very elements that constitute the social fabric.

Although educational reform must continue to respond to the call for accountability at the K–12 as well as postsecondary levels, educators must work to emphasize a critical pedagogy. Within this context, thinking that is critical aims to provide a teaching

method that allows for open-ended questions, while evaluating new theories through continuous reflection and mental discipline. Critical thinking is an imperative for the human experience and the pursuit of a democratic world order.

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See also Classical Curriculum; Critical Literacy; Models and Methods of Teaching; Trivium and Quadrivium

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CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNING IN ADULTS

As communication technologies are connecting people from all over the world within seconds, exploding world populations are becoming more mobile than ever before, and globalization is affecting national economies, political systems, businesses, and entire cultures. As a result, there is an increasing demand for cross-cultural learning in adult education. This exponential change impacts individuals and populations daily on a global scale, confronting millions of people with different cultural values, traditions, and norms, and often finding them ill-prepared to respond.

Cross-cultural learning enables people to gain an awareness and understanding of an environment characterized by many cultures intersecting and interacting; people are then capable of functioning and problem-solving as global citizens. From a sociocultural-global perspective, this type of learning may prove essential

for future coexistence of populations on both a micro and macro level. Cross-cultural learning blends the traditional types of experiential training techniques with eclectic, innovative educational teaching methods, striving to equip the adult learner with both theoretical knowledge and practical skills and competencies. Effective cross-cultural learning also requires flexible leadership that is well versed in many educational methods. A variety of cross-cultural training programs have been developed over the years to assist specific cultural groups with cross-cultural adjustments or to prepare individuals for overseas assignments.

Terminology

Cross-cultural is sometimes replaced by *intercultural* or *multicultural*. Both of these terms are used in various fields, such as education, communication, psychology, and anthropology, to refer to the exchange between two cultures or interaction between two or more differing cultures. All of these terms may also refer to the inclusion of multiple cultural groups. *Multicultural* has also been used in particular sociopolitical and educational contexts in Europe to describe a specific type of integration within communal policy and guidelines for community development programs.

The term *cross-cultural* is generally used to designate that which extends beyond one set of cultural norms, traditions, boundaries, and unspoken givens and is applicable and relevant across differing cultures or in varying cultural contexts. Hence, cross-cultural learning for members of one culture involves the inclusion of familiar and given elements in their own culture coupled with unfamiliar elements of other cultures, challenging them to travel outside their cultural conventions and personal comfort zone into unknown territory. The metaphor of “exploration” captures the essence of this type of learning experience, however, not into utter wilderness but into foreign terrain, inhabited and valued by others.

Basic Elements

The striking aspect of cross-cultural learning is that it involves the convergence of knowledge acquisition

and transferable skills and competencies, which cannot be viewed as separate entities. This type of cognitive and behavioral learning is neither provincial nor static. In contrast to traditional learning assessment in academic settings, cross-cultural learning cannot be measured by standardized tests or the amount of material successfully memorized. Effective cross-cultural learning entails critical inquiry and the subsequent transfer of theory and concepts into praxis. In other words, people develop and learn new concrete skills and competencies based on their newly acquired knowledge, experiences, and understanding.

At the micro or individual level, there are at least four components to cross-cultural learning. Initially, assumptions and facts about cultures are explored. Generally, people—students or participants—first need to understand the significance of culture and become aware of their own cultural scripts and boundaries, including common ethnocentric tendencies, assuming the universality of one cultural system.

Following self-awareness of cultural identity, people are better able to gain an appreciation for significant cultural differences, problems, and conflicts, as well as the often inevitable emotional responses such as stress, frustration, or anxiety that may accompany initial exposure to another, unfamiliar culture. This is often referred to as *culture shock*. Coupled with culture shock is the shock of a problem or a conflict erupting seemingly out of nowhere, or being interpreted and viewed in a totally different cultural context.

A third component of cross-cultural learning, which may or may not occur after the above components, is the critical identification and assessment of cultural variations such as dress and appearance, food and eating habits, body language, nonverbal communication and cues, personal sense of physical space, and individual cultural orientations of what is and what is not appropriate. In this process, individuals are sensitized to common thought and behavioral patterns of other cultures, attitudes, perceptions, interpretations, values, norms, beliefs, and even “peculiar” customs.

Following individuals’ attainment of greater awareness, understanding, and possibly empathy, their observations and abstract constructs about cultural variations come to life when they are translated into specific situations to practice. Both the content and the

process of this learning target cognitions, behaviors, and emotions. At this point in cross-cultural learning, individuals are challenged to practice, develop, and refine concrete strategies, skills, and competencies via exercises such as role-plays, simulation games, critical incidents, or case studies. Follow-up reflection and analysis of the effectiveness and relevance to real life, and present-day situations are essential and reinforce the learning and transfer of theory into praxis.

At the macro or societal level, fundamental cultural patterns in society such as urban development, national traditions, religious practices, health care, child care norms, patterns of consumption, gender and family dynamics, recreation, socioeconomic realities and political systems, and the role and impact of oppression including racism and prejudice are illuminated. Other specific phenomena may be addressed as well, such as high versus low cultural contexts, monochronic versus polychronic cultural time systems, past or future cultural orientations, or an individualistic versus collectivist framework. Not only information pertaining to cultures in general, but also culture-specific knowledge may be introduced. Concurrently, the spectrum of culturally approved group behaviors, meanings, and expectations might also be explored for distinct populations.

Effective Teaching Methods

Participatory, transformative, and empowering methods of teaching are necessary for cross-cultural learning. The teacher or instructor facilitates a learning process by which participants are enabled to integrate knowledge cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally. An interactive and experiential framework is essential. Nina L. Dulabaum's evaluation research identified four major guidelines for facilitating cross-cultural learning and cross-cultural conflict transformation: (1) reach a preliminary consensus on the group's focus, goals, and pace; (2) build rapport and foster dialogue and critical exchange (everyone can become an expert, not just the teacher, instructor, or leader); (3) empower participants to take ownership of their learning process; and finally, (4) blend theory and practice continuously.

Effective leadership also includes fostering a never-ending learning cycle characterized by multiple stages

of critical analysis and reflection. As participants explore theory and praxis by experimenting with different strategies for implementation, it is a fine art to maintain the delicate balance of accepting individuals while challenging them to move outside and beyond their personal comfort zone, to think and feel anew, in order to gain greater awareness, understanding, and knowledge.

Cross-cultural learning has applications in many professions, for example in business, education, health care, and the social services where greater sensitivity and competence in dealing with the complexities of cultural differences and practices is critical. Educating people to search for solutions, creatively engineer strategies, and build bridges to members of other cultures with whom they interact at the local, city, state, national, and international level is critical. This in turn has implications and applications for the entire sociopolitical process.

Nina L. Dulabaum

See also Adult Education and Literacy; Cultural Pluralism

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CULTURAL CAPITAL

According to Pierre Bourdieu, the theory of cultural capital refers to the socially inherited economic, political, and cultural resources that inform social life and situate groups apart from one another. Ideologies and material benefits related to power, privilege, and education are tied up in the possession of these assets, which are not equally distributed among all members of a society. This capital and its allocation are connected to social locations like race, class, and gender. Those most endowed with socially valued and high cultural resources like travel, art, and financial investments represent the most powerful societal classes; thus the cultural capital of the rich, in this definition, holds more value than the cultural capital of the poor.

Educators have been concerned with cultural capital because academic success is connected to it. Cultural capital, like economic capital, has value that can be exchanged for resources that scaffold educational achievement. Schools transmit knowledge in cultural codes that simultaneously afford advantages to some and disadvantages to others. Schools follow and perpetuate the dominant society's cultural ideals and privilege traditional forms of cultural capital.

In the United States the dominant view of cultural capital as related to educational skills, intellect, and practice often highlights traditional measures of success like high standardized test scores, participation in study abroad programs, college preparatory courses, parental college education, and high grade-point averages. The relationship of these markers of academic success to social locations like race, class, and gender means that those not holding privilege in these locations are often described as having no cultural capital to exchange for academic success. Those who are underprepared for college due to attendance at underfunded K–12 schools or whose parents or guardians worked multiple jobs, leaving little time for trips to

a museum or library, are less likely to be seen as academic achievers despite the capital they bring.

One of the dangers of Bourdieu's focus on high culture as most socially valuable is that the cultural capital that groups other than the described privileged elite possess, share, and utilize often goes unnoticed and unrecognized. In schooling, this oversight leads to oppressive devaluation leaving some students largely excluded from the discourse of academic success. The cultural capital of nondominant groups can only be extrapolated by a move from the focus on high culture to one more inclusive. Research on cultural capital should include more social groups, not just elites, recognizing that all social groups have cultural assets that warrant scholarly attention.

Cerri Annette Banks and Jennifer Esposito

See also Hegemony; Privilege

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CULTURAL LITERACY

In the United States during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the notion of cultural literacy presupposes a common cultural ancestry, imagines a homogeneous cultural experience, and assumes a collective cultural legacy. Associated with a conservative social, economic, and political agenda, cultural literacy and related issues often carry partisan connotations. According to its conservative advocates, cultural literacy consists of “factual” information

known to a majority of literate Americans. Challengers assert that the dominant culture determines the contents of the cultural canon.

Citing “universal” meaning, “common” knowledge, and historical intransigence as hallmarks of canonical worth, allies of the cultural literacy movement deem superfluous those cultural traditions seen as outside of the dominant culture. Thus, the Western cultural tradition arbitrates both the composition of the cultural canon and the debate over cultural literacy in the United States.

Appropriating the Western, culturally appraised values that inform meaning cultivates the ability to “read” the productions of the dominant culture. Under the auspices of equalizing the educational playing field, curricular perimeters and literary selections are often guided by notions of cultural literacy advanced by members of the dominant culture. According to patrons of the cultural literacy model, comprehension of a range of textual allusions must be qualified by a familiarity with fixed prior cultural knowledge. Minority perspectives and marginalized subjectivity detract from the singularity and power of Western cultural capital. Thus, mastery of this shared cultural knowledge is crucial to social communication, economic participation, and political representation.

The idea of cultural literacy has been most popularized by the University of Virginia Professor of English E. D. Hirsch, Jr. in his 1986 book *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. In this work, as well as his numerous other publications, Hirsch has developed a widely used curriculum for K–12 schools based on the learning of essential or “core knowledge.” Hirsch’s views have been consistently criticized by people in the social foundations of education field for being elitist and antidemocratic.

Absent the rigors of critical inquiry, becoming culturally literate involves acceptance of received knowledge. To be considered culturally literate, one must possess a broad scope of superficial knowledge and understand referential allusions stated without definition or explanation within both classical texts and popular media. In order to participate and contribute to the marketplace of democratic American society, the emergent citizenry must be equipped with the cultural knowledge necessary to compete. Supporters of “core

knowledge” curricula propose to elevate the perceived status and competency of subordinate cultures by insisting that public education impose the values of the dominant culture. Curricular standards established according to the ideals of cultural literacy presume the existence of a stable institution of knowledge, an invariable conception of democracy, a static definition of culture, and a narrow characterization of literacy.

Kristen Ogilvie Holzer

See also Critical Literacy; Cultural Pluralism; Culture-Fair Testing; Economic Inequality

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CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

The conceptual foundation of culturally responsive teaching is the belief that culture plays a critical role in how students receive and interpret knowledge and instruction. The pedagogical principles of this approach use cultural knowledge and students’ frames of reference to facilitate learning and achievement. Concerns with how to effectively educate diverse student populations leads to conceptualizations of culturally responsive practices that situate teaching and learning within students’ values, languages, and cultural orientations. This entry describes how the system works and what research contributes.

Knowledge, Roles, and Practices

The theory of culturally responsive teaching holds that incongruence between students’ ethnic culture and school culture leads to dissonance, disengagement, and underachievement. Advocates argue that

teachers should develop and use knowledge of diverse cultures to create classroom environments that are not in conflict with students' cultural referents.

Teachers are expected to learn about interpersonal communication styles, language, and cultural norms and incorporate facets of students' cultural life into the curriculum. In this approach, they also reflect on their biases and examine the broader social, economic, and political implications that contextualize the use of culturally responsive practices. They consider how their views of culturally diverse students affect their teaching practices. By developing self-awareness of their cultural values and norms, advocates of this practice believe teachers will better understand the worldviews of diverse student populations. They are expected to engage in cultural reflexivity in more than precursory ways and understand that difference cannot be neutralized when students are forced to adopt the hegemony of normative instructional approaches.

A responsive instructional framework places students at the center of teaching and learning. Teachers nurture students' intellectual, social, emotional, and political identities. They use cultural attributes and references to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Teachers facilitate cross-cultural interaction and help students articulate their cultural assumptions and values. As they compare these with assumptions and values of the dominant culture, greater competency in understanding cultural orientations present in the classroom become obvious. Practices promote student engagement in learning and take into account value orientations, motivations, standards of achievement, and interpersonal patterns embedded in the cultures represented and studied in their classrooms.

Culturally responsive classrooms provide opportunities for students and teachers to interact with each other as a way to understand culturally diverse human beings. Cultural differences in worldviews, communication patterns, and customs are examined without perpetuating stereotypes or essentializing cultural differences. Books and other materials used are ethnically and culturally relevant and offer layered and multiple perspectives. Such exposure is believed to help students articulate their cultural assumptions and values and make comparisons across cultures.

Teachers in the culturally responsive mode incorporate culturally congruent assessments that give students the opportunity to demonstrate their learning. Instructional strategies target students' strengths, and students recognize that knowledge is subjective, value-laden, and culturally constructed. Teachers display a commitment to structure content, instruction, and assessment in ways that support student achievement and demonstrate a belief in students' abilities. Teachers assist students in negotiating conceptual bridges between cultural knowledge and new information. They recognize bias in assessment systems. So do their students.

The essential components of culturally responsive teaching are characterized as: (a) learning environments that are productive, rigorous, and aware of cultural diversity; (b) comprehensive approaches that demonstrate cultural relevance, equitable access, and instructional flexibility; (c) classroom communities based on caring, collaboration, open communication, and understanding of cultural interpersonal differences; and (d) instructional strategies that target students' strengths, habits of mind, and learning styles.

Research on Pertinent Issues

Researchers examine culturally responsive teaching and provide educators with specific strategies for addressing the needs of a diverse population of students. They document the potential salience of culturally responsive practices. By researching how cultural values, norms, and traditions affect particular learners, researchers provide information about the effect of teaching practices on particular groups of learners. In addition, researchers examine differences of individuals within cultural groups, providing rich details that help avoid stereotyping of group characteristics.

Researchers apply culturally responsive teaching principles and practices to classroom management and attitudinal work. This adds a new dimension to the literature by establishing that student resistance and behavior problems may be culturally induced. Research on the use of cultural communicative strategies affirms that students who use their native languages or dialects are significantly affected in motivation and/or achievement. The confluence of language, beliefs, values, and

behavior are examined in several studies with specific populations. For example, one study focuses on acts of disclosure and demonstrates how self-disclosure is incompatible with cultural values of many Asian Americans, Latinos, and American Indians,

Researchers focus on trying to understand the impact of the high percentage of urban teachers who are middle-class, White, European Americans on minority student populations. Research studies highlight the need for a diverse teaching staff as a potential resource for advancing culturally responsive practices. Other studies examine the effects of teaching culturally responsive practices on pre-service teachers' practices. This research will be important to teacher educators and has programmatic implications.

The literature on culturally responsive pedagogy provides a compelling case for centering curriculum and instruction on what is good and just for all students with the belief that a tacit understanding of students' cultures and lives are at the center of teachers' work.

Ruth Vinz

See also Multicultural Education

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CULTURAL PLURALISM

Cultural pluralism is a widely used term that has application to and relevance for education. *Culture* can be defined as a common set of values, beliefs, and social practices, as well as the group of people who share that similar identity. The word usually applies to ethnicity and race—for example, African American

culture or German culture—but more contentiously, it may apply to groups of individuals who share traits or similar beliefs, for example, the gay culture or the Christian culture. *Pluralism* describes a situation in which the diversity among the cultures of different groups is an accepted part of a civil society. This entry examines what is involved in cultural pluralism and looks at its application in education.

Defining Culture

How a cultural group is formed and identified varies significantly. Some cultures are identified by an obvious trait or characteristic: skin color, ethnicity, race, gender, and the like. Other cultures involve people who have a consciously shared aim. Whether or not the individual wishes to be associated with the first kind of culture is of little consequence; for example, people who are born Chinese are part of that culture whether or not they wish to actively partake in the group's beliefs and practices.

In a more substantial conception of culture, an individual actively participates in and wishes to be recognized as a member of a particular cultural group. Mutual identification by its members is a key element in these groups. Members identify with people who share a common interest or aim and with other people who feel a reciprocal commitment and attachment. Some individuals not only may wish to participate in the group, but also may believe that being part of the group is a constitutive aspect of their identity: The individual cannot separate personal identity from the cultural identity of the group. This position suggests that when individuals are born, they are born into a particular culture, experience, and language, all of which form an essential part of their identity.

Culture and Education

How cultural pluralism should be applied in educational contexts is unclear. Some argue that schools should create a common identity, even if students represent a diverse range of cultures, whereas others insist that this cultural pluralism should be acknowledged and promoted actively in schools.

France has taken a firm stance: All conspicuous religious symbols are banned in schools. The rationale for this decision is twofold. France wishes to uphold the civic republican tradition through the concept of *laïque*—the separation of church and state—and to actively promote the national civic republican traditions of the political public sphere. Further, through the concept of *laïque*, the aim is that students will be more able to shed their family's identity at the door and to explore alternative beliefs and traditions within the safe confines of the school. There is a concept of "equal exclusion": All individual cultures are excluded within the school setting.

In stark contrast is the U.S. interpretation of the separation of church and state. While religion is not explicitly (at least officially) taught in public schools in the United States, students may wear religious symbols into schools as an aspect of "equal inclusion": All individual cultures are equally welcome. In some cases, the rights of parents to raise their children within a particular culture come into tension with the obligations of a state to protect the future autonomy of children. A frequently cited case in this area is that of the Old Order Amish community in the United States. The 1972 *Wisconsin v. Yoder* case considered whether compulsory school attendance infringes on the religious freedom of parents to raise their children in the Amish way of life.

The Amish faith seeks to return to a simpler life, de-emphasising material success, renouncing competitiveness, and insulating members from the outside modern world. In its legal case, the community argued that integrating Amish children with other children in the mainstream culture and having them learn a curriculum that emphasizes science and technology would seriously threaten their accepted way of existence. To the Amish, survival of their way of life is important enough to limit children's attendance at public schools. Parents therefore asked the court to allow them to remove their children from schooling following the eighth grade.

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to exempt Amish children from compulsory attendance laws after completion of the eighth grade. The justices decided that having their children attend state schooling would substantially compromise the cultural integrity of the

Amish community. The Court further thought that state interference to force Amish children to go to public schools was not warranted. It should be noted that the verdict might have been considerably different if the Amish families had asked that their children be completely exempt from attending public schools. As it was, the Amish agreed that children would attend primary education through the eighth grade. They further guaranteed to continue the children's education within the Amish community, in ways that reflect the skills and training needed for their agricultural way of life. Those skills developed in the Amish community could be transferable to the mainstream world; in this way, should the teenagers wish to leave the Amish community, they could find suitable alternative forms of work within the modern world.

Defining what is deemed reasonable under the parameters of cultural pluralism in education is a difficult and often contested process. The Amish example makes explicit the tension that schools face in trying to balance respect for cultural ideals with the autonomous interests of the child. A pluralist society assumes that schools will foster respect for diversity. Schools, however, are also charged with protecting the interests of each and every child and with cultivating certain skills and dispositions to help students become fully functioning members of society. Trying to balance these two competing aims can be challenging.

Dianne Gereluk

See also Biracial Identity; Church and State; Deaf Culture; Multicultural Education

See Visual History Chapter 14, Immigration and Education

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CULTURAL STUDIES

Cultural studies is a multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, antidisciplinary, even postdisciplinary approach to education. When viewed together, cultural studies and education, broadly, seek to reveal and analyze relationships of knowledge, power, pedagogy, and formal and informal learning production and practice in society and culture. Conveying perspectives from the humanities and social sciences to critically assess education through support, resistance, or transformation, cultural studies engages education through both critique and creativity.

Relational in nature, it is predicated upon intellectual activism as social intervention through engagement with praxis (the bridging of theory and practice) and represents a politicized engagement with society. For these reasons, this relationship is integral to considerations of the social and cultural foundations of education. This entry will provide a broad overview of cultural studies: its origins and related developments, illustrations of the kind of work cultural studies scholars/activists do, cultural studies contributions to education, and misconceptions about cultural studies.

Origins and Developments

Cultural studies practices existed before the term itself, so as with its theoretical origins, its institutional origins cannot be viewed as definitive. Cultural studies may be theorized and historicized in multiple locations, and while those mentioned here are by no means exhaustive, some particular movements and institutions are generally associated with cultural studies and education, and within these, certain individuals and propositions.

Cultural studies has broad origins within the Russian culturology movement and the Harlem Renaissance in New York in the 1920s and 1930s, in addition to folk schools in Denmark and the Appalachian region of the United States in the 1930s (Myles Horton's founding of the Highlander Folk School, now the Highlander Research and Education Center, in 1932 in Tennessee), and the Negritude Movement in France, and francophone Africa and the Caribbean. The 1960s saw the development of subaltern studies in India and Southeast Asia, adult literacy and popular education movements throughout Latin America (perhaps most noted in relation to Brazil with Paulo Freire's work in the 1960s), and popular theater of resistance in Kenya (the Kamiriithu Community and Cultural Centre in Limuru, Kenya, in the 1970s).

The institutional beginnings of Western cultural studies are most often associated with the Birmingham school, originating from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS, founded 1964 at the University of Birmingham) in Birmingham, England, and the work of several associated scholars, including Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, and E. P. Williams in England, and Stuart Hall, Angela McRobbie, and Paul Willis, among others, at the CCCS.

The 1980s saw the development of the intersections of cultural studies and critical pedagogy, developing as a discourse in discussions of postmodern educational thought and focused on examining the power, politics, and public consumption of schooling and, within schools, exploring representational politics, constructs of student subjectivity, and the analysis of pedagogy; it is praxis oriented and intervenes in the institutional arrangements and ideologies in society that reproduce oppressions and structural inequalities. As teachers are always operating within historically, socially, and culturally situated contexts and constraints, and because education itself is so politically charged and contested, teacher roles cannot help but also be political, a link underscoring education's relationship with cultural studies.

In terms of progressive education, cultural studies has grown as a discourse that has included its institutionalization in graduate schools of education, particularly from the 1990s through today. While a foundational context of its development has been its location in class-conscious social critique and intervention outside of

the “confines” of formal education, cultural studies has expanded globally in terms of university programs, conferences, and scholarly publishing.

Characteristics of Cultural Studies

Culture is neither static nor stationary, but constantly in process, creating multiplicity, and approaches to its examination are not limited to any one part of the social spectrum. Unlike other disciplines or subjects, cultural studies has no single object area, theory, or methodological paradigm to neatly or “cleanly” define it. Cultural studies is inherently variable, differing in locations, moments, projects, and areas of inquiry.

Reflecting its flexibility, in theory it does not endorse individuals or canons. Cultural studies has been taken up in various times and places, in locations where commitments were enacted to create social transformation and justice, address local and regional conditions and concerns, and co-construct knowledge in community engagement through popular approaches for purposeful political resistance. Cultural studies emerged from interdisciplinary activist projects within progressive adult education, where commitments to literacy and working-class issues and concerns were major emphases, and where academic and community research collaborations developed.

Cultural studies resists generic definition, as it is an array of many different theories, circumstances, and representations; it is renowned for being arduously difficult to define, and this in turn becomes one of its most defining elements. Along with popular, grassroots performative cultural acts that formed as resistant political expression, cultural studies emerged from several traditional, established, academic disciplines (sociology, media studies, English, and philosophy, among others), while at the same time having an underlying ambivalent, at times altogether contentious, relationship with disciplinarity, which is why it is referred to at various moments as multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, antisciplinary, and postdisciplinary. Within cultural studies’ theoretical discourses, there are convergences and divergences, and positions are never completely concrete, final, or resolved.

Cultural studies allows concerns and expressions of experience on both personal and collective levels to be

taken seriously as important indicators, interpretations, and negotiations of human existence. Because it deals generally with subjective human experience, cultural studies tends to favor qualitative research methodologies and, in particular, ethnography and textual analyses as primary methods of documenting the life and practices of “ordinary” society and culture. It has a commitment to the importance of recognizing popular culture as integral to the relationship of schooling and society, and links the creative and scholarly cultural production of the academy and community.

Continually experimenting with applications of new approaches to existing social conditions, it has been related as a successor to critical pedagogy and multicultural education. It recognizes the importance and validity of nontraditional teaching experiences, and can offer resistance to formal school instruction when applied as a tool for oppressive social reproduction and cultural transmission.

Ultimately, cultural studies may best be spoken of not in a definitive way, but more in terms of characteristics. Handel Wright offers an indicative, transient list of broad characteristics which underpin much of the work designated as cultural studies: (a) informed by and creative of theory yet praxis driven (no practice without theory, no theory without practice); (b) addresses issues of power, is concerned with social justice, examines and critically reflects on social and national identity/identification; (c) takes the popular seriously (mass-mediated or popular culture, “low” culture); (d) deals with issues of social difference and diversity; (e) is interdisciplinary and flexible (subject to radical and far-reaching change); and (f) is specific and local in its projects and never creates or endorses canons. Wright notes that these characteristics need to be treated as subject to negotiation, revision, even rejection, for cultural studies is always a contested terrain.

Examples of cultural studies scholarship that address “low culture” or popular culture are studies that look at media presentations of performers such as Madonna, in terms of gender analysis, or sports stars such as Tiger Woods, in terms of racial analysis.

Cultural studies has helped to argue for the value of sports stories, such as Lance Armstrong’s story of recovery from cancer and his continued success as a professional bicycle rider, that can serve as rich

examples of narrative stories that can teach students about ethics. Cultural studies makes the case that not only classic literature (“high culture”) but also sports stories can serve as examples of narrative arguments for teaching ethics.

Misconceptions About Cultural Studies

There are numerous misconceptions about cultural studies that one finds when working in a cultural studies of education program and when reading student applications to the program, as well as when potential faculty apply for job openings in the program. Sharing these misconceptions may help to further clarify just what cultural studies is, in contrast.

Not a Study of Cultures

Some international students and scholars may think of cultural studies as a study of cultures. There is a tendency for them to assume that individuals from a country other than the United States or United Kingdom, particularly if they have studied in one of these Western countries, can consider themselves experts in cultural studies. It is clear from their applications and letters and e-mail that they are not aware there is a group of scholars known as cultural studies scholars, or that cultural studies worries about certain kinds of problems and seeks to address those problems in particular ways.

Just to be positioned as an outsider to the United States or United Kingdom does not qualify one as a cultural studies scholar, and it is possible to be a cultural studies scholar from the U.S. or UK, for example, and never have traveled or lived in other countries. Today, many people travel, and a good number live for extended periods of time in countries other than where they were born; everyone has the opportunity to meet international people. Still, all of this exposure to diverse cultures does not make a person necessarily or automatically a cultural studies scholar.

Some examples of recent research work might help to illustrate a cultural studies approach to the study of cultures. So Young Kang, a doctoral student from Korea, wrote a dissertation that compared White

feminist care theory, Black feminist care theory, and Korean care theory as she proceeded to develop her own care theory as a contribution to the conversation on caring. Her philosophical analysis involved descriptions of the various theories and critiques of them from the varying perspectives, so that it became clear that an eastern perspective is missing from care theory. In this dissertation, power issues were exposed such as positions of marginality for Korean perspectives of caring that are influenced by Confucian ideals. The decontextualized, ahistorical nature of White feminist care theory was troubled and the race/ethnicity discussion of care theory was enlarged beyond the boundaries of Black feminism to include an Asian perspective.

Another graduate student, Zaha Alsuwailan from Kuwait, recently wrote a dissertation that examined the history of girls’ education in Kuwait prior to and since the introduction of Western ideals through the discovery and development of the oil industry. Her analysis includes a comparison of Kuwaiti tribal, Islamic, and Western values and their varying influences on the national educational policy for girls’ education, as well as the various people’s responses to these policies. She examines the issue of girls being educated in terms of history, sociology, and anthropology and brings a cultural studies critique to the analysis in terms of gender issues as well as colonization issues. The work focuses on power issues in terms of the marginalization of women in the culture, but not necessarily in the Koran, and the hegemonic forces that create a situation where the women in Kuwait resist enrolling their daughters in schools and resist earning an education for themselves. What is taught in the all-girls’ schools in terms of a genderized curriculum is also analyzed.

Not International Education

Other people apply to cultural studies of education programs who think that cultural studies of education means this is an international education program or a comparative education program. However, both international education and comparative education are fields of study that have a distinctive history of scholarship associated with them. That scholarship does not

necessarily address power issues and take a social justice focus, as cultural studies work is committed to doing. One can find scholars with an international focus in most fields of study today, not just in education.

For example, at the University of Tennessee, Brian Barber in Child and Family Studies looks at the problem of children growing up in violent conditions, such as in war zones. Barber's work takes him to various countries, such as Ireland, Bosnia, and Palestine, and it has an international focus, but that does not mean he is a cultural studies scholar. In the Public Health program, Arjumand Siddiqi, an epidemiologist, looks at health care access issues at an international level. Siddiqi studies national health policies and compares, for example, national spending on health care across a spectrum of differing types of governments and economic systems. This is international work and it involves comparisons of differing cultures, but that does not make it cultural studies research.

A cultural studies approach to international studies would entail a need to address the power issues involved, with a focus on social justice issues. In Siddiqi's case, it might involve looking at classical liberal hegemony, which can be viewed as causing people to vote against national health care plans in the United States, for example, even though it would benefit them directly to have such a plan, because the United States's ideology emphasizes the value of choices and the importance of market competition in order to keep prices down and keep quality of health care up. In Barber's work on how war zones impact children growing up in them, a cultural studies scholar would need to address power issues: for example, looking at war in terms of the objectifying, marginalizing, othering process that goes on that allows us to think of the children as "them," "others," "those Iraqis," distant and separate from the United States and its children. A cultural studies focus could provide a framework to address the experiences of children living in war zones in terms of race, class, and gender, as well as degrees of impact depending on varying social status.

Not Multicultural Education

Cultural studies may be erroneously thought of as multicultural education. Multicultural education began

its development in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States with a distinct focus on power issues, in particular racism. However, many believe it has lost its critical edge as it has been mainstreamed into higher education and K–12 grade education. From the perspective of cultural studies scholars, multicultural education has evolved into a "melting pot" kind of approach to educational issues that seeks to embrace the valuing and appreciation of the experiences of all individuals, retaining its contextualizing of individual and collective identities but with less of an interventionist political focus. At one time, it had a sharper political focus that looked at issues of forced assimilation to the White majority culture and the loss of one's unique cultural identity. A cultural studies approach would examine and critically reflect on national identity/identification and the harm the majority culture imposes on various minorities, and antiracist educational approaches have developed that seek to maintain a political focus on social justice issues. Thus one finds that an antiracist approach to education is representative of cultural studies, but a multicultural approach is not necessarily representative.

Cultural Studies and Education: Always in Process

As a social project, cultural studies emphasizes the many cultural phenomena that comprise society, including moments of contention and intervention. In education, it is central to an oppositional, socially interventionist project that attempts the disruption of domination and oppression in schools and society. Even though cultural studies began with an educational focus, through adult education programs such as the Danish folk schools and Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, and extramural programs such as the Kamiriithu Community and Cultural Centre in Limuru, Kenya, over time, education has become marginalized as a topic for cultural studies, while popular culture focuses have continued to develop.

Early Focus

Adult education spaces were initially the only spaces that allowed for a broader and deeper social and cultural critique. However, as other spaces have

developed, including cultural studies entering the academy with the establishment of CCCS in the 1960s and gaining legitimacy within higher education, a focus on educational issues has lessened. The world of school buildings and classrooms does not seem to be able to compete with a consumer-driven, product-oriented market, reinforced throughout media and society.

There are, of course, exceptions. Henry Giroux and Handel Wright serve as good examples of scholars who bring cultural studies to bear on educational issues, but both of them have written about the marginalization of educational topics within cultural studies, and both have noted how cultural studies has moved away from its roots.

Early on, cultural studies scholars such as Paul Willis worried about how schools treated working class lads and offered a deep analysis of schools in terms of their class distinctions. Paolo Freire was concerned about how schools create passive students who are so used to being banked, with knowledge deposited in their brains by their lecturing teachers, that they don't learn how to solve their own real problems or how to resist the forced passivity of the banking method. Myles Horton and the rest of the staff at Highlander Folk School strove to create adult centers where people could unlearn the passivity of school learning and begin to see themselves as social activists and leaders for change in a world that is unjust. Adults came to Highlander to learn how to organize and found themselves positioned as teachers teaching each other what they knew and helping each other solve their problems, with the staff at Highlander serving as facilitators and resources to aid in their organizing efforts.

Cultural studies brings to education a focus on social justice issues. It attends to forms of discrimination such as racism, classism, and sexism and how these impact children in schools, and the teachers who teach them. It is concerned with the marginalization of immigrant students, new to a country, and whether their cultural expressions are engaged and their learning styles and needs are addressed in relevant ways. Cultural studies strives to connect educational theory to educational practice as it looks at how power is used in ways that are generative as well as harmful.

Cultural studies pays attention to the formal curriculum in schools (what is present or not in terms of

content), as well as the informal and hidden curricula (activities and structures of clubs and extracurricular activities, as well as daily ritual practices such as dismissal for lunch or recess, or the lack of recess or playgrounds in lower income school areas). Cultural studies examines educational policies and how they impact diverse student populations in diverse ways (for example, what are the effects of federally mandated educational policies such as No Child Left Behind and the push for standardized national testing on children and their teachers in poorer school districts?).

Cultural studies considers the commodification of education as a consumer product and attends to marketing issues such as the sponsoring of Coke machines in school hallways and television sets in classrooms, donated by Channel One in exchange for the requirement that children watch Channel One programs while in school. (Channel One is a twelve-minute current-events television program, containing two minutes of commercials, shown in participating public schools who receive free video equipment in exchange. It is often given as a primary example of the "corporatization" of public schools.) Cultural studies takes up the creative democratization of access to knowledge and technology, such as free and open source software and the free culture movement.

A Research Example

In terms of research approaches, cultural studies of education starts with a social problem and then tries to consider what discipline areas and methodologies are available to help solve this problem. It is possible to find numerous discipline contributions and a variety of research methodologies employed to try to address research problems from a cultural studies perspective. For example, one of the authors of this entry, Barbara Thayer-Bacon, recently completed a study of five collective cultures in an effort to help her develop a relational, pluralistic democratic theory that moves beyond liberal democracy, with its assumptions of individualism, rationalism, and universalism, all of which have been critiqued by cultural studies scholars. She also sought to consider how such a theory translates into our public school settings. As a cultural studies scholar, it was vital that her theory writing be informed by

practice in order to keep her theory grounded in the historical, local, contingent, everyday world. If she did not turn to the everyday world of schooling practice in various cultures, she risked writing a theory that assumes/imposes a universal, abstract perspective as if it were everyone's reality. A theory that is separated from everyday practice will be unable to actually address anyone's particular reality.

Consequently, when she began working on this project, prior to trying to write any philosophical political theory that moves us beyond liberal democracy, she sought to immerse herself in particular school cultures and communities, relying on a phenomenological methodology. She realized that she was raised in an American culture that embraces classical liberal values of individualism, universalism, and rationalism.

What triggered Thayer-Bacon's concerns with the impact of classical liberal democratic theory on U.S. public schools was the realization that the students who seem to be struggling the most in U.S. schools, the ones with the highest dropout rates and the lowest proficiency exam scores, are also students whose cultural backgrounds have a more collective focus that believes the family is the heart of the community, not the individual, and that "it takes a village to raise a child." These students with the highest dropout rates include Native American, Mexican American, and African American students. Collective, communitarian values of cooperation, sharing, and fraternity, based on a belief in the interconnectedness of self to others, including nature, are in direct contrast to the individualistic values that shaped America's government as well as its schools.

Thayer-Bacon suspected that if she studied Native American, Mexican, and African cultures in depth, she would gain a greater appreciation of the values and beliefs that support a collective sociopolitical focus and a greater understanding of how these values and beliefs function in contrast to individualistic ones. In order to help her address her own cultural limitations and better understand tough questions and issues a relational, pluralistic political theory must face in our public schools, Thayer-Bacon designed a study that required her to spend time in U.S. schools where the majority of the students historically have been disenfranchised from the United States's "democracy." She spent time in

communities where students from these three cultures are succeeding in American schools, as well as traveled to the origin countries of these three cultures to see how their collective focuses translate into the school curriculum and instruction there.

Notice that this research project is focused on social justice issues (concern for the high dropout rate of students from collective cultures) and how these students are disadvantaged within American schools (the norms of the schools being based on Western European individualistic values). Thayer-Bacon is worried about social difference and cultural diversity. Her study is praxis driven, for it seeks to connect democratic theory to the daily practice of what goes on in public schools. The study is also interdisciplinary, as it involves philosophical theory and educational research, and its research methods use qualitative research techniques through observations, interviews, collection of materials handed out to parents, and field notes, as well as a narrative style of philosophical argumentation, through its phenomenological approach of direct experience and its use of the field notes gathered at the schools as narrative stories to illustrate the philosophical ideas. The researcher went into the field not knowing what she would find and was forced to be flexible and adaptive. Going to specific schools and staying in the homes of local members of the community, made her observations local and specific to particular people in their local settings. All of these qualities are what make this study a good example of cultural studies applied to education.

Other Research Approaches

As with the issues presented in Thayer-Bacon's study, the research and social justice work of cultural studies scholars/activists reflects this range in subject matter and application. Qualitative research applications of cultural studies and education offer a wide range of research possibilities. For example, an ethnographic educational research project conducted by Rosemarie Mincey examined the perceptions of educational experience of twenty adults in Guatemala who were participating in a formal social development program that employed an application of popular education pedagogy most associated with educator Paulo Freire.

In this qualitative study, principal data collection methods were in-depth interviews and participant observations, with twenty interviews with ten male and ten female program participants providing the principal data that were analyzed for the study (participants ranged in age from sixteen to sixty-two, all with little or no prior formal schooling). Observations of classes and the interactions of the participants, both inside and outside of the classroom, were documented.

Findings indicated that, with the exception of several participants who were attending formal schools, all of the participants had their formal educational pursuits interrupted or ended due to several prohibitive factors: large families, the need to help contribute to their families' subsistence, and economic difficulties. Almost all participants indicated a desire to have acquired more formal education, in addition to feeling that better educational opportunities would be key in helping their children and future generations have a better life. Grassroots organization, community activism, and sharing what was learned in the popular education classes with their communities were identified by the participants as being particularly significant.

This study is grounded in Mincey's praxis of working for educational equity as a means of social justice, born from her experiences with formal schooling inequities she experienced as a student from a working poor family in the Appalachian region of the United States. This study draws from a number of disciplines; namely, it is sociological in its view of social structures, institutions, and class, and anthropological in its use of data collection methods (ethnography). Theoretically, the study was informed by Marxist influences in the discernment of the roles class and economics may play in the translation of social power and structural schooling inequalities. The analytic perspectives of multiculturalism and feminist critical pedagogy were applied to examine the contextualizing experiences of the intersections of gender, race, class, and schooling, and explored formal education and literacy as components of participatory democracy. The design and issues of this study deeply locate it within cultural studies and education.

The relationship between cultural studies and education has strengthened the reconceptualization of education's social and cultural forms of knowledge,

analysis, production, theory, and practice, supporting a foundational engagement with transformative implications for humanity. In higher education, cultural studies' relationship with education has brought the arts and humanities together with education, not just social foundational discipline areas such as sociology, anthropology, history, and philosophy, but also media studies, popular culture, literature, and film, for example, in a way that breaks down discipline boundaries and facilitates an understanding of issues in their shifting, changing complexity.

This multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, antisciplinary, postdisciplinary approach to research analysis insists on never losing sight of the political implications of educational practices and the impact education research has on the daily lives of local, particular, contingent human beings, students in classrooms, in daycare facilities, on playgrounds, in shopping malls, on the streets. Cultural studies asserts that classrooms are not neutral places, textbooks are not neutral descriptions of the world, tests and grades are not neutral forms of assessing what students know, and policies such as mandatory attendance and zero tolerance have differing impacts on the lives of children and their families, for they are not neutral either.

Where there are power issues, there are social justice issues, and cultural studies helps education address these issues through its contributions of critical assessment and creative possibilities, its offer of social engagement in resistance and transformation, with the hope of helping to change unjust conditions and improve the quality of people's lives as a result.

*Barbara J. Thayer-Bacon
and Rosemarie Mincey*

See also Critical Race Theory; Feminist Theory in Education

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CULTURE EPOCH THEORY

Culture epoch theory holds that the civil and religious history of a people is characterized by a succession of ever more complex and sophisticated periods that are distinguishable from one another and that the study of children reveals a parallel development. The theory essentially holds that history is a record of progress from the primitive to the civilized state and that individual abilities, mental as well as physical, also progress from the simple to the complex.

Adherents of this theory believed that, as children grow, their interests and abilities are analogous to those periods their people have passed through as they progressed from early savagery to their present highly civilized state. The relationship between the historical periods and the developmental stages of the individual thus called for a curriculum that included ordered historical content that would interest children as they grew from one stage to the next.

Culture epoch theory is often conflated and confused with but is clearly distinguishable from recapitulation theory. That confusion may be attributed to the idea expressed by C. C. Van Liew in the first sentence of his article on “culture epochs” in the *First Yearbook of the National Herbart Society*: “the individual recapitulates the experience of the race in his development.” This idea, which gained widespread currency in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can be traced back to Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841). In the United States, the theory’s acceptance and use by American Herbartians (for example, Charles De Garmo, Charles McMurry, Frank McMurry and C. C. Van Liew) was based on the interpretations of Tuiskion Ziller (1817–1882) and Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929).

E. V. Johanningmeier

See also Progressive Education

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CULTURE-FAIR TESTING

Culture-fair testing, also known as culture-free testing and unbiased testing, has as its purpose the elimination of cultural bias in performance-based assessments for culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Culture-fair tests are designed to be culturally impartial and to ensure that groups and individuals of one culture have no advantage over those of another culture in the assessment process, that is, standardized measures of assessing IQ. Culture-fair testing is commonly used with non-English speakers, both nationally and internationally.

These concepts are based on utilizing measurements with content that are presumed to be common across diverse cultures, a sort of universal measurement. Culture-fair testing was developed to equally measure

all participants regardless of their verbal fluency, cultural climate, and education level. This entry discusses how cultural testing came about and what it does.

Background

Culture-fair tests were first developed prior to World War I to assess the ability levels of immigrants and non-English speakers. Soon after, culture-free testing started to evolve to assess multiple intelligences (e.g., adaptable abilities, constant abilities). The concept of culture-fair testing was brought to the attention of the research community and the general public in the late 1960s and early 1970s during the civil rights movement, when cultural, racial/ethnic, and gender rights were the focus of much national concern. Currently, there is only limited research on the use and implications of this type of assessment for individuals from diverse backgrounds. However, the literature does highlight the biases of assessment/testing as evidenced by the rise in popularity of portfolio and curriculum-based measurement in schools.

Today, there is serious debate on the issues of current assessments and their appropriateness for all students, and culture-fair testing has gained popularity across fields of study (e.g., sociology, anthropology, psychology, and many of the behavioral sciences). Culture-fair testing has been proposed in many of these fields to help students deconstruct the unjustified and unfair notions of racial and cultural identity. For example, in the field of special education, the deconstruction of biases by race/ethnicity and culture is vital because of the current and historical disproportionate representation of diverse students in categories of learning disabilities and behavioral disorders.

Traditional Intelligence Tests

Proponents of culture-fair testing take issue with the standardized measures that have typically been used to assess academic success and the measurement of IQ. They believe IQ tests are culturally biased, putting culturally and linguistically diverse students at a disadvantage compared with their European American peers. They further assert that traditional aptitude assessments or IQ tests simply assess students' abilities to

understand and apply knowledge of the dominant culture, not students' true abilities, intelligence, and multiple intelligences. As a part of this argument, James W. Vander Zanden maintained that IQ tests measure only recipients' cultural exposures. However, opponents of culture-fair testing contend that it is just as biased and no more reliable than traditional testing and assessments. They maintain that because of the varying complexity and the revolving characteristics of culture, no test or assessment can truly be unbiased.

Types of Culture-Fair Tests

There are two types of culture-fair tests. The first type does not examine verbal intelligence. In fact, it removes all verbal questions and consists instead of questions intended to avoid bias based on socioeconomic or cultural background. The second type of culture-fair test is a system of multicultural pluralistic assessments (SOMPA). This type of test examines both verbal and nonverbal intelligence in addition to social adjustment to school and physical health while taking into account an individual's socioeconomic background.

Within the two types of culture-fair tests, there are a variety of tests that have been created to assess individuals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, some tests have been specifically designed to assess and measure African Americans' academic success and IQ. The Dove Counterbalance General Intelligence Test was developed in 1968 to show the fundamental differences in speech patterns of African Americans and their European American peers. The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity was developed in 1972 by Robert L. Williams to assess the intelligence of African Americans. The test uses vocabulary common to the vernacular of some African Americans. Another test focuses on assessment of IQ of persons and groups from Hispanic backgrounds. The Australian-American Intelligence Test was based on a test first introduced in the late 1960s and early 1970s to assess IQ in the Aboriginal culture of North Queensland.

Whether culture-fair testing can be truly fair or free from culture bias is open to debate. It does represent an important attempt to provide an assessment

tool that will eliminate cultural bias for persons from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds that may be found in more common performance-based assessments.

Satasha L. Green

See also Cultural Literacy; Cultural Pluralism; Standardized Testing

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CURRICULUM CHALLENGES IN SCHOOLS

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: “Congress shall make no law respecting . . . the right of people . . . to petition the government for redress of grievances.” Since public schools are part of the government, people have a right to petition schools when they have a grievance about curriculum. This right is exercised with consistency across the country.

Once a person petitions a school or district, there is an expectation that challenges will be resolved in a way that is “just.” Americans’ sense of fairness is founded on equality in the assignment of rights and

duties. Thus, each person who challenges curriculum expects to be treated equally or fairly. The community, in turn, expects public school boards will provide equal treatment and consistency to protect citizens from unfair treatment. Social norms of fairness also prescribe just treatment. Communities look with disfavor on those in power, such as principals, if they deal unfairly with challengers.

The legal requirement for fair treatment by government agencies, including school districts, is expressed in the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states: “. . . nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” Legal scholars point out that due process requires that citizens have a right to air their views on matters that affect them. It also requires school districts to respond to challenges by following established procedures, applying the procedures in an even-handed way, and outlining the process by which challengers can appeal decisions.

Defining Curriculum Challenges

The American Library Association defines a challenge as an attempt to remove or restrict access to materials, based upon objections of a person or group. Thus, a challenge is not just an expression of opinion, but goes further. A successful challenge would restrict or remove material from access by others not participating in the challenge.

Some complaints about school programs may be related to the performance of a particular teacher who uses unapproved materials or covers material beyond the approved scope of a class or grade. These are not curriculum challenges and are usually addressed as personnel issues following procedures outlined in employee contracts and personnel laws.

Usually curriculum challenges relate to some form of printed material, curriculum guidelines or handbooks, media, or pedagogical practice which is part of the approved curriculum of the school or district. The complaint is usually lodged by a parent of a student, but some have been made by other members of the public and even district employees.

The range of items challenged is quite varied, from *James and the Giant Peach* to *The Catcher in the Rye*.

Even J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* novels have been on the list of challenged materials.

Research About Challenges

There was a series of studies conducted that focused on gathering data about types of challenges. Between 1956 and 1958, Marjorie Fiske did an interview study that included school libraries in twenty-six California communities. A major finding was that libraries react in a precautionary way in book selection when highly charged and widely reported community conflicts are caused by challenges to books. A more recent study by Dianne McAfee-Hopkins surveyed school library/media specialists in secondary public schools between 1987 and 1990. The primary reasons for the complaints reported in this study were: lack of family values, sexuality of the material, and morality concerns.

A 1977 study conducted by Lee Burrell for the National Council of Teachers of English surveyed secondary school teachers on censorship and found that almost half reported some kind of attempted or successful censorship based on the language use such as profanity or erotic qualities in books. In 1980 the Association of American Publishers, the American Library Association, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development conducted a survey of librarians, principals, and superintendents and reported that challenges happened in all regions and types of communities. In this study only 10.5 percent of the challenged materials related to religious issues such as "moral relativism" and evolution.

In 1992, Martha McCarthy and Carol Langdon conducted a survey of superintendents to study the nature and scope of challenges for the Indiana Education Policy Center. They noted that challenges increased beginning in 1989, at the same time that the state required inclusion of AIDS instruction and drug education in the curriculum. Louise Adler conducted similar surveys in California in 1990, 1991, 1993, and 1995, which showed that the number of districts reporting challenges increased by 5 percentage points between 1990 and 1995. Forty-one percent of the responding districts reported challenges from 1993 to 1995. Concerns about religious conflicts or

satanic/witchcraft issues accounted for 32 percent of challenges, and parents were the most frequently identified challengers (54 percent). A significant percentage (76 percent) of districts reported that they were experiencing the same number or more challenges.

Several organizations also collect data on reports of challenges. The People for the American Way published a list of incidents that were either reported in the media or reported directly to their organization between 1986 and 1996. The reports received wide media attention, and conservative groups challenged their accuracy. Similarly, the American Library Association (ALA) publishes the *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom*, which also lists incidents of challenges in schools, as well as libraries and universities. The ALA reports that between 1990 and 1998, over 5,000 challenges were reported to their Office for Intellectual Freedom. Most of the challenges were to material in classrooms or school libraries. In 2002, ALA reported that they received about 900 reports of challenges per year, an increase from about 300 each year in 1978.

Herbert Foerster is the author of *Banned in the U.S.A.: A Reference Guide to Book Censorship in Schools and Public Libraries* (2002), which lists the most frequently challenged books giving synopsis and background about selected challenges.

Recent Media Reports

A review of recent education media suggests some of the interests challengers seem to have. The arguments for inclusion of alternative theories to evolution were labeled "creationism" during the 1980s and 1990s. Now the theory being supported by challengers of evolution is "intelligent design." These challenges are taking place at schools, at the district level—even by some school board members—and at the state level.

Another type of religiously based challenge reported in the media results from attempts by districts to include the study of various religions. Attempts to find "balanced" curriculum materials can result in challenges for a variety of reasons. This happened recently in Anchorage, Alaska, when the district removed a teaching guide called the *Arab World*

Studies Notebook. In 1994, the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University developed a resource guide to help schools find a proper constitutional and educational role for religion. It offers legal and practical advice for dealing with religiously based curriculum challenges.

Due Process Procedures

Many district policies and most model policies contain the following key provisions:

1. Challenges must be made in writing using a specified form.
2. Challengers must begin the process by discussing their concern with the principal of the school where the challenged material is used.
3. A review committee (which can be constituted either at the school or district level) conducts a study of the challenged material.
4. Challenged materials remain in use during the review period.
5. The child of a challenger may be given an alternative assignment during the process.
6. The steps of the review process are outlined in the policy and provide for an appeal process.
7. Standards used by the committee to review the challenged material must be specified in the policy.
8. A standard should be established that states how often a challenged item or service will be reviewed within a specific period.
9. Guidelines must be established for selection of review committee members.

Professional organizations such as The American Library Association, National Council of Teachers of English, and Phi Delta Kappa have developed guidelines for responding to challenges. Jonathan Weil reported on a district policy from Evanston, Illinois, which contains the provision that “no parent has the right to limit reading, viewing, or listening materials for students other than his or her own children.” Once the board makes a decision on a challenge, the Evanston policy states that there will be no further review (no new challenge to that material) for three years. Challengers must answer the following questions:

1. Do you represent an organization or other group?
2. To what in the material do you object?
3. What do you feel might be the result of students becoming involved with this material?
4. Is there anything good about this material?
5. What do you believe is the theme of this material?
6. In its place, what other print or nonprint material would you recommend?

Commentators on model policies unanimously support the key provision requiring that challenged materials remain in use during the review process. While challengers must be afforded due process, the burden of proving that material should be removed rests on the challenger. This provision is designed to prevent a demand by the challenger that the district rush to judgment in order to protect their child from the “damaging” material. On a practical level, it is easiest to implement when the challenge concerns one story out of a textbook or one library book for a single child. When an entire textbook series and more than one family is involved, however, implementation of this provision can be problematic.

While the policies enunciate due process procedures, they also serve as mechanisms controlling the level of controversy typically surrounding challenges. Organizational theorists call this “buffering the technical core of an organization.” Requiring that the challenge be put in writing assures that the challenger’s concerns are clearly expressed. At the same time, it serves as a buffer, since some parents will not want to invest the time necessary to fill out the required form or make their concerns part of the public record. The provision for establishing review committees assures that the challenger will get a hearing—a key ingredient in due process. But the district can control the level of controversy by the way it appoints the members of the review committee.

Louise Adler reported that in 1995, 62 percent of the challenges resulted in continuing to use the challenged material or using the material but excusing the challenger’s child from using it. Nineteen percent of these challenges successfully restricted use of material, while only 14 percent resulted in completely removing material.

Existence of challenge policies, while assuring due process, also constrains the controversies that typically surround challenges by defining the channel through which these must flow. Districts can develop and adopt policies during times of political quiescence so they will be in place when political storms erupt over challenges.

Louise Adler

See also Religious Fundamentalism and Public Education

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CURRICULUM THEORY

Curriculum theory is the network of assumptions that undergirds curriculum proposals, policies, or practices, and is the critique of the same. Curriculum, and curriculum theory as a subset, is an offshoot of philosophy and social foundations of education that started in the early twentieth century.

Origins of Curriculum Theory

Curriculum theory and foundations of education, together, grew to prominence, and then starting in the 1930s began to become more differentiated at key universities such as Teachers College, Columbia University; Ohio State University; and the University of Illinois. These universities had strong early- to mid-twentieth-century social and cultural foundations faculty, many of whom became well known in curriculum theory and in foundations. Examples of some of the major contributors to the field from the first half the twentieth century include John Dewey, William Bagley, George Counts, Harold Rugg, William H. Kilpatrick, and John Childs. Among more recent figures are, to name just a few, Jonas Soltis, Dwayne Huebner, Maxine Greene, David Hansen, Janet Miller, Ralph W. Tyler, Joseph J. Schwab, William Pinar, and Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot.

Forms of Curriculum Theory

Forms of curriculum theory (often derived from philosophical and other foundations of education) include the following: descriptive theory, prescriptive theory, critical theory, hermeneutic theory, postmodern theory, and personal theory.

Descriptive curriculum theory builds upon analytic and empirical philosophical traditions. Analytic theory strives to clarify concepts and builds theory upon both philosophical conceptualization and empirical studies that are assumed to provide small pieces of large puzzles of inquiry. It draws upon realism in philosophy of education and is patterned after investigation in the natural sciences that has led to theories of the biological cell or to atomic theory, for example. Work in this tradition often draws upon psychological origins of theory and research, exemplified by early work of E. L. Thorndike, G. Stanley Hall, Charles Judd, and B. F. Skinner, and the curriculum work of Franklin Bobbitt, Ralph W. Tyler, George Beauchamp, Mauritz Johnson, Howard Gardner, and George Posner.

Prescriptive curriculum theory is often referred to as *normative*, in that it posits values that guide decisions about that which is worth teaching and learning,

and then proceeds to justify such values through philosophical argument. Such argument may be made through appeal to authoritative sources of the past and usually involves the cogent construction of reasoning through deductive, syllogistic, prepositional, symbolic, inductive, or dialectical logic. Associated primarily with philosophical schools of idealism, naturalism, scholasticism, and to a lesser extent with pragmatism and existentialism, prescriptive curriculum theorists attempt to present compelling defenses of proposed or practiced responses to curriculum positions on what is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, becoming, being, overcoming, sharing, and contributing. Contemporary prescriptive curriculum theorists might draw upon philosophical roots in the likes of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Abelard, Martin Luther, Ignatius Loyola, Rene Descartes, G. W. F. Hegel, Immanuel Kant, David Hume, Alfred North Whitehead, William James, John Dewey, and others.

Today's versions of such theorists range from conservative proponents of the Western canon (e.g., Mortimer Adler, E. D. Hirsch), to liberals (e.g., Decker Walker, R. F. Dearden, David Hansen, Philip Jackson, Joseph Schwab, William A. Reid, and Nel Noddings), to radicals (e.g., William Ayers, James Beane, Paulo Freire), and many others whose writing is often of the essay form.

Critical curriculum theory began as an accepted curriculum discourse in the 1970s, though it has roots in radical racial and cultural scholarship and critique (e.g., Sarah Winnemucca, W. E. B. Du Bois, Horace Mann Bond, Carter G. Woodson, Jose Marti, Elizabeth Blackwell, Emily Blackwell, Franz Fanon, George L. Sanchez, Ivan Illich, Malcolm X, Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King, Jr.). Like the work of these too often neglected theorists, the focus of critical curriculum theory is on exposing and overcoming injustice. Grounded in the work of Karl Marx and his dialectical class analysis, post-Marxists have pushed the boundaries to include inequities based on race, ethnicity, gender, language, culture, nationality, place, sexual orientation, age, ability/disability, health/illness, religion/belief, membership, and more. The legacy of neo-Marxists such as Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Antonio Gramsci, Erich Fromm, and Jürgen Habermas is drawn upon by contemporary

curriculum theorists, such as Paulo Freire, Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, Cleo Cherryholmes, Jean Anyon, Peter McLaren, Patti Lather, William Watkins, Donaldo Macedo, and others

Hermeneutic curriculum theory stems from continental European phenomenological and existentialist origins, having roots in the work of Edmund Husserl, Søren Kierkegaard, Martin Heidegger, Jean Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Simone de Beauvoir, M. J. Langeveld, and others. A diverse array of curriculum scholars have built upon these scholars. Some, such as Max van Manen, Ted Aoki, Ton Beekman, George Willis, Maureen Connolly, Francine Hultgren, Valerie Polakow, Terry Carson, David Smith, Stephen Smith, and Donald Vandenberg, strive to depict the meanings of lived experience. They transform the literal notion of hermeneutics as interpretation of texts in the Judaic tradition to metaphorically refer to an ever-vigilant understanding of texts as the perspectives or outlooks of human beings as they encounter existence.

A figure like Maxine Greene combines existential and phenomenological with critical theory and perspectives drawn from literature and the other arts. Her work as well as that of James B. Macdonald and Dwayne Huebner has influenced William Pinar, Madeleine Grumet, Janet Miller, and others who have referred to *currere*, the verb form of *curriculum*, a term used to highlight the active portrayal of seeking to understand how one's interpretation of the past and anticipation of the future continuously reconstruct fleeting images of the present.

Postmodern curriculum theory is a rather new phenomenon that has grown from disenchantment with all organized systems of thought or metanarratives as captured in Jean-François Lyotard's central theme that postmodernism is incredulous of and should interrupt metanarratives. Other postmodern theorists, such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Ferdinand de Saussure, and Paul Ricoeur, have been major contributors to curriculum theory that counters metatheory by employing the ideas of William Pinar, William Doll, Noel Gough, Patrick Slattery, William Stanley, Bernardo Gallegos, Elizabeth Ellsworth, Bernadette Baker, and others. This is done by advocating multiple narratives, deconstructing those texts, complicating reflections and conversations on

what they signify via differing interpretations of their possible meanings.

Personal theory emerges largely from pragmatism, which assumes that the values of ideas reside in action based on those ideas. Thus, for John Dewey (as influenced by fellow founders of pragmatism—Charles S. Peirce and William James), the study of effective social practice yields salient theory that is continuously reconstructed by subsequent experience. Practical inquiry, as developed by Joseph Schwab, also has origins in the pragmatism of Dewey. It seeks problems in states of affairs, not generalized states of mind; its method of inquiry is more immersion and interaction than induction and hypothetical deduction, while it unveils subject matter that is situationally specific, rather than lawlike, and ends that consist of knowledge, not merely for its own sake, but for the sake of morally defensible action. Eclectically combined with autobiographical, biographical, and aesthetic narrative discourses, practical postures of inquiry facilitate personal theory—a kind of *currere* in which individuals and communities create perspectives that guide their lives. Revising such perspectives is deemed the process of education itself, a novel variation on the time-honored, but too seldom emphasized, goal of self-education.

Critics of contemporary education such as William Pinar argue that much of contemporary curriculum theory that attempts to guide practice today is too often a meager amalgam that masquerades as prescriptive and descriptive theory to justify the policies of elite groups, who design education as schooling that benefits their own social, political, and economic aims. Pinar argues that this state of affairs requires curriculum theorizing that is distanced from practice and policy, so it will not be co-opted by power, and thus be able to offer radically imaginative alternatives. Peter Hlebowitsh has argued that such distancing is an

abdication of responsibility, since children come to school daily and must experience the best that curriculum theorists have to offer to the democratic process, even under oppressive and autocratic circumstances. J. Dan Marshall and his colleagues portray a kind of postmodern pastiche of how curriculum theorists have responded to the needs of curriculum work since 1950. William Schubert argues that curriculum theorizing must become instantiated in the minds, hearts, and practices not only of theorists, researchers, and consultants, but of educational leaders, teachers, parents, and learners at all levels, both in school and in the many other venues of teaching and learning in life.

William H. Schubert

See also Ideology and Schooling; Philosophy of Education

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D

DALTON PLAN

The Dalton Plan was the progressive pedagogical model used by Helen Parkhurst, who founded the Dalton School in New York City in 1919. Her book, *Education on the Dalton Plan*, was published in 1922, and within six months of publication it was translated into fourteen languages.

The plan's principles were freedom and cooperation. Freedom meant the ability for individuals to function independently and autonomously. Cooperation meant the interaction of group life. Concerned with preparing students to live in a democracy, Parkhurst created an environment to balance cooperation and freedom.

The components of the Dalton Plan were House, Laboratory, and Assignment. *House* was the arrangement of students into advisory groups, which met four times per week for a total of ninety minutes with a teacher-advisor. Its purpose was to foster cooperation among students and to develop the qualities of independence and social awareness. Blocks of time were set aside each morning from nine to twelve o'clock and called lab time or *Laboratory*. Each teacher had a lab and students were expected to utilize the resources of their teachers in order to help them fulfill their assignment. *Assignment* was an outline of each student's coursework for the year. Students were required to discuss their plans with their teachers; they also might have discussed their plans with other students. The plans might have been modified, or students might

even have abandoned their plans and started over. Students participated in planning their studies with both faculty and peers, interacting with the community in a spirit of cooperation.

Flexibility was the keystone of the Dalton Plan. The school during Helen Parkhurst's time exuded informality, spur-of-the-moment decision making, enormous energy, high-level engagement, and the element of surprise. Parkhurst's greatest contribution to education was her emphasis on process rather than product. She saw the Dalton Plan as a vehicle for teaching the curriculum. It was far from perfect. Former students complained of lack of structure. Teachers had to be reeducated in Dalton ways. Often, because of the emphasis on process, they were insecure with regard to the curriculum. How the student was to realize his or her potential as an individual and to be a contributing member of a community remained a problem largely unsolved. The Dalton Plan's House system, however, has been rediscovered by the contemporary small-school movement and called *Advisory Groups*, although contemporary reformers do not acknowledge Parkhurst's influence.

Susan F. Semel

See also Dalton School; Progressive Education

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DALTON SCHOOL

The Dalton School is a coeducational, K–12 independent school located on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, founded by Helen Parkhurst as a progressive school in 1919. Today, Dalton is a competitive, elite, college preparatory school with tuition over \$30,000 per year.

The school followed Helen Parkhurst's philosophy, embodied by the Dalton Plan for education, which was designed to individualize instruction and create community. Parkhurst's Dalton reflected the child-centered progressive movement of its time: often chaotic and disorganized, but at the same time caring and familial. It focused on child growth and development, community, and social service, and it strove to synthesize the affective and cognitive domains of the child. In 1942, Parkhurst was forced to resign due to financial irregularities. By the time she did, the Dalton Plan was internationally accepted as an important model for schooling.

Charlotte Durham, a teacher and administrator under Parkhurst from 1922, was headmistress from 1942 to 1960. Under her leadership, Dalton retained its child-centered pedagogy and its caring orientation, while placing more emphasis on academic rigor. It was more orderly and less experimental and more a part of the traditional New York City independent school community. Her genius was to create a tradition out of a progressive experiment, using the Dalton Plan as its guiding ritual.

Donald Barr served as Dalton's headmaster from 1964 to 1974. Although a product of progressive

education, Barr had developed an educational philosophy closer to conservative critics of progressivism. He thought progressive education was anti-intellectual and permissive, and he injected a rigorous and traditional curriculum into the Dalton Plan. Reflecting antipathy for progressive education, Barr began the transformation of Dalton into a large, academically competitive and trendy institution. His administration was rife with controversy, and in the end, he resigned under a cloud.

Gardner Dunnan served as Dalton's headmaster from 1975 to 1997. The first head to come from the public school sector, he continued Dalton's transformation into an efficient, selective, and academically rigorous institution. He initiated the Dalton Technology Plan, which he promoted as the link between the progressivism of Helen Parkhurst and the Dalton of modernity. The school's graduates entered prestigious universities, reflecting the goals of its parent body. By the time Dunnan resigned amid financial and personal problems in 1997, the Dalton School had become a traditional, elite college preparatory school with only vestiges of its progressive past.

After four years of uninspired leadership, Ellen Stein, a former Dalton student, became head in 2001. Stein has attempted to reconnect Dalton with its progressive past. Although the school still refers to the Dalton Plan, and the school is more progressive than most public schools, it is different from the school Helen Parkhurst founded.

Susan F. Semel

See also Dalton Plan; Progressive Education

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DEAF, EDUCATION FOR THE

Although the first known reference to deafness was found in the Egyptian Ebers in 1500 BCE, it was not until 1578 CE that the world's first school for the deaf was established in Spain. The late 1700s saw the start of the so-called Hundred Years War, with disagreement over classroom communication modes arising in Europe: the Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Eppé of France believed sign was the natural language of the deaf (manualism), while Samuel Heinicke of Germany declared that deaf people must be taught via aural/oral means because thought was only possible through speech (oralism).

In the United States, education for deaf children began in 1817 when a wealthy community leader, Mason Cogswell, sought to provide formal schooling for Alice, his deaf daughter. Cogswell sent Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet to Europe to research the best practices. After being rejected by the oralist teachers in England, Gallaudet studied with the manualist teachers in France. Gallaudet persuaded a deaf teacher, Laurent Clerc, to return to the United States to help found the Connecticut Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, now known as the American School for the Deaf.

Within the next few decades, regionalized schools cropped up across the United States. In 1864, Congress authorized the addition of a collegiate department to the Columbia Institute in Washington, D.C., creating the only liberal arts college for deaf people in the world, the National Deaf Mute College, now called Gallaudet University.

Until the late 1860s, about half of the teachers were deaf and all classes in schools for the deaf were taught via American Sign Language (ASL). Change came with the establishment of the New York Institution for the Improved Instruction of Deaf-Mutes, now known as the Lexington School for the Deaf, which prohibited the use of signs and followed the oralist model.

The battle over modes of communication had found its way to North America and was reflected most clearly in the public feuding between the president of the National Deaf Mute College, Edward Miner Gallaudet (son of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet), who supported signs and speech in the classroom, and

the famous inventor, Alexander Graham Bell (whose mother and wife were both deaf), who strongly advocated for the exclusive use of speech.

Culturally Deaf people contend that the "Dark Days" of deaf education began in earnest in 1880 at the International Congress on Deafness, held in Milan, Italy. Oralism was chosen as the sole method allowed in educational settings. Due primarily to the efforts of E. M. Gallaudet, manual methods continued to be used in the United States. In response to this defiance of the Milan decision, Bell used his influence to foster a rapid increase of programs teaching deaf students through oral methods, rising from 7 percent in 1882 to a peak of 80 percent by 1919. It was during this time that signing became covert, with older deaf children passing the language to younger children in the dorms of residential schools.

The "Dark Days" ended in the 1960s when Gallaudet University Professor William Stokoe conducted research on the linguistic and grammatical structure of signs used in the deaf community, finding that ASL is indeed a separate and unique language. The tide turned and by the mid-1970s, sign language was once again permitted in schools. However, ASL was not used then, nor is it used in most academic programs today. Instead, various forms of voiced artificial sign systems designed to follow English word order are the means of providing a "total communication" learning environment. In the past ten years, however, there has been a growing movement toward a bilingual-bicultural approach.

Supported by federal legislation in the 1970s, placement patterns shifted from regionalized schools to local public school programs. However, due to the low incidence of deafness, all too often only a few deaf children are placed amid hundreds of nondeaf students in these programs. Therefore, this change has not occurred without controversy, as some people believe that such isolation does not satisfy the intent of the least restrictive environment component of the federal mandate.

The field of deaf education has been and continues to be a highly volatile entity, charged with emotional, political, and philosophical disagreements.

Jean Theodora Slobodzian

See also Deaf Culture

See Visual History Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries;
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DEAF CULTURE

A cultural community arises when a group of people, communicating through a common language, develops a set of beliefs, social behaviors, and norms. Deaf people who use American Sign Language as their primary language form such a cultural community. Hailing from all races, religions, socioeconomic classes, and geographical regions across the United States, culturally deaf people hold the view that deafness is a social phenomenon rather than a disability. They take pride in their shared social/political organizations, literature, visual works of art, history, and group norms.

Deaf children born to deaf parents begin language and cultural learning at birth, but these children are far and few between. More than 90 percent of all deaf children are born to two nondeaf parents, many of whom have probably never met a deaf person in their lives. In cases where the diagnosis of deafness is not made for months or even years after the baby is born, the critical time for language development is irretrievably lost. The early years for the undiagnosed deaf child of nondeaf parents will probably be filled with rich experiences that lack the appropriate language accompaniment to foster intellectual and cultural understandings.

After the diagnosis of deafness is made, nondeaf parents are forced to make an immediate decision regarding communication. If they continue utilizing aural/oral methods, they will need to accept that, despite the intensity of direct instruction, their child

may make relatively slow progress in speech, listening, and speech-reading skill development. If they decide to implement signed communication methods, they will need to learn sign language and consistently use it when their child is in their presence. In either case, the consequences of this delayed language input are serious and long reaching. Schools serving deaf students often find it necessary to supplement social-emotional, linguistic, and cultural development in addition to the traditional role of transmitting academic information.

The federal government, through the enactment of Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, and the recent reauthorization of Public Law 101-476, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), guarantees the educational rights of all children. However, parents, students, concerned deaf adults, court judges, and educational professionals disagree as to what actually constitutes the mandated free and appropriate education in regard to deaf students. Less than 1 percent of all school-age children are classified as deaf, yet it is impossible to find one educational setting that satisfies all involved.

There is a wealth of public school placement options currently available from which to choose. At one end of the continuum is full-time care in a boarding school that serves only those who are deaf, while at the other end is total inclusion in a class of deaf/nondeaf peers in a local public school. Between these two extremes lie options such as day classes in a regionalized school for the deaf; a self-contained classroom in a public school; part-time placement in a Resource Room; tutorial pull-out classes with an itinerant teacher trained to work with deaf children; or at-home instruction.

Regionalized schools bring together larger numbers of children who are deaf, have a culturally dedicated focus that normalizes deafness, and provide numerous deaf role models, though the deaf child may be taught far from home, thus causing separation from family and neighborhood nondeaf peers. Local public schools reduce the physical distance between deaf and nondeaf students, increase the potential for interaction between the two cultural groups, and offer an environment where mutual appreciation and respect can be fostered, though the deaf child may be alone

among hundreds of hearing schoolmates and not meet any deaf role models until adulthood.

No one type of communication mode or program is ideal for all deaf children, whose needs are as diverse as the contributing factors to the condition. It would be incorrect to use a single model to try to satisfy the needs of all deaf children. Ideally, each child's situation should be individually evaluated and addressed.

Jean Theodora Slobodzian

See also Deaf, Education for the

See Visual History Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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DECLARATIONS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Important declarations concerning the rights of women were promulgated in France and England during the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. These included the 1791 French Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, and the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen

The feminist manifesto *Declaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne*, written by Marie Gouze, who was known as Olympe de Gouges, was a response to the French Republic's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens (1789), which de Gouges challenged as not applying equally to women. She charged that this declaration fell short of equal treatment of the sexes in

matters of law, marriage, property, employment, and education, and she called upon the National Assembly to work toward obtaining a woman's right to vote. She also placed particular emphasis on the need for an accessible and rigorous education for women.

De Gouges dedicated her tract to the queen, Marie Antoinette. In her preamble, de Gouges called for a national assembly of women to reform French society, based on laws of nature and reason. She set forth seventeen principles, articulated in her articles of equality. Among her assertions one finds that men and women should be equally admitted by ability to all honors, positions, and public employment. Freedom of speech and assembly should be guaranteed to women, and they should have the right to demand an accounting of the tax system. Article 16 declared the constitution of the state null if the majority of the people, including women, had not cooperated in drafting it. De Gouges ended with a social contract for women, proposing new laws of marriage and property.

Throughout her adult life, de Gouges wrote about the position of women, and the quality of their education, while other women of the period were addressing similar concerns in more tolerant societies. While education was a primary issue addressed in her many pamphlets, plays, novels, and political tracts appearing from 1788 to 1793, this remarkable and unpretentious woman, like the majority of females in her day, would not have received a rigorously academic or scholarly education. Education notwithstanding, she encouraged women of her time to become involved, to speak openly and publicly in support of her Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen. As Benoitte Groult theorizes in her 1986 work on de Gouges, the unfortunate reality is that the women who participate in revolutions are hardly ever awarded the benefits of change. De Gouges write in 1791 that if "woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order." With these words, she foretold her own story. Because of her audacious, passionate, and radically conceptualized Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, and the sociohistorical context in which she lived, de Gouges was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death by guillotine on November 3, 1793.

Declaration of Sentiments

In the United States, a similar declaration was put forward over fifty years later as part of the first American women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19 and 20, 1848. The convention had as its purpose the examination of the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of American women. The convention was led by Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902). On the second day of the convention, a Declaration of Sentiments (largely written by Stanton and modeled after the Declaration of Independence) was approved by the sixty-eight women and thirty-two men who attended the convention. The declaration had as its main assertion that “all men and women are created equal.” Besides arguing that “He” (a general reference to male-dominated society) had not permitted women to vote, to have a voice in the creation of laws, or the right to property in marriage, the declaration maintained that women were denied the facilities for obtaining a proper education—specifically collegiate instruction.

Like de Gouges's declaration, the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments challenged the notion that the rights afforded to women should be any different than those assigned to men. Also like the Declaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne, the Declaration of Sentiments used a male-created revolutionary document as a template for its creation. In doing so, it made clear the hypocrisy of making all men free while excluding half of humanity in the form of women.

The 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls and its Declaration of Sentiments is widely considered the beginning of the feminist movement in the United States, as well as the foundation for the passage the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920, which enfranchised women by declaring that: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”

In 1948, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights called for universal and equal suffrage for all people. Its principles were further reinforced with its Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which was passed by the UN General Assembly in 1979. Interestingly, the

United States is the only developed nation that has not ratified the convention. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, women's suffrage has been largely achieved throughout the developed world, with notable exceptions in countries such as Saudi Arabia.

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See also Education, History of

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Web Sites

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>
- Declaration of Sentiments: <http://www.nps.gov/archive/wori/declaration.htm>
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

DELINQUENCY EDUCATION

School experiences are connected to issues of delinquency, and for adjudicated youth, negative experiences in school are common. As institutions of socialization and stratification, schools frame student

behavior in the language of normal or deviant. Schools label students and student learning as successful or unsuccessful and stratify student achievement into separate curriculums. Research indicates that low school performance, experiences with truancy, and school leaving at a young age are factors related to delinquency; students who experience low school performance are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior. The educational history of incarcerated youth reveals low grades in school, behavior problems, and school leaving.

In the United States, less than half of the prison population has either a high school diploma or a GED. And although the majority of state prisons offer secondary education programs, less than one fourth of the prison population participates in GED and high school classes.

Education programs for youth in prison are cost effective, increase life skills and job skills, and reduce recidivism. Participation in education programs has been linked to decreases in the level of violence in crimes committed by youth after release from prison. Although education programs generate positive effects, historically, support for correctional education has waxed and waned, as this entry shows.

In the Beginning

The history of “delinquency education” extends back to the late eighteenth century. During the Revolutionary War, more revolutionaries died as prisoners in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions than as soldiers in combat. Unwavering in their defense of the ideals put forth in the Declaration of Independence, revolutionaries criticized the inhumane treatment perpetrated by the British during the war and worked diligently among White populations to use incarceration and the judicial system in constructive ways. Benjamin Rush, a signatory, along with Quakers from Pennsylvania, supported the idea of rehabilitation in prison. The idea of rehabilitation and reeducation expanded in the 1800s, particularly in regard to children; however, many prisons instituted rules of silence, restricted mobility, and abusive control of those who were incarcerated.

In the early 1800s as the concept of childhood developed, states began to distinguish differences between

adults and children and founded separate institutions of incarceration. States established refuge houses and reformatories for boys and girls, separating them from the adult prison population. By the end of the 1820s the legal community recognized children who violated the law as belonging to a special category, and the first refuge houses opened in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Boys and girls were both sent to refuge houses, although always to separate quarters.

The judicial system framed the illegal activities of children as uncontrolled and unguided behavior that needed modification. Supporters of refuge houses recognized the problem of severe poverty and advanced the idea of giving young offenders education and vocational training rather than punishment. They hoped civilized instruction in reformatory schools and work in reformatory factories would alter the behavior of the children. Religious studies, vocational training, and hard labor defined the educational programs for delinquents. The reformation of the child, not punishment, became the goal. Unfortunately, many refuge houses exploited the labor of the children, and often staff abused the children.

The Reform School Era

During the latter half of the 1800s, reform schools grew with continued state support. In 1854 the Lancaster Industrial School for Girls in Massachusetts established the first reformatory exclusively for girls and introduced a new structure to reform schools—the cottage plan. Over the next fifty years, cottage plan systems emerged at reform schools across the country. Supporters of the schools believed that society needed to save children from poverty in industrialized urban centers. They sought to train children to work and become good citizens. Typically located in rural areas and often on farms far from urban centers, cottage plan reform schools provided surrogate homes for children as young as six years old. The cottage parent or parents, usually a matron or married couple, supervised about twenty children in a cottage.

Many reformatories identified themselves as training schools and scheduled the children for a half-day of work and a half-day of school. Vocational training dominated the education at most schools, and often

consisted of the maintenance of the school and grounds. Many schools ran farms. Typically, boys worked on the farms, in the kitchen, or in print, wood, or auto shops. Girls worked on the farms, too, as well as in gardens and greenhouses. Some reform schools became almost entirely self-sufficient. Although the work boys and girls completed was similar, the amount of time they spent under state control differed significantly. Whereas the boys left reform schools often at age 16, at some schools, girls stayed until the age of 25. At many reform schools, like the refuge houses that preceded them, juveniles faced exploitation, corporal punishment, and abuse, and staff used solitary confinement and food deprivation as punishments. Maintaining control and order at these institutions often preceded secondary commitments to education.

States began to found training schools for White boys and boys of color, and for White girls and girls of color. In the North, most training schools were integrated; girls of color and White girls often shared the same cottage. During the same period in the South, training schools only accepted White children. Eventually, Southern states founded separate institutions for girls of color, and White girls, and boys of color, and White boys. Most schools provided an academic education that reflected the curriculum in public schools. Tragically, many training schools excluded boys of color from academic programs. Some schools failed to educate boys of color beyond the eighth grade. If boys of color arrived at a school with an eighth-grade education, staff forced them to work rather than continue their education. Similarly, when compared with their White counterparts, girls of color received substandard academic and vocational training. Often they served school staff in domestic capacities and lived in overcrowded conditions in their cottages.

A New Movement

By 1900, juvenile court laws made distinctions between youth and adult offenders, and many states adopted a parental role over children charged with juvenile offenses, the same role they had assumed with children suffering from neglect. The Progressive Era reformers worked from the early 1900s through the 1920s to improve the conditions of reform schools.

They believed fervently that boys and girls could not control their environments or their experiences. Believing that modifications would lead to social adjustment, they argued that training schools altered both the child's behavior and the environment to positive ends. Focusing on the misbehavior of the individual child, reformers introduced the concepts of parole, probation, and intermediate sentencing.

The introduction of clinical psychology and clinicians to reform schools during this time individualized treatment and advanced the study of casework. Although some White training schools used psychological assessment tests in admission procedures, individualized assessments of a child's mental health were not a part of integrated services. The tests redistributed the population along new lines of classification; test results labeled the majority of juveniles in reform schools as morons and dullards. The classifications reorganized custody responses to juvenile populations. Those juveniles whom the tests classified as capable received educational programs, vocational training, and recreation. In contrast, those juveniles whom the tests classified as dullards, administrations excluded from the educational programs and recreation.

Training schools using the cottage plan became widespread, and as schools developed, some progressive schools incorporated psychotherapy into their trade and professional training. Supporters of psychotherapeutic work critiqued the label "delinquent" and believed that individualized attention, nurturance, and community building would alter the ways in which boys and girls behaved.

In the 1930s the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School in New York established a groundbreaking psychotherapeutic guidance clinic with psychiatrists, psychologists, and case workers who became an integral part of their rehabilitation program. Demonstrating commitments to psychotherapy and individualized attention, the school allowed boys and girls to create their own combination of academic education, vocational education, and work programs. Believing that negative experiences in former classrooms and emotional instability prevented classroom learning, the administration provided flexibility in school and work schedules to increase overall student engagement. Although each student received instruction in English

and arithmetic, all other areas of study became elective. Some electives included drama, music, photography, creative arts, and woodwork. Individualized assessment accompanied individualized plans. Students received qualitative feedback on their progress in ungraded classes, and the administration abandoned report cards. They situated learning within the larger context of social adjustment and rehabilitation.

Contemporary Programs

Although most training schools mirrored the public school curriculum in some way, with the rise of clinical case work and individualized treatment, the primary concern in many schools became the diagnosis and treatment of behavior. For the next forty years, systematic evaluation, the use of case workers, and therapeutic treatment became typical elements in rehabilitation programs. For although images of juvenile delinquency increased in the 1950s and 1960s, rehabilitation programs remained much the same until the 1970s.

In the 1970s reviews critical of rehabilitation programs challenged the traditional perspectives in correctional education. Citing high recidivism rates, conservatives attacked the ideal of rehabilitation and curtailed education programs and funding. The policy of incapacitation dominated the prison system, and emphasis on punishment and not rehabilitation emerged for the first time in over 100 years. The policy continued into the early 2000s. During that time, funding for prison construction increased dramatically. In contrast, funding and support for correctional education programs declined, even though the relationship between low performance in school and delinquent behavior remains strong.

In the late 1990s the education of young African American boys committed to correctional institutions reflected a fourth-grade reading level. Assessments revealed that most of the boys needed special education classes. Minority children, who are only one third of the population, were two thirds of the children who were incarcerated, and over one fourth of girls who were incarcerated had learning disabilities. In the early 2000s almost 100,000 juveniles were incarcerated in public and private facilities in the United States.

Although educational programs have been truncated, research on education services has continued to reveal that the replication of traditional schooling in correctional programs is ineffective, and that individualized attention and cooperative learning are essential. Other research has documented struggles with overcrowding in juvenile facilities, verbal and physical abuse of children by staff, education programs that are lusterless and incomplete, and policies that allow custody to call students from class to work.

Resocialization programs combined with academic and vocational work remain central components in delinquency education, and recent research findings have documented that interpersonal skills training, and the combination of psychotherapeutic work with an academic education, generates the lowest recidivism rates.

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See also Economic Inequality; Educational Equity;
Race/Ethnicity

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DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Education and democracy are inextricably linked in American social thought and practice. Democracy, in all of its historic and contemporary forms, has played a pivotal role in shaping conceptions of public education. How public education is imagined, scripted, and enacted is contested along philosophic, programmatic, and pedagogic dimensions in relation to competing conceptions of democracy.

Classic contributors to modern political thought and commentary, as well as those who framed modern arguments, have dealt specifically with the educational necessities of establishing and maintaining a democratic polity. They have generally reflected on the tensions between the socialization of a democratic nation's *subjects* (as acculturated, law abiding members) and the education of its *citizens* (as critically thinking, active participants). Both education and democracy in the United States have evolved in response to historic geographic-based concerns (persistent regionalism, westward expansion, rapid urbanization, and globalization), significant demographic shifts (especially the cultural diversity brought by immigration), and economic growth (mostly the imperatives of industrial technologies).

Capitalism in all of its historic forms (e.g., preindustrial, industrial, postindustrial globalization) and through its dominant technologies (e.g., mechanized agriculture, mass commodity production, transportation, and global information networks) sets limits (such as what's acceptable for critical analysis in curricula), provides objectives (such as agile job-readiness, rational consumer skills), and shapes policy and practice (such as corporate bureaucratic form, economic incentives, market-based curriculum, emphases on individual choice) in public education.

This entry examines three different concepts of democracy and how they envision the role of education. Then it looks at how a more radical democracy—called “deep democracy”—might transform social and political life and what that would portend for education.

Complex Interplay

Along with the cultural, social, and economic factors shaping contemporary public education, specific goals

and their programmatic implications are intertwined in three partially overlapping forms of American democracy: institutional republicanism, popular democracy, and deep democracy. Each embodies general American cultural values (e.g., liberty, equality, and justice; free expression and tolerance for competing ideas; and the rule of law). All three democratic forms support specific institutional arrangements (e.g., power sharing among legislative, executive, and judicial branches; free and frequent elections; majority rule with minority rights). All three promote universal education as necessary for effective citizenship. There are, however, important differences for both democracy and education in each form.

Institutional republicanism understands the Constitution as establishing a republic with a limited representative government. Public education is understood as necessary to support government-centered institutions. The focus is on preparing citizens for orderly civic participation centered on obeying the law and voting in national, state, and local elections. Public education's role is primarily one of promoting *social stability* to ensure political continuity and economic growth. Young people are to acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for informed and responsible consumption of material goods (economic productivity) and nonmaterial civic benefits (individual rights).

Popular democracy emphasizes broad and active involvement in civic life that goes beyond dutiful voting in periodic elections. Public education is needed to ground young citizens in democratic values (especially equality and social justice) and to inform them about central institutional structures and processes. But education must also include critical analysis of contemporary ideas, conditions, and events. Interwoven with instructional efforts to shape social stability are programs designed to promote *social mobility* to overcome persistent structural barriers to status and opportunity. Young people are prepared to move through critical awareness toward principled action.

Deep democracy advocates full participation in all aspects of social and civic life—not only those conventionally identified as political. Beyond the teaching of core democratic values and dominant institutional

arrangements, public education is to provide direct experience with practices of collective civic engagement. Young citizens are to enact complex processes of teaching and learning that lead to deliberative competence, social imagination, and inclusive participation in *social transformation*.

The Challenges of Civic Education

All three democratic forms and their public education priorities have coexisted and often competed with each other throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. In different contexts, places, and times, one or another version of democracy and education has seemed predominant. While they are in competition over recognition and resources, each form generates internal conflict.

Most government officials and business interests understandably favor public education that legitimates their roles and therefore advocate the values emphasized in institutional republicanism. This understanding of democracy supports civic education that promotes the traditional values of patriotism, social unity, and economic growth; that provides extensive institutional descriptions; and that champions individual responsibility. Tensions within this mix of education and governance include conflict over state and local control versus national policies and standards, and public school adequacy versus privatization.

Advocates of popular democracy criticize persistent and growing social, economic, and political inequalities and point to a politically disengaged and often cynical citizenry. A government largely ineffective in reducing social and economic inequalities is insufficient for a vibrant democracy, they say. Civic education must include responsible critique, engagement with perennial problems, strategic understanding of institutional processes, and learning experiences that promote civic action. Tensions within this approach include trenchant, often dismissive, social criticism rather than attempts to broaden understanding and build coalitions. Progressive paradoxes also involve advocacy for more inclusive forms of action rather than continuing reliance on small elites and special interest group politics.

Deep democracy and its educational imperatives have yet to be widely established and sustained.

Despite enduring and often valiant efforts, there have been few instances of profound and integrative restructuring of public education and democratic governance. Confronted with fundamentally nondemocratic social structures such as entrenched bureaucracies, persistent status hierarchies, dominant religious organizations, and even traditional family structures, civic education for deep democracy faces formidable resistance. Given aspirations for full and inclusive participation across all aspects of social life, civic educators must address tensions between the instructional requirements of individual versus social learning along with recognition of private achievement versus collaborative accomplishment.

Education for Deep Democracy

Democracy, in all of its forms, is a continuing project. The development of its necessary elements, including public education, is uneven. Competitive individualism as the exclusive method for achievement in learning and life restricts both instructional and civic practice. The dominant result has been a shallow American democracy with voter indifference, elite-dominated public discourse, and growing citizen disengagement. With some situational differences, shallow democracy reinforces voters as passive consumers of candidates, parties, and policies that are advanced in ways indistinguishable from those used in the retail marketplace. Public education that emphasizes market-centered learning results in low-intensity citizenship with personal civic responsibilities that can be discharged by preferred ignorance, fragmentary complaints, and episodic votes.

Drawing from and moving beyond the well-intended efforts associated with institutional republicanism and popular democracy are real prospects for deep democracy. A deep democracy is *radically social*, *persistently exploratory*, and *compellingly aesthetic*. These distinguishing criteria are recognizable in many versions of the good society. There are long-standing aspirations for a social order that supports the establishment of justice, the pursuit of truth, and the experience of beauty.

A deep democracy is radically social when it is broadly inclusive and authentically collaborative.

Politics and education, at all levels and in all venues, involve dominant elites and a limited set of special interest groups. Reliance on these established patterns supports isolation, drives alienation, structures a narrowed discourse, and solidifies established forms of opposition in schools and society.

Developing a deeper set of democratic processes would expand the number of active participants across their life span and at all stages of social inquiry, decision making, and implementation. Such movement requires broad engagement of school-age youth, adult citizens, and disadvantaged groups to support border crossings between disparate positions and expectations. In finding such pathways, difficult encounters and negotiations will occur. These are necessary to engage and possibly integrate what may appear to be sharply conflicting goals, values, and behavioral styles.

This challenge is approachable when democratic processes are persistently exploratory. Shallow democracy offers a sense of certainty with minimal effort by students and adult citizens. Yet the realities of constant change flowing from the dynamics of our experienced world signal pervasive uncertainty. Deep democracy requires persistent collaboration in teaching and learning to maintain openness, support principled risk taking, and yield an adaptive response. Deep social inquiry requires creativity over caution, vision over constraint, and deliberation over the convenience of closure. It is difficult, but necessary, to encourage and sustain conceptual divergence and multiplicity in adapting both to the turbulent and to the subtle changes in our multileveled lives. In education for deep democracy, there are no easy answers.

Deep democracy is *compellingly aesthetic* as it engages the emotions and energies necessary to persevere through the challenges of change. Intuition and inspiration, prophecy and poetry, enchantment and emotion, mystery and movement, silence and spirit are concepts seldom associated with problem solving in education, politics, or governance. Teaching, learning, and decision making for public purposes require much more than objective analysis and linear problem solving. Inseparable rather than distinct from highly individualized cognitive processes are human capacities for social empathy and intuition. Emotions shape

our thinking, often focusing attention, sometimes exerting decisive influence. Empathy, a feeling-based capacity, makes it possible to establish meaningful connections. Its continuing development allows us to sustain collaborative relationships not only with like-minded others, but even more importantly, with those whose experiences and commitments are quite different from our own.

Fulfillment of deep democracy's transformative purpose would require continuing innovation in civic education. Civic education must emphasize pedagogies that support movement beyond illusions of certainty, convenience, convergence, and control. Civic education for a deeper democracy must engage diversely valid meanings, perspectives, possibilities, and plans. Such pedagogies must (a) extend collective wisdom concerning significant social issues, (b) expand possibilities for thought and action beyond those initially brought by individuals, (c) enrich relationships by increasing the number and variety of meaningful connections among diverse participants, and (d) enhance capacities for continued engagement in civic learning and public life that narrow the gap between democratic aspirations and real-world accomplishments.

Deep democracy is a dynamic, multifaceted social composition. It can be shaped to create sites for the expression of strategic intuition, imaginative policy, and artistic advocacy. A more inclusive, more widely exploratory, and more aesthetically informed public education broadens opportunities for richer experiences of democratic life.

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See also Citizenship Education; Philosophy of Education

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DESEGREGATION

Desegregation entered the standard American English lexicon in about 1951 to describe the process of removing racial and other minorities from isolation or sequestration in society. The related terms *segregation* and *integration* are found in sixteenth-century texts and have broader generic meanings that require contextual understanding. Using the modern civil rights movement as the context with which to frame an understanding of these terms can provide the means for critical analysis of relevant issues. This entry reviews the context in which desegregation became policy, examines its progress in the particular instance of schools, and looks at the larger question of whether desegregation is necessary to achieve equality.

Historical Context: Overview

From the beginning of intergroup contact among Europeans, Africans, indigenous Americans, and Asians on American soil, there has been an ongoing struggle for human rights and later civil rights between the dominant and subordinate groups. Desegregation was but one aspect of the modern civil rights movement that looked to the U.S. Constitution, Declaration of Independence, Supreme Court decisions, and related state and federal legislation for support to fuel its goal of equal opportunity and social justice for all U.S. citizens.

Desegregation should not be confused with social integration; they are not the same. Desegregation relies on quantitative measurements to determine effectiveness, whereas social integration is assessed qualitatively according to the degree to which differentiated pairs and groups express bonding and commonality, as in friendships, marriages, and organizational memberships. A school may in fact meet the quantitative standards of desegregation—that is, no single group comprises more than 50 percent of the student body and at least one other group is 25 percent—but fail to meet the qualitative standards of social integration because students attend separate proms and exercise minimal contact with one another outside of the classroom. The legacy of American slavery, White

supremacy, and Jim Crow apartheid appears to continue to determine school outcome profiles despite legal and political efforts to promote both desegregation and social integration.

Efforts to “racially” desegregate American society were made in virtually all areas of society, including but not limited to schools, housing, employment, the military, criminal justice, entertainment, sports, and public service. Current research and statistical evidence indicates that the success of these efforts is mixed at best. For example, several scholars note that American schools are more segregated today than they were in 1954, when the Supreme Court declared that separate schools were inherently unequal, and in 1955, when schools were admonished by the same Court to desegregate with “all deliberate speed.”

After overcoming massive resistance to court-ordered busing and other strategies to get Black and White students into the same classrooms, schools seem to have reached a peak of quantitative desegregation and now are experiencing a reverse trend toward resegregation. In retrospect, it seems that the vagueness of the 1955 “all deliberate speed” mandate has encouraged school districts to deliberate long and act slowly as a form of resistance to desegregating their schools.

Court Rulings and Social Response

When the Supreme Court rendered the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 and its companion ruling in 1955, it officially ended the era of Jim Crow apartheid ushered in by the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. *Plessy* was a case involving interstate travel that set the precedent that separate facilities for Blacks were constitutional so long as they were not inferior to White ones. It was not long before the “separate but equal” doctrine was quickly extended to cover many areas of public life, such as restaurants, theaters, restrooms, and public schools. The *Brown* case was a suit that specifically argued against segregated schools, establishing that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal; it initiated a protracted struggle to desegregate transportation systems, park facilities, retail establishments, water fountains, and other public venues.

At the time of the 1954 decision, laws in seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia required that elementary schools be segregated. Four other states had laws permitting segregation. While segregation and school discrimination existed in other parts of the nation, law did not sanction it. As expected, the most violent and heated resistance to desegregation came from many of the Southern states. Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas is noted for his open defiance of federal orders to desegregate schools in Little Rock in 1957. He called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent nine Black students from entering Central High School. President Eisenhower responded by sending federal troops to enforce the Court order.

In 1958, Virginia chose to close nine schools in four counties rather than desegregate them, prompting Virginia and federal courts to rule these moves illegal. In 1962, two people were killed when James Meredith opposed Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and attempted to enroll at the University of Mississippi at Oxford. Another governor who became famous for his resistance to desegregation was George Wallace of Alabama. He stood in a doorway at the University of Alabama in a failed symbolic attempt to prevent two Black students from enrolling there in 1963.

Even in the North, Black parents had to file a lawsuit in 1960 against the school system of New Rochelle, New York, because of its policies permitting racial segregation. In 1961 a federal judge ordered the schools to be desegregated. Black parents in other cities had to do the same to get full access to their public schools. Boston, Massachusetts, long a haven of intellectual progressivism, as late as 1974 had White members of its community exposed on national television in riot mode, fighting court orders against busing and school desegregation.

Television was still in its infancy during the 1950s and early 1960s, but cameras captured a good deal of the chaos and vitriol directed at freedom fighters who upset the status quo by attempting to fulfill recent court orders aimed at desegregating public life. Archival footage shows how racist taunts, spitting, rock throwing, dog attacks, and fire hose power were used to create fear and intimidation among those in the Black community who tried to desegregate schools and other

public facilities. Some even credit television with giving the civil rights movement much needed momentum because the country and even the world got to see how Black citizens were being treated in a free democratic society such as that of the United States.

Affirmative Action and Legal Response

A number of court cases have arisen over the decades since *Brown* that depart from debates specifically aimed at desegregating school systems and institutions of higher education to become debates arguing issues of affirmative action and diversity. Critical to the analysis of these cases is the important distinction between mandatory K–12 public education and competitive admissions into postsecondary public and private colleges and universities. Any institution that accepts federal funding such as financial aid for students is subject to federal legislative rulings used to guide access to equal educational opportunity.

In the mid-1970s, Allan Bakke, a White graduate student, filed suit against the California Board of Regents, charging reverse discrimination and arguing that affirmative action programs were responsible for denying him admission to the University of California at Davis medical school and thus violating his Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment rights under the Constitution. The case reached the Supreme Court and was settled in 1978 in a split 5–4 decision in favor of Bakke. The decision allowed affirmative action policies to continue but with a caveat: racial quotas were to be eliminated and race-based admissions allowed only when other factors were used to determine qualifications for acceptance.

The assaults against affirmative action and other diversity initiatives since *Bakke* have increased. Scholarships and other financial incentives earmarked for underrepresented groups are challenged for being discriminatory against Whites. Some legal analysts have touted the 2003 Michigan affirmative action case *Grutter v. Bollinger* as a plan to minimize the importance of race while offering maximum protection to Whites. Affirmative action was once lauded as a means to achieve institutional desegregation and redress past discrimination and denial of equal educational

opportunity against Blacks and other students of color; the tenor has changed to now view affirmative action as a tool to facilitate institutional diversity with less regard to the social barriers created by the historical legacy of racial bias.

Colorblind Policy

When Justice John Harlan declared in his lone dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 that “Our Constitution is colorblind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens,” he unwittingly gave support to the current conservative position advocating colorblindness as the future of American policy. Those in favor of colorblind approaches to policy argue that taking cognizance of racial group membership is illegitimate and likely to lead to further discrimination and reinforces the perceived inferiority of people of color. They also believe that a once unfair system has been made fair and that continued recognition of race disrupts the mechanisms now in place to insure equality and equity. Opponents of colorblind approaches to policy argue that ignoring race is the antithesis of fairness and obstructs the creation of mechanisms needed to achieve equality and equity.

The American tradition suggests that in the United States justice is administered to all citizens without regard to race or skin color. The historical and statistical evidence suggests otherwise. Scholarly research on equal educational opportunity should help us understand how and why racial segregation has persisted in spite of federal and state decrees making racially discriminatory schooling illegal. Contemporary movements toward colorblindness and meritocracy, which emphasize individual merit without consideration of group membership, appear to frustrate desegregation efforts and diversity initiatives. Elementary and high school resegregation and increased postsecondary competition for coveted admissions point to America’s dilemma of legal and cultural contradiction.

A pluralist society believes that different cultural groups can maintain their integrity and still enjoy equality with the dominant culture. Actually achieving true pluralism in American democratic society will require an effective reconciliation of the movement from liberal to conservative legal rulings with the

movement from conservative to liberal sociocultural values. Whereas most Americans no longer believe in legal segregation, de facto segregation is allowed to develop unopposed or is responded to with weak policies that are unable to reverse it.

Equality Without Integration?

So the larger philosophical question is whether racial equality is achievable without racial integration. Critics of school desegregation, both Black and White, have argued that court-enforced desegregation efforts were unnecessary and maybe even self-defeating. Many Blacks would have been satisfied if the state had made more of an effort to ensure that their schools were on a par with the White schools when it came to teacher’s pay, student resources, and funding. These Blacks had little interest in having their children sit next to White children just for the sake of it. However, they saw the futility in trying to get the state to make their schools “equal” to White ones and thought it easier to “integrate” White schools, thereby giving their children access to the better facilities and resources.

The downside of *Brown* and its legacy was that thousands of Black teachers and principals throughout the South lost their jobs and were never absorbed into the newly desegregated schools. White resistance to highly qualified Black teachers and administrators teaching and having administrative capacity over their children was clear. Poorly maintained Black schools were shuttered and some razed along with the memories of alumni who had attended them. Communities that regarded their schools as central features had to reconceptualize their understanding of and connection to schools. Desegregation is also blamed for the loss of Black businesses and loss of community cohesiveness in all Black towns and segregated urban neighborhoods.

America’s commitment to a desegregated society is evidenced by legal policy and politically correct social policy. The means by which America has sought to achieve desegregation has been painful for many people, and the verdict is still out on the best way to get the job done. One thing is clear: The desegregation story must be recounted with bold accuracy. Sanitized and revisionist accounts will not enable scholars to help

answer many of the unanswered questions or resolve many of the unresolved issues. So when contemporary students read textbooks that fail to mention that the plaintiffs and the attorneys in the *Brown v. Board* decision were Black or that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had argued a number of cases around the country that led to *Brown*, then the foundation upon which critical analysis is built is weaker. Crediting the federal government as a benevolent innovator of actions initiated and nurtured by Blacks and their White allies disempowers people who believe that power belongs to the people and the way to social change is through the people.

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See also Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Colorblindness; Cultural Pluralism; Desegregation Academies; Discrimination and Prejudice; Education, History of; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Hegemony; Minority Student Access to Higher Education; Politics of Education; Urban Schools, History of

See Visual History Chapter 25, Civil Rights

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DESEGREGATION ACADEMIES

Of the hundreds of independent African American schools that exist today, many were founded as desegregation academies between 1964 and 1984. The Black Power movement and the civil rights movement were the driving forces behind the establishment of these institutions. The initial impetus, however, was more pragmatic: When communities adamantly objected through massive resistance to desegregated schools, even closing entire school systems down, desegregation academies served as a reliable and independent source of ongoing education from a perspective that fostered African American values. This entry looks at the origins and current status of these academies.

The spirit of desegregation academies was derived from the philosophy of cultural revolt taking place in universities and colleges around curriculum issues. Black college students wanted to change the European-centered curriculum; they believed that it produced students who did not serve the Black community, either because they had no desire to do so or because their White-oriented education made it impossible to communicate with African Americans. Graduates from these programs established desegregated and independent academy schools in their communities.

These schools were also an outgrowth of parents' struggles over control of their children's education in existing public schools. During the 1960s and 1970s parental and community protest fueled the formation of independent schools. The result was the creation of a Pan-African educational movement. The Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, North Carolina, and the Center for Black Education in Washington, D.C., for example, defined their primary educational mission as supplying skilled technicians to the African continent. While important, both of these efforts failed to properly understand the central nature of the Black Liberation movement in the United States.

Today, the Institute for Independent Education reports that over 400 independent Black inner-city or neighborhood academies serve children of color nationwide. More than 200 of these academies are owned and operated by African Americans. These

schools are located primarily in urban areas and mostly in the Northeast, with the remaining scattered across the Southwest, South, Southeast, central United States, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. They are typically directed by individuals committed to social change, leaders who aim to promote academic excellence but can work within a small budget.

One half of the schools have waiting lists. The tuition is often weighted based upon the family income. While the schools tend to be racially homogenous, no school denies access to any child based on race, creed, religion, ethnicity, or political affiliation. The student-teacher ratio for all schools is 14:1, slightly higher in religious or parochial schools and slightly lower in private secular schools. Most of the students who attend live in the immediate vicinity of the school.

Many teachers are employed at these schools an average of two years or less. Most hold bachelor's degrees, while a few hold master's degrees and/or doctorates. Teachers' mean salaries range from \$11,273 to \$23,142 per year.

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See also African American Education; Desegregation

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DESKILLING

Deskilling, as it pertains to the teaching profession, refers to the reduction of the teacher's role in the classroom to that of a conveyor of information. The teacher is expected to iterate assigned information to students, and the students are merely to reiterate this information back. Tests are employed to determine the degree to which a teacher has prioritized this process, and a teacher is rewarded depending on how well his or her students produce the information on the tests. In this

process, the teacher is seen as a laborer, a nonvariable in the classroom, one who simply follows the prescribed curriculum without input. Pedagogy becomes irrelevant. Pedagogic skill not only is not required, but is not undesirable. The result is the deskilling and deprofessionalizing of the teacher and teaching.

Joe Kincheloe has explained how the phenomenon of deskilling the factory worker and the teacher are comparable. He has pointed out that the deskilling of teachers and deintellectualizing of the curriculum occur when teachers are considered receivers rather than producers of knowledge. In this arrangement, information deemed important by school or government officials is simply given to teachers to distribute. Just as the factory worker in many ways became an accessory to the machine, teachers are an accessory to the curriculum in that they are bound by what the predetermined curriculum allows. This entry looks at how the deskilling process was first initiated and examines current practice for deskilling potential.

Historical Background

The notion of deskilling the worker comes from the growth of industry of the nineteenth century, and in particular, from the model for industry laid out by Frederick Taylor. Like many of his contemporaries, Taylor believed that there was one best way to do any job. He devised a process to find this one best way by comparing how the quickest and best workers would complete a task and then making this method the standard required of all workers. Taylor also devised a bureaucratic, hierarchical chain of command to optimize productivity. The worker would perform small tasks as directed by superiors, a manager class would coordinate workers, middle management would be the liaison between the floor and upper management, which in turn would report to the factory owner.

Joseph Mayer Rice, a doctor turned educator, promoted this model for industry as being advantageous for school in order to assure a standard, consistent quality of teachers and education. To the many in power who venerated the ideals of social efficiency (a belief that schools should serve society and the economy by "socializing" and "Americanizing" immigrants to the norms of American society and

produce a docile workforce), this approach was very attractive. As a result, schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adopted Taylor's model for industry. In this approach, the superintendent became the controller of schools and under him fell a bureaucratic system of supervisors, principals, vice principals, and teachers. The teacher was seen as a worker expected to run the classroom with military order and ensure the imposition of assigned tasks.

Ivan Illich saw this process also being implemented to society at large. What he called a "radical monopoly" was the aim of making individual skills less useable through schooling that deskills the individual. The result is a society where people are less able to translate their personal understandings and skills into valuable attributes.

Today's Practice

Many believe that the corporate-friendly 1980s marked a return to seeing teachers as workers rather than educators. As evidence, they assert that standards-based education policy discourages teachers from engaging in constructivist, child-centered education in favor of strict adherence to a prescribed curriculum. The increase in standardized testing since that time is viewed as an effort to ensure teacher compliance with prescribed curricula, thus deskilling the teacher.

Under the system established by the No Child Left Behind Act, teachers are provided with a prescribed distribution of what may be fragmented and decontextualized pieces of information, fragmented so that they may be easily quantified and assessed through positivistic testing methods. Such multiple choice and true or false tests further reduce the role of the teacher as a decision maker in terms of grading. By basing judgments of the teacher's competence on how well his or her students perform on standardized tests, teacher compliance is encouraged, if not assured.

Opponents of the standardization movement see the teacher who behaves as a nonvariable, distributing information without discussion or question, is most highly rewarded in this system. The deskilled teacher is not asked to be a creative, nurturing teacher striving to instill a love for learning and the ability in students to understand and shape the world around them, they

argue. Rather, the deskilled teacher is asked to distribute information and tasks as prescribed by the school hierarchy without interruption.

Donal E. Mulcahy

See also Scientific Management

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DIGITAL DIVIDE

The term *digital divide* refers to the distance between those people with access to computers and digital sources of information, such as the Internet and the World Wide Web, and those who lack such resources. This division includes not only hardware and software, but also access to training and technology based on geographic location. What Eugene Provenzo refers to as "posttypographic textuality" and George Landow calls "hypertextuality" relies on digital technology; thus, it is prudent to explore how computers are used to instill a sense of cultural inferiority.

In this context, Tamara Pearson notes that in many educational settings, computers are used primarily for drill and practice exercises, preparing students for standardized tests. This poses a problem for economically and ethnically marginalized groups, as their opportunities for high-order thinking exercises, such as problem solving and creative movie making and narration, are fewer when compared to computer

practices in more affluent schools with socially dominant demographics. Pearson also notes that marginalized groups are much less likely to have home computers and home Internet access than privileged groups. According to research by Craig Peck, Larry Cuban, and Heather Kirkpatrick, this aspect of the digital divide is telling because much of the active computer experimentation occurs in the home.

Roy Bohlin and Carol Bohlin concur that among Latino and African American student populations, computers are used much more often for drill and practice applications than for higher order learning, such as simulations and applications. Latino students they interviewed recognized that knowing how to use computers was important to get a job in the digital age workplace, but they didn't understand how they would use computer technology in their intended work.

Michael Mazyck notes that computer-based instructional models such as Integrated Learning Systems (ILS) have been instituted predominantly in schools within economically disadvantaged areas. In this context, what is significant to many is that ILS grew out of social efficiency's wunderkind, the teaching machine, and the instrumental conditioning models of figures such as the behavioral psychologist B. F. Skinner. The utopian logic underlying teaching machines proposes to replace haphazard teaching by substandard teachers for chronically underachieving school populations. The ideal for teaching machines is a perfected curriculum that substandard teachers cannot misappropriate as they become little more than technicians within the teaching process. However, after four decades of ILS integration into economically disadvantaged schools, no independent research can confirm the rosy picture painted by ILS advocates and the research conducted by the ILS providers.

The results of this research, then, suggest that computers used for traditional curricular designs do not improve education, particularly for those learners who have been historically marginalized by such positivist pedagogies. It's not computers that are to blame, but how they are used. Simply providing minority or economically needy students with access to computers is an inadequate solution to meeting their educational needs. Instead, a much deeper understanding of how people have access to computing, and the type of

training provided them, is essential if the digital divide that clearly exists is to be closed.

James S. Dwight

See also Computing, Ethical Issues

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DISABILITIES, PHYSICAL ACCOMMODATIONS FOR PEOPLE WITH

Physical and health disabilities have always existed yet have been treated differently across civilizations, cultures, and settings. Students with physical disabilities were initially educated in institutions that could provide a centralized place for equipment and treatment. The first of these institutions was the Industrial School for Crippled and Deformed Children in Boston, established in 1890. Beginning in the 1900s public schools for “crippled children” were established but were self-contained, typically housed in a

separate facility or classroom, and did not allow children to interact with their peers without physical disabilities. Through advocacy, legislation, shifts in attitudes, and advances in medical practices, more inclusive settings became available for all children, including those with physical and health needs.

Today, federal laws protect individuals and outline the accommodations that are required to ensure access and participation for all individuals regardless of ability or disability. Most physical accommodations can be implemented with minimal cost and are likely to benefit all individuals with or without disabilities. This entry looks at the laws that establish criteria for the education of children with disabilities and examines how those guidelines are implemented in today's schools.

Laws

Three federal laws most readily pertain to the education and care of children with disabilities. They are described briefly in this section.

Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975), renamed *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (IDEA, 2004). IDEA is a federal law (most recently reauthorized and amended by Congress in 2004) that governs all special education services for children in the United States from birth to age twenty-one. In order for children to receive special education services under IDEA, they must be in one of the following categories or have one of the following disabling conditions: autism, deaf-blindness, emotional disturbance, hearing impairment (including deafness), mental retardation, multiple disabilities, orthopedic impairment, other health impairment, specific learning disability, speech or language impairment, traumatic brain injury, or visual impairment (including blindness). This law stipulates that all children are entitled to a free, appropriate, public education.

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Section 504 is a civil rights statute that prohibits discrimination against individuals with disabilities. Schools must ensure equal access for children with disabilities and also provide them with reasonable accommodations. The law covers all programs or activities, whether

public or private, that receive federal financial assistance. Reasonable accommodations may include providing a computer, seating students in the front of the class, modifying homework, or providing necessary services. Typically, children covered under Section 504 have disabilities that do not fit within the eligibility categories of IDEA or that are due to accident or illness, which is not permanent. Under Section 504, any person who has an impairment that substantially limits a major life activity is considered disabled. Learning and social development are included under the list of major life activities.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA, 1990). Like Section 504, the ADA is civil rights legislation for individuals with disabilities. Unlike Section 504, the ADA applies to almost every entity in the United States, regardless of whether it receives federal funds; churches and private clubs are the only two entities that are exempt from the ADA. For instance, private schools that are not associated with a religious organization have to comply with the provisions of the ADA. Schools that may be exempt from Section 504 because they do not receive federal funds are not exempt from making accommodations based on ADA. The ADA contains several titles that focus on various aspects of disability discrimination. Title I prohibits discrimination in employment. Title II prohibits discrimination in state and local governmental entities, including schools. Title III addresses public accommodations, including hotels, restaurants, department stores, grocery stores, and banks. In all instances, entities delineated are required to make *reasonable accommodations* or modifications necessary to ensure persons with disabilities have access to goods and services.

Physical Accommodations

Some students have disabilities that they are born with or have acquired and may be unable to undertake the same physical activities as their peers. This includes individuals who have difficulty walking, individuals who have difficulty using their hands or arms, or individuals with restricted growth. Etiology is varied and includes conditions affecting bones, muscles, nerves

and tendons, spinal cord, and the brain. The effect of the disability will also vary, and students may experience weariness or pain, which may become worse when they are fatigued. Several types of physical accommodations may be necessary.

For Learning

For students with limited, or no use of their hands, arms, or legs, a range of physical accommodations and technology may be of assistance. Students may benefit from someone to take notes, undertake experiments, carry or open books or physically write assignments for them. Some students experience excessive fatigue or may have medical conditions that require providing a place to rest during the day. Students who are wheelchair users or who have conditions affecting their backs may need specially designed chairs, desks, or positioning equipment.

Tape recorders and adapted keyboards or software can be critical for note taking and other assignments for students who cannot write or write as quickly as others. Keyboards can be adapted for size and shape or include a pointer or switch device operated by any part of the body that moves. Software is available that will predict what a student is writing from input of the first few letters of the word. This word prediction capability is particularly useful for those whose writing speed is severely impacted. Voice recognition software allows students to dictate, and the software will type in their response. Both word prediction and voice input may be useful for other students.

For Access

For many students, the physical environment may form the greatest barrier, and accommodations will be necessary. The academic setting includes areas where students typically congregate, including libraries, dining rooms, and social areas, as well as classrooms and labs. In the academic setting, access accommodations may include installing ramps or lifts, moving lift buttons to an accessible height, removing areas with fixed seating to allow wheelchair access, and installing accessible toilets. It may be necessary to modify rooms to ensure access to certain lectures,

seminars, or other sessions, including altering entries, the height of lab benches, or seating.

For college and university students living in residential facilities, accommodations may include larger rooms to allow entry and maneuvering of wheelchairs, guide animals, and other mobility devices; appropriate surface heights and hoists or rails in bathrooms, kitchens, bedrooms, and study areas; designated parking spaces; nearby rooms for personal assistants; and access to telephone and laundry facilities.

Universal Design

Universal design refers to an environment that can be used by people with or without disabilities, eliminating or minimizing the need for special accommodations. Creating an environment accessible to people with disabilities usually benefits others and can greatly increase access. For example, curb cuts in sidewalks are designed to make sidewalks and streets accessible to those using wheelchairs, yet benefit parents with strollers, children and adults using bicycles, roller-skates, or skateboards, and delivery persons with rolling carts. There are a number of design changes that are cost effective to implement.

These are the major components of universal design. Equitable use means that the design is useful and marketable to people with diverse abilities. Flexibility in use means that the design accommodates a wide range of individual preferences and abilities. Simple and intuitive designs are easy to understand, regardless of the user's experience, knowledge, language skills, or current concentration level. Designs with perceptible information communicate necessary information effectively to the user, regardless of ambient conditions or the user's sensory abilities. With tolerance for error, designs minimize hazards and the adverse consequences of accidental or unintended actions. Designs should also involve low physical effort, so they can be used efficiently and comfortably with a minimum of fatigue. Size and space for approach and use must be provided so that users can approach, reach, manipulate, and use a facility regardless of their body size, posture, or mobility.

Michelle Larocque

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling; School Law

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DISABILITIES AND THE POLITICS OF SCHOOLING

Discussions of disability in educational contexts commonly equate disability with individual tragedy, individual deficit, and individual dysfunction rooted in oppressive medicalized and clinical discourses that offer little space for alternative, empowering discourses of resistance and of possibility. In contrast, the field of disability studies has theorized disability as a social and political construct and theorized disabled people as a minority group engaged in a political struggle for civil rights. Disability studies' scholarship foregrounds social difference as its central analytic and deconstructs the social hierarchies society creates between the normal and the pathological, the insider and the outsider, and the competent citizen and the ward of the state.

Similarly, some discussions on the politics of the everyday practices of educational institutions, in their functions of sorting, organizing, educating, and evaluating students, also serve to foreground the social, political, and economic impact of disciplining a diverse student population into conforming to a mythical but

rigid norm. It is in this context, then, that a disability-studies perspective is useful to the politics of education in foregrounding why and how the social construction of the disabled Other is used to organize social difference (i.e., race, class, gender, and sexuality) along the axes of normative ability in educational contexts. This entry provides a brief overview of that perspective.

Education as Control

The historical role of public education has been one of social control. Students are subject to a normative code of behaviors, attitudes, skills, and dispositions through the use of standardized, objective, and scientific evaluations that demand homogeneity from an otherwise heterogeneous student population. According to disability studies, those whose bodies challenge the norm are defined as “unruly bodies” and are subject to punishment, physical segregation, and/or exclusion.

Student populations that are designated as social outcasts of education are as heterogeneous as the identities they embody. Students of color from low-income neighborhoods are segregated on account of presumed academic and behavioral “deficiencies” that differ from White suburban aspirations and lifestyle. Pregnant teens, who may be seen as an embodiment of moral deviance, are often exiled to alternative programs outside the school, presumably because their pregnant condition is seen as socially contagious to other teenage girls. Legislation—for example, California's Proposition 187 passed in 1994 to deny public benefits and therefore public education to the children of “illegal” immigrants—and the debate about the legitimacy of bilingual education programs across the country have made linguistically diverse students cultural outcasts in some public school contexts. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered students are often enshrouded in educational discourses of deviancy, isolation, and silence, even by those policy makers who have attempted to combat the violence the youngsters face in school on a daily basis. And last but not least, notwithstanding the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), many students labeled as disabled continue to be ostracized and warehoused in self-contained classrooms on account of their significant physical/cognitive/behavioral differences.

From the disability-studies perspective, public education has used the concepts of difference, deviance, and disability synonymously to justify the exclusion of certain student populations in an attempt to adhere to demands of normativity, even while claiming that their practices are democratic. Disability therefore plays a critical role in contemporary educational politics.

Educational discourses may support their adherence to normativity by constructing disability as the antithesis of educational practice and therefore a condition that must be rejected, avoided, and (if need be) excluded. However, because difference (on the basis of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and disability) is also an integral part of public education in a democratic society, disability scholars assert that educational practices support difference if and only if difference can be controlled, disguised, or rendered invisible—in other words, if difference is “prostheticized.”

Disability-studies scholars David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder define a prosthesis as a device that accomplishes an illusion that enables people to fit in and de-emphasizes their differences so that they can return to a state of imagined normativity. In most educational contexts, they argue, students identified as different because of their race, class, gender, ethnicity, or sexual orientation are validated if and only if they can deploy “prosthetic practices” that enable them to “pass” themselves off as not really that different from the norm by hiding their “dis/ability.” As a result, disability becomes the discursive link that simultaneously explains and exposes the social construction of difference in education along the axes of race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, in this view.

How It Works

The logic of normativity is easily identified in the daily workings of the educational bureaucracy: the battery of standardized tests that students take, the detailed records of any infringement of school policy that teachers complete, the carefully spelled out and controlled curriculum, the codes of acceptable behavior even in extracurricular activities such as the school

prom. These bureaucratic functions, from the disability studies perspective, are an effort to sort students out on the basis of their dis/ability to conform to the normative requirements of schooling.

Put more simply, to be labeled as disabled in an educational context implies that one is both a disruptive presence and an embodiment of deficiency, according to disability scholars. Disability, therefore, serves as the raw material that is utilized to make other differences visible by requiring all students to exhibit particular skills/behaviors/dispositions (prosthetics) that minimize their difference and distance from the norm, in this view. Failure to do so results in punishment, segregation, or expulsion and therefore relegation to the special education or alternative school bureaucracy.

Nirmala Erevelles

See also Disability Studies

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DISABILITY STUDIES

Disability studies refers to the interdisciplinary investigation of how social, political, and economic factors interact to construct the phenomenon of disability. It has emerged within the last two decades as a new

academic discipline that critically analyzes the construct of disability. Scholars who align themselves with this discipline regard disability as a basic human condition that should be studied and investigated as part of the diverse fabric of human experience. They highlight the importance of infusing a critical understanding of disability throughout the entire academic curriculum. How people with disabilities have been perceived and treated in different societies throughout history; the representation of disability in film, literature, and the arts; and the relationship between built environments and social participation are but a few examples of the interdisciplinary nature of this field. This entry looks at traditional views of disability and how this new field offers an alternative perspective.

The Traditional View

If you asked ordinary people to define disability studies, chances are most would say that it is about the study of disability: what causes “it,” how “it” can be cured, and how people who have “it” (or are “afflicted with it”) can be helped. Common to such answers is an unquestioned conception of disability as a cognitive, sensory, or physical deficit that inevitably leads to a diminished quality of life for afflicted individuals and their families. A logical conclusion of such a conception would be that disability studies is about curing, managing, and/or rehabilitating disabling conditions.

Applied fields such as medicine, rehabilitation, and special education have historically studied disability as a biomedical condition. Disability was narrowly perceived as a physical, sensory, or cognitive impairment that resides in certain individuals and needs to be treated or otherwise managed. Individuals whose minds or bodies differed from the norm were perceived as victims of their condition and in need of professional care. Their marginalization and social exclusion was seen as inevitably linked to their respective impairments. Disabled activists, academics, and their supporters have challenged such conceptions of disability. They have argued that disability is not simply a deficit inherent in individuals, but rather a condition aggravated by preventable, socially created barriers.

A New Model

Disability studies is closely linked to the social model of disability, which highlights oppression and discrimination as primary barriers in the lives of people with disabilities. Disability rights activists have challenged prevailing perspectives of disability as a tragedy that inevitably constricts the lives of individuals. Rather than focusing on the impairment itself, they have highlighted the issues of poverty, poor education, lack of affordable and accessible housing, and low employment rates that often characterize the lives of people with disabilities.

Such conditions cannot be directly linked to physical, cognitive, or psychological impairments. Rather, they result from unaccommodating societal structures that systematically exclude people with disabilities and prevent them from active participation in society. Ramps in public buildings and laws that prohibit explicit discrimination have been highly instrumental in increasing access and enhancing social participation for people with disabilities. Nonetheless, negative attitudes and more subtle forms of marginalization are more resistant to change.

Related Research

A paradigm shift that increasingly emphasizes the social, cultural, and economic determinants of disability has important implications for research. Disability-studies scholars and activists have pointed a collective and blaming finger toward most of the past research on disability. They have claimed that, by and large, it has reinforced the dominant idea that disability is an individual problem and has thus contributed to the problems faced by people with disabilities. They have brought to the forefront a host of critical but previously unexamined questions pertaining to research on disability, such as who determines the research questions worthy of inquiry and controls the process and product of the research; how research agendas are determined and funded; and, most importantly, what are the often hidden biases and assumptions that undergird much of this research.

This claim is well exemplified by critical perspectives on psychological research on disability. Recent critiques within psychology have highlighted the discipline’s

historical focus on pathology and mental illness and neglect of strengths and well-being. This is highly applicable to the study of psychosocial aspects of disability that has largely focused on negative emotional reactions of affected individuals and has all but neglected the study of how people can live well with a disability. The insider experience of disability is quite different from what is assumed by the outsider looking in.

Insiders are familiar with their disability, have learned how to cope with it, and, thus, often report a much higher level of well-being than what an outsider would assume. Traditional psychosocial research has also been criticized for the often unquestioned assumption that the impairment itself presents a major obstacle or source of distress. This rarely resonates with individuals with disabilities, who often identify social barriers and negative societal attitudes as the biggest impediments to well-being.

People with disabilities increasingly demand more than token participation in research projects. They are interested in research projects that go beyond the personal experience of disability to explore the impact of ableist policies and practices. They want to see research projects that expose, examine, and attempt to transform disempowering and ableist policies and practices in schools, hospitals, and other organizations.

Finally, critical disability theorists and activists are interested in exploring and challenging dysfunctional societal practices that perpetuate ableism, oppression, and discrimination. The multidisciplinary field of disability studies has been highly instrumental in advancing these goals, and its messages have been heard both within and outside the disability community.

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See also Politics of Education; Sociology of Education.

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DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

While often used interchangeably in everyday dialogue, *prejudice* and *discrimination* actually refer to two different yet interrelated concepts. *Prejudice* refers to a value judgment either in favor of or against a person or a thing and stems from the Latin root for “prejudgment.” It is an attitude. *Discrimination*, on the other hand, refers to the active exclusion of a group of people from a desired benefit or advantage. It is an action. Prejudicial attitudes, even when negative, do not always result in discrimination. Therefore, for example, two employers who are prejudiced against Irish people may manifest their prejudices differently. One person, even though he or she in private may tell jokes about Irish people, may still hire an Irish employee. Nevertheless, the person is prejudiced because of his or her attitude toward the Irish. The other employer, however, may not only tell jokes about the Irish, but also adopt a policy of not allowing the employment of any Irish people in his or her firm, thus participating in the action of discrimination. Prejudice and discrimination lead to what is commonly referred to as the “isms,” including sexism, racism, and ageism. This entry provides a basis for understanding the origins, consequences, and policy implications of prejudice and discrimination.

Theoretical Perspectives

Among social scientists, there are three main theoretical frameworks used to analyze prejudice and discrimination. Symbolic interactionists argue that the way people label the world determines their perception of it. According to these theorists, prejudice and discrimination result from selective perception through which a person ignores certain facts and focuses on others. Thus, distinctions between in-groups and out-groups become exaggerated. Detrimental labels further serve to perpetuate prejudice and discrimination.

Functionalists analyze prejudice and discrimination based on costs and benefits. From this perspective, ethnic stratification, for example, is functional for society because it provides categories of workers who will do menial jobs and thus keeps wages for this category

of jobs low within the division of labor. Conflict theorists analyze prejudice and discrimination from a Marxist perspective. From this perspective, prejudice and discrimination stem from the capitalist system itself, which requires conflict among groups in order to extract greater profit from production.

Causes

All societies have experienced or perpetrated both prejudice and discrimination, because in every society on earth a dichotomy exists between the “us,” meaning the in-groups, and the “them,” referring to the out-groups. In-groups include those within a given social and economic system who can access important resources such as education, employment, and food supplies. In-groups have power and are often referred to as part of the “dominant group.” Out-groups include those within a given social and economic system who cannot or cannot easily access these same resources. Out-groups have less power and are often referred to as “minorities.”

In-groups and out-groups can be based on many factors, including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, geographical origin, language, and physical or mental abilities. Therefore, in Northern Ireland, Protestants discriminate against Catholics; in the United States after September 11, 2001, non-Muslims discriminated against Muslims; in Mexico, heterosexuals discriminate against homosexuals; in Japan, native Japanese discriminate against immigrant Koreans; many companies discriminate against older workers; and throughout the world, some men discriminate against women.

Prejudice and discrimination are intricately linked to ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism refers to the use of one’s cultural, personal, and societal values to judge other cultures, people, and societies. Social scientists have found that nearly every racial and ethnic group considers itself superior to other groups in at least some ways. When taken to extremes, however, such ethnocentrism creates prejudice and discrimination, which often lead to fanaticism and tragedy.

Throughout the world, for example, ethnocentrism led to the racial prejudice and discrimination that contributed at least in part to the perpetuation of slavery

and all its horrific ills. In Nazi Germany, ethnocentrism led to the racial and religious discrimination that helped Hitler rise to power. In South Africa, it led to apartheid. In short, the ills caused by extreme ethnocentrism and the resultant prejudice and discrimination include genocide, murder, starvation, and others.

Types

Social scientists distinguish various types of prejudice and discrimination: individual, institutional, *de jure*, and *de facto*. Individual prejudice and discrimination occur between individuals and are manifested through the tone of their interpersonal relationships. Usually, this type of prejudice and discrimination does not go beyond the individual level. Institutional prejudice and discrimination, on the other hand, refers to the very fabric of society, including educational institutions, lending institutions, housing opportunities, and employment opportunities. Institutional prejudice and discrimination is widespread and is not confined to individuals but rather encompasses entire groups. *De jure* discrimination refers to formalized prejudice and discrimination through law. Such legislation may include restrictions on physical movement, access to schooling, and expression of cultural mores. *De facto* prejudice and discrimination is not legislated, but rather, is supported by social custom and business practice.

There are many factors that lead ordinary people to develop prejudices and to participate in overtly discriminatory actions. Sometimes, the out-groups are portrayed as less than human and referred to in animalistic terms, thus facilitating and justifying horrors such as genocide. In the 1800s, the U.S. government referred to Native Americans as “savages,” thus facilitating and justifying their decimation in the pursuit of resources for White settlers. Similar patterns of dehumanization are found in many countries, including South Africa, Tasmania, and Mexico. Other times, economic depression, anger, and the simplification of complex social issues lead to prejudice and discrimination. Studies of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi leaders in the United States have found that the membership of such groups consists mainly of disenfranchised Whites who consider their well-being as having been negatively influenced by

the presence of non-Whites. The members justify the groups' violent philosophies and acts by dividing the world into segregated in-groups and out-groups. In this worldview, survival depends of the triumph of one group over the other in the struggle for scarce resources, such as employment, housing, and education.

Responses

Not all societies recognize, acknowledge, and condemn prejudice and discrimination. Yet, in those that do, the desired patterns of intergroup relations fall into two main nonexclusive categories: assimilation and multiculturalism. Assimilation refers to the absorption of minority groups by the dominant group and can be voluntary or forced. It is multidimensional, and can include aspects of culture, outward appearance, and behavior. Assimilation is often referred to as an "ization," such as "Americanization," "Arabization," and "Italianization," based on the group into which the minority group is being absorbed. Multiculturalism refers to the encouragement of racial and ethnic diversity by the dominant group. Switzerland is the country most often considered a model of multiculturalism. After a history of divisions among bureaucratic regimes, religions, and languages, Switzerland now emphasizes linguistic equality, proportional representation in politics, and consensual decision making.

The issues of prejudice and discrimination are intricately related to issues of civil and human rights. Civil rights refer to the rights of individuals by virtue of citizenship. In the United States, such rights include freedom of speech and association. Human rights refer to the basic rights to which all human beings are entitled and which any government may not violate. Such rights include the right to life and equality before the law. Yet, prejudice and discrimination often interfere with the respect of civil and human rights for out-groups.

Education

Worldwide, education occupies a central position in the dialogue about issues of prejudice and discrimination and in its policy implications. Education is considered especially important because of its role in reinforcing cultural norms and in distributing scarce

resources. Prejudice and discrimination in education take many forms, including segregation, linguistic isolation, and tracking. Likewise, the remedies to prejudice and discrimination in education can take many forms, including desegregation, bilingual education, multiculturalism, and affirmative action programs. While there are many landmark cases in different countries, an analysis of the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in the United States illustrates both the detrimental effects of segregation on educational opportunities and the role of legislation in addressing prejudice and discrimination.

The case started in 1951 when Oliver Brown, the father of the African American third-grader Linda Brown, requested that his daughter be allowed to attend a White elementary school in Topeka, Kansas, because of the proximity of the school to the child's home. After the school principal rejected his request, Brown went to the Topeka branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for help. The 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case allowed separate but equal schools for Blacks and Whites; generally, however, Black schools did not enjoy the same resources as White ones. Yet, finally in 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs—now from various states—in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, thus opening the door to the desegregation of the U.S. school system.

Yet, the importance of the case is not only in its legislative impact on school desegregation, but also in the expectations of society that it changed. Prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, children studied in schools which replicated the norms and values of a divided society. Yet, with this landmark case, though limited initially only to the educational sphere, the groundwork was set to change the very socialization process of U.S. society. The separate but equal credo, so accepted in the country at the time, began to crumble, and the issues of prejudice and discrimination got pushed to the forefront of the U.S. political, social, and legal agenda.

More recent U.S. legislative remedies to prejudice and discrimination in education have included policies aimed at improving access to education and retention rates among minority populations. The policies, lumped under the term "affirmative action," tend to spark

great controversy with claims of reverse discrimination by dominant groups, mainly White males.

Conclusion

Prejudice and discrimination exist in every society in the world. Prejudicial attitudes often, although not always, result in discriminatory acts. In its extreme forms, discrimination can result in genocide, population transfers, and other acts of violence.

Prejudice and discrimination can occur on the individual or the institutional level. On both levels the result is negative consequences, but institutional prejudice and discrimination affect many more people and negatively affect their life chances, rather than simply their interpersonal relationships. Racism, sexism, and ageism are just some of the forms of prejudice and discrimination prevalent in the modern world.

Prejudice and discrimination are not recognized, acknowledged, and condemned in all societies. Once they are acknowledged, however, policy responses vary. Prejudice in the realm of education is usually considered especially detrimental because of education's impact on life opportunities and distribution of resources.

Moirra Murphy

See also Activism and the Social Foundations of Education; African American Education; Culture-Fair Testing; Dropouts; Economic Inequality; Educational Indicators

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DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

Briefly defined, discursive practices in education are the uses of language in an educational context (e.g., the typical pattern of teacher question, student answer, teacher feedback) or the use of language in context

relating to education (e.g., state legislators' talk when making new educational laws). Language includes spoken, signed, and written forms of communication. Context includes the aspects of the situation in which such communication takes place that affect the meaning of the communication either in its production or its reception. Part of the context of language use is the relevant language that comes before and after the particular discursive practice in question. Thus, discursive practices generally encompass language chunks larger than one sentence.

Discursive practices in education are increasingly of interest to a number of academic disciplines. Some of the discursive practices that have been examined include Rosemary Henze's work on the metaphors used by school leaders use when discussing equity; Felecia Briscoe's studies of the discourse of professional educational associations; patterns of conversational turn taking in classroom lessons; the frequency and relative positioning of men and women in history textbooks; the distancing, exclusion, or inclusion of some groups but not others; and even who should produce discourse about the different groups.

This entry discusses why educational discursive practices are important, how they can be researched, and finally how discursive practices might become part of the school curriculum.

Why Discursive Practices Are Important

Discursive practices are of interest to educational researchers because the social world is largely constructed through language. This includes the organization of social actions, practices, and structures of education. In order for groups to act in concert, communication between the members generally must take place. Human beings communicate with each other largely through language use. However, not only is language used to coordinate action, it is also the means by which groups develop a shared understanding of the world, that is, their ideology.

A group's ideology largely determines which actions seem reasonable or unreasonable. Most discursive scholars contend that language always carries with

it political or ideological implications. That is, there is no such thing as ideologically or politically neutral language. So when discursive practices are analyzed, both the actions directly proposed and the ideologies supported explicitly and implicitly by language use are investigated. Although preexisting ideologies constrain what sorts of discursive practices are possible, they do not determine which discursive practices might emerge, and it is primarily through new discursive practices that preexisting ideologies may be transformed. Given the integrality of discourse in developing, maintaining, or transforming shared ideologies, the discursive practices of schools are particularly important—especially the importance of understanding not only the ways that they induce particular ideologies, but determining what sort of ideologies are promoted by the discursive practices of schools.

Research Approaches

Educational discursive practices can be investigated through either discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is of especial interest in that it specifically incorporates an examination of both ideology and power. CDA is both cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary: incorporating research methods of linguistics, cognitive psychology, ethnography, anthropology, communication, media studies, literature analysis, and/or media studies as well as others. However, no matter which disciplinary method or combination of methods is used in CDA, establishing the relevant context is problematic.

The problem is that it is impossible to describe the entire context; it would in fact be like describing reality. Thus, the researcher must pick out the relevant aspects of the context. However, different aspects of the context will affect both the meaning and the effect of the discourse according to the producer or consumer's identity (e.g., gender, ethnicity, economic status, nationality, and so on) that is the particular individual's history. Thus, the researcher must rely upon generalizations produced by quantitative studies (generalizations that will not fit a portion of discourse participants), rely upon explanations by the producers and consumers of the discourse, rely upon the ensuing

social actions (including discourse), or rely upon all three to determine which aspects of the context are relevant. For critical discourse analysts, power relations inherent in the context are always relevant. Rebecca Rogers in *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education* discusses the problem of determining which aspects of context are relevant. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* provide systematic research procedures for CDA. Other well-known authors who provide alternative methods of CDA include Norman Fairclough, Tuen van Dijk, and James Gee.

Curriculum Issues

Aside from researching the discursive practices of education, many have proposed that CDA ought to be an integral part of the school language curriculum. Authors such as Tuen van Dijk maintain that public schools should focus on teaching students the analytic skills necessary to understand the implicit as well as explicit content of texts. His proposed objectives for secondary students also provide a rudimentary model for the aspects of language use that ought to be considered when analyzing discourse. By the final grades of secondary school, he proposes, students should have been educated such that they are aware of and capable of analyzing the following aspects of discourse:

1. The relationship between a particular discourse and its historical and contemporary social context
2. Discourse incorporating speech acts, social acts, and will—all of which occur strategically in interactions
3. Different discourse types that are linked to and regulated by particular social contexts, situations, or circumstances and in which participants have different statuses and partake of different roles and functions
4. The intentions, wishes, preferences, interests, and goals of the speakers that appear in their discourse
5. The several levels of discourse: morphophonology, sentence structure, and semantics
6. The dimensions of style of these levels, which are determined by personal and social context, perspective, and so on

7. Different rhetorical flourishes that will enhance or detract from the goals of the discourse
8. Nonverbal communication, which also forms part of the frame of a given discourse

Discursive practices are important in educational settings such as schools, and are of fundamental importance to our understanding of how schools work as social, political, and cultural systems within larger social, cultural, and political systems.

Felecia Briscoe

See also Curriculum Theory; Educational Research, History of

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DISTANCE LEARNING

Terms like *distance learning* and *distance education* are largely associated with recent developments in computing—specifically the growth of the Internet and World Wide Web, but the reality of distance learning is much older. Isaac Pittman taught shorthand by mail as early as the 1840s. In 1858, the University of London had created an external degree program using the mail as a means by which students and teachers could exchange materials. Modern distance learning and education has its origins in the beginning of the twentieth century and the pioneer efforts of the French educator Célestin Freinet and Italian educators Mario Lodi and Bruno Ciardi.

Freinet started his teaching career in 1921 in a small village in the coastal Alps near the Mediterranean. In October 1924 he introduced the “learning printing technique” into his class. It was a process where the pupils used a printing press to reproduce texts and projects they had created freely based on personal experience inside and outside the classroom. Later these texts would be compiled as a class journal and a school newspaper.

School printing to reproduce pupils’ texts was already used by several teachers in the nineteenth century. In 1926, Freinet began regular exchanges of his class productions, especially the school newspapers, with other elementary school classes in France. He called it the technique of “school correspondence,” whose purpose was for students to practice critical literacy skills by comparing worlds and realities. This technique later spread throughout other European countries, as well as in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Mario Lodi’s and Bruno Ciardi’s elementary school classes collaborated on various student journalism projects although the

classes were hundreds of miles apart. The teachers taught their students how to use the printing machinery, but the students did more than that. They wrote, edited, and published *Il Mondo* ("The World") and *Insieme* ("Together") as nearly everyday newspapers and had a readership of fellow students, parents, and even subscribers in ten countries for years. The goal of Lodi and Ciardi was to adapt Freinet's pedagogy to the Italian schools.

Film, radio, and TV made possible new approaches to distance learning during the 1960s and 1970s. The Internet, however, transformed the field. In 1991, when the first Internet search and navigation tools were released, the Internet began to be widely used in distance education.

Today, Internet-supported or -supplemented teaching is widespread. Distance education is now practical on a wide-scale basis. Distance education programs are increasingly found in K–12 settings, higher education, business and industry, and the military and government. Individuals who are geographically isolated can have regular instruction provided to them, as can individuals who are homebound because of illness or family needs. Instruction can occur in real time, or at the convenience of teachers and learners, who communicate through the exchange of e-mails or other electronic media.

Freinet's dream of technology extending the reach of the classroom throughout the globe is a reality. As new and more efficient technologies come into wider practical use, such as streaming video and real-time netcasting and texting, educational institutions will increasingly function in cyberspace. In doing so, the nature of instruction at all levels from K–12 to university and college, will inevitably be profoundly changed and redefined.

Li Ma

See also Internet, Social Impact of; Technologies in Education

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DRESS CODES

Guidelines directing student dress requirements are common in public and private schools. Dress codes include hair length and color, clothing, school uniforms, body art and piercing, insignias, and jewelry. Dress guidelines or codes have their historical beginning in the English private schools, but have recently permeated schools in the United States. This entry looks at regulation of student apparel and grooming, including the imposition of school uniforms, and discusses related legal cases.

Regulating Dress

The history of dress codes in the United States receives little attention in the literature. However, there is evidence that student dress was predicated upon cultural and economic predispositions until the social upheaval of the 1960s. The burgeoning baby boom generation, with a growing disposable income, became a focal point of clothing marketers. As a result, fashion became a means of student expression and identity.

Developing dress codes to meet the fast-changing fashion industry has become problematic for policy makers. In *Tinker v. Des Moines*, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed students' right to freedom of speech by striking down a school district policy prohibiting students from wearing black arm bands in protest of the Vietnam War. Consequently, school district dress guidelines began to consider students' right to expression. Then, with the growth in conservatism in the 1980s, combined with the rising public concern about student discipline and safety in the schools, the courts became more receptive to increasingly dogmatic school dress policies, such as school uniform policies. Although the idea of implementing school uniform policies in the public schools began in the late 1980s, President Clinton added credence to the practice in

1996 when he endorsed school uniform policies as a means of reducing school violence and disciplinary problems.

How Dress Codes Work

Specific dress codes for students are universal. Commonly, the codes attempt to prevent the promotion of drug and alcohol use, gang-related insignias, sexually provocative clothing, and hate-related clothing. Empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness of dress codes is inconclusive. Proponents of dress codes argue that dress codes improve the learning environment, enhance student safety, place less stress on the family, particularly low-income families, and eliminate student preoccupation with fashion. Opponents of dress codes counter that dress codes are discriminatory, focusing on females and minorities. In addition, opponents argue that dress codes violate students' fundamental right to free speech and are oversimplified solutions to much larger systemic problems.

Acceptable student dress codes are flexible and avoid restricting constitutionally protected freedoms, like religious expression. Dress codes devised as an attempt to affect disciplinary problems or gang violence should be developed as part of an overall school safety program. If the dress code has economic implications, some assistance may need to be provided to economically disadvantaged students. Finally, the dress code should pass the review of legal counsel, and the policy makers should ensure that the employees possess the necessary resources to fairly and effectively enforce the policy.

School Uniforms

In the late 1980s, public schools began to mimic many private schools by requiring school uniforms. Interestingly, during this same time period, many private schools chose to abandon the practice of school uniforms in favor of less rigid dress guidelines. Often controversial, school uniform policies have become popular with state-level policy makers. Currently, many states allow, and encourage, local public school policy makers to implement school uniform policies.

Much like the research regarding dress codes in general, the research on the effectiveness of school uniforms is inconclusive. Whereas dress code policies are often viewed as restrictive, detailing what may not be worn, school uniform policies are often viewed as directive, detailing what must be worn. This minor distinction in difference can play a significant role in how the courts view the legality of uniform policies.

The Courts

The seminal court case on student dress guidelines is the 1969 case *Tinker v. Des Moines*. In this case, several students were suspended from school because they chose to wear black arm bands in protest of the Vietnam War. The students successfully argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that their First Amendment right to freedom of expression had been violated. The Court held that students do have the constitutional protection of freedom to express themselves as long as the expression does not disrupt the educational process.

More recently, the courts have been inclined to uphold reasonable student dress codes as long as the policies allow students to legitimately express themselves on political issues. However, the courts have held that the right to wear fashionable clothing is not, in itself, a fundamental right protected by the Constitution. In addition, the courts give wide latitude to policy makers to develop dress codes that regulate obscene or lewd speech and gang-related clothing.

The courts have been inclined to support school uniform policies, allowing local-level policy makers to determine what is best for their schools. However, because school uniform policies tend to be viewed as directive, an "opt out" policy is a common means of avoiding potential litigation.

A persistent dress code issue is the matter of hair length and color. Viewing this issue as an educational one, the Supreme Court has not ruled on hair length or color restrictions. Thus the controversy remains unsettled, with the outcome of cases being dependent upon the persuasion of the courts and varying from region to region.

Mark Littleton

See also Clothing, Banning of Symbolic; Gangs, in Schools; Hate Crimes in Schools; Rights of Students

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DROPOUTS

Adolescents have left schools for as long as there have been schools, but the term *dropout* emerged in popular culture on the cusp of the tumultuous 1960s in the United States. With the use of the term came multiple political, social, cultural, and economic interpretations, each situating the label and domain of *dropout* in particular ways. Evidence from the last century about school leavers indicates that the issue of leaving school is multilayered and systemic. This entry is a historical sketch of school leaving, or dropping out, and the contexts in which schools produced students who left school.

Early History

The first public high school opened in Boston in 1820, and other high schools were opened in cities soon thereafter and competed with private academies. However, high school was a luxury, and most older children went to school only when they were not farming or working.

Early High Schools

Wealthy and middle-class White families supported the early high schools, and their affluence allowed them

to extend the formal education of their children. Few adolescents living in poverty attended them. The high schools were not popular with working-class children and adolescents, who found the subject divisions in the curriculum unconnected to the lives they led and the labor they provided. Although these schools prepared students for teaching, they rarely made them ready for college or specialized professions.

Over time, each state adopted compulsory schooling laws. Massachusetts passed the first compulsory schooling law in 1852, requiring children eight years old to fourteen years old to attend school twelve weeks a year. By 1918 every state had passed compulsory schooling laws, though the age varied from state to state. Compulsory schooling began at age five in some states, and six, seven, or eight in others. Compulsory schooling ended at age sixteen or seventeen in some states and age eighteen in others. Of course truancy, or unexcused absences from school, did not exist until states passed these compulsory schooling laws. New York passed the first truancy law in 1853, prohibiting any child between the ages of five and fourteen from wandering the streets. The number of days that defined truancy varied by school, district, and state.

Although compulsory schooling laws were in place, there were high percentages of school leaving, as young men in particular, many contributing to family income, chose work over school. Throughout the late 1800s, when these young men left school, they found work opportunities without a high school education. During this time, less than 40 percent of children received regular instruction in school, and only one student in ten finished the fifth grade.

In the early decades of the 1900s, tens of thousands of working-class immigrant youth chose the same pattern. They left school to work. Many left school before completing the eighth grade. In 1902 researchers found that students reported leaving school because they did not like school, they had family and financial responsibilities, or they suffered from ill health. Social reformers concerned about the high rates of school leaving supported the implementation of a practical, differentiated curriculum, and they hoped such a curriculum would engage and retain students.

William Heard Kilpatrick (1871–1965), a philosopher of education at Columbia University's Teachers

College in New York, thought that the subject divisions of the current curriculum hurt most students, and he developed a curriculum for primary and secondary schools that promoted specializations as early as the sixth grade. In essays collected in *Remaking the Curriculum* in 1936, he described a schedule that encouraged individual interests that transcended subject divisions. As children moved from grade to grade, teachers would document their interests and consult with their future teacher. Specializations would slowly encompass more time in the school day as the student moved through the grades and link the student's interest to life experience rather than formal subject schoolwork. Kilpatrick believed that the majority of students had no need to specialize along subject lines throughout secondary school, and that those students whom teachers forced to do so dropped out.

Postwar Years

Following World War II, retention programs emerged in earnest as administrators continued to witness the production of dropouts. Successful programs echoed Kilpatrick's sentiments and suggestions from school leavers. In a New York study on retention conducted from 1946 to 1954, researchers found that school leaving could be reduced by connecting a practical curriculum to experience in the world with activities, such as field trips; increasing job counseling; providing opportunity for work experience; assisting with job placement; increasing electives; and communicating with parents through home visits.

During this time, thousands of school leavers in a Midwestern study expressed concern about schools' ability to retain students. These early school leavers proposed that students needed work experience or specialized vocational instruction, an increase in school activities, opportunity to change courses, more caring and productive relationships with counselors and teachers, and smaller classes to provide opportunities for individual attention.

In the late 1940s, a young White man could leave school and find work (much as in the late 1800s), but a decade later, unemployment rates had increased. Youth who left school before graduating had trouble finding a job. In an economy that had just begun to cut

unskilled and semiskilled jobs, school leavers, without training or work experience, sometimes could find only part-time work and experienced more job insecurity than students who had completed high school and received a diploma.

By 1950, only 60 percent of youth had completed high school, and to increase the accuracy of national and state studies on school leaving, federal and state departments urged local school districts to keep records of students leaving school. As the decade began, White high school dropouts received stable employment in occupations to which Black high school graduates were denied access. White high school dropouts in 1950 comprised 65 to 70 percent of skilled and semiskilled work in industry and 40 percent in sales. By 1960, although over 40 percent of Black youth ages twenty to twenty-four had successfully completed high school, White business refused to offer them jobs. Less-educated White workers dominated industry and sales.

Unemployment among youth began to rise as the demand for unskilled and semiskilled work, especially in large urban centers, decreased. Youth faced increased job insecurity and unemployment. In the schools, one student of every three left before completing the eighth grade. Across the fifteen largest cities in the United States, researchers found that over 60 percent of the students living in neighborhoods of poverty left school, a quarter of whom could not find a job. These conditions affected mostly Black children, as urban populations had become predominantly Black in the 1950s.

School Leavers Become Dropouts

Historically, educators and social reformers used "school leavers" or "early school leavers" as labels to describe those children, and later adolescents, who left school before completing the grade that dominant, White, middle-class culture expected them to complete. In 1900 this meant completing the eighth grade. Sixty years later this meant finishing high school. In the 1960s, those students who left high school before graduating found themselves called dropouts and centered at a national crisis in education.

Framing school leaving or dropping out as a process and not an event was paramount as educators

worked to understand the factors related to leaving school. And the factors were multifold. Dropping out or school leaving is generally viewed as the result of larger systemic issues of inequity in public schools. In this perspective, the public high school, although free, is a place where teachers and administrators sort, separate, and stratify children across the curriculum. The curriculum and the process of socialization alienated children who lived in poverty and children who were minorities, particularly in urban environments, where the intersection of class and race was fused for children living in impoverished and disenfranchised neighborhoods and wards. After 180 years, low socioeconomic status remained the strongest factor related to school leaving. In the United States, this meant that children of color, who were more likely to live in poverty, were therefore disproportionately more likely to leave school.

A Crisis Emerges

Educators, school reformers, philosophers of education, psychologists, and sociologists addressed the issue of school leaving through the first half of the twentieth century, but not until the early 1960s was school leaving and the dropout labeled a national crisis. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy declared school leaving a national problem, and government agencies, public and private institutions, and nonprofit organizations hastened to complete research on the national crisis of the dropout while a new economy, with requirements for specialized skills, grew.

Schools and districts embraced reform models to increase retention, many with success. A project in junior high and senior high school in Kentucky targeted at increasing students' self-concepts, providing personal and social services for students, and implementing a new curriculum generated successful results in significantly reducing dropout rates and issues of discipline. The school made structural changes giving teachers the autonomy to develop a new curriculum where needed, and provided students with free or reduced breakfast and lunch, school supplies, instructional fees, clothing, medical assistance, and counseling services. Students' self-concepts increased, and in-service training for teachers

increased flexible, engaging, and encouraging pedagogical practices in the junior high school and encouraging pedagogical practices in the senior high school.

For school leavers, however, the situation worsened. By 1965, the unemployment rate for school leavers was double that of high school graduates and the highest unemployment rate for any age group. The availability of jobs involving unskilled and semi-skilled labor continued to fall into the early 1970s. Although experts had documented the changing economy, and poverty remained the strongest factor related to school leaving, research in the 1960s burgeoned with formulas identifying the individual characteristics of school leavers. The U.S. Department of Education reported low grades and an inability to get along with teachers and other students as reasons students left school.

Some researchers attributed the phenomenon of dropping out to a character disorder in the dropout. Ignoring the context in which students went to school, the structure of school as an institution, and school leaving as a violation of White, middle-class expectations, these researchers cited low aspirations and goals, cynicism, family problems, and a history of school leaving in Black communities as reasons for dropout rates. They emphasized individual and community deficiencies rather than institutional and pedagogical deficiencies. Ironically, among their recommendations for change and retention were the establishment of genuine, caring relationships between teachers and students and developing relevant curricula connected to work and life experience.

Decades later, research emerging in the 1980s identified anxiety about the changing economy, race riots in Northern cities, and illegal activity among youth, as well as the conservative politics of school administrators and institutionalized classism and racism, as elements contributing to upper- and middle-class expectations that urban high schools quell urban chaos. The term *dropout* emerged as the label and domain that captured these anxieties.

School leavers faced higher rates of unemployment and health problems than those who stayed in school and were more likely to work illegally or participate in illegal activities, but whereas concern for school leavers

by social reformers in the early 1900s stressed connections across curricula to employment, fear directed the worry over dropouts in the 1960s. A privileged upper- and middle-class White public heaped their anxieties about crime and race, as well as demands for institutional change from communities of color, onto the dropout and the schools he and she left.

Research that captured the articulation of students for school leaving documented responses that had been shared by school leavers for seventy-five years. Former students explained that they left school because they chose to go to work rather than to go to school, had family and financial responsibilities, and did not like school. In addition, researchers found that nonpromotion of students increased dropout rates.

School completion rates have increased since the 1970s for both White students and Black students; however, poverty remains the strongest factor related to school leaving. Research in the early 1980s revealed, counter to claims of the 1960s, that students who left urban schools were psychologically healthy and thoughtfully critical of the social and economic conditions in which they lived and their schools functioned. Demonstrably different from their counterparts who stayed in school, these students developed a sound sense of self and were less prone to depression than their peers who stayed in school.

Throughout the 1980s, conservatives continued to pathologize children instead of the system and refused to address the failings of public school systems and the responsibility of schools. The credibility of this position was challenged amid research findings that situated school leavers in systemic dysfunction and historical and material conditions. Researchers found that disempowered teachers stigmatized and discouraged students, and that schools where students cited uncaring teachers and administrators, inconsistent and unfair discipline procedures, and truancy produced more dropouts. Schools with tracking, strict nonpromotion policies, and competency examinations also produced more dropouts. Urban high schools in particular faced severe overcrowding and abysmal student-teacher ratios. Research during this period also documented the high numbers of LBGT (lesbian/bisexual/gay/transgendered) students who left school from fear of harassment and violence.

The Current Situation

By the late 1990s, the dropout rates for Black students were twice those of White students, and for Hispanic students three times that of White students. Consistent with research findings for a century, the majority of school leavers survived on less, with their incomes in the lowest 20 percent of family incomes. These students were four times more likely to leave school than their peers whose families' incomes were in the top 20 percent of family incomes.

In 2005, the national dropout rate was still about 25 percent, more than 410,000 students, but in urban high schools, the rate reached 60 to 70 percent. The same year the Urban Research Institute Education Policy Center announced that over 1.3 million ninth graders would not receive a high school diploma. Nationally, dropout rates doubled for students who had repeated a grade, signaling that the rule of nonpromotion was not working. Research continued to show that students chose work over school (illegal work for many), had family and financial responsibilities, and no longer liked school or the uncaring teachers there. Young Latinas, with the highest rate of school leaving, cited family responsibilities, motherhood, and marriage as reasons not to stay in school. School leavers continued to earn less than those students who finished high school, and a higher percentage of young women among school leavers faced motherhood than their counterparts who stayed in school. School leavers still faced higher incidents of illegal activity in addition to drug use.

Systemic issues remained: overcrowding; dilapidated school facilities; reduced resources; reduced staff, including counselors and social workers; a rigidly standardized curriculum; and school violence. And much like the preceding decades, more Native American students left school than Hispanic students, more Hispanic students left school than White students, and more White students left school than Asian students, and the strongest factor related to school leaving was low socioeconomic status. In the 2000s, researchers recommended specialized diversity training for teachers, critical multicultural education in teacher education programs, apprenticeship programs for high school students, and alternative

visions for the curriculum in high schools (like Kilpatrick in 1936).

Allison Daniel Anders

See also Economic Inequality; Educational Equity:
Race/Ethnicity

See Visual History Chapter 23, Compulsory Education and
Truancy

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DRUG EDUCATION

There are many forms of drug education in American schools. Today the most commonly used drug education program is Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), which operates in about 80 percent of American school districts. Hundreds of other programs designed to decrease illicit drug use also exist, some of them proven effective by vigorous, long-term research. There is no federal requirement that forces states to use DARE; however, governors are mandated to use funds toward the Law Enforcement Education Partnership (LEEP), effectively funding DARE and other drug education programs. Recent federal activity suggests that there is a push to make drug use reduction education a federal responsibility. This entry looks at drug education programs and research on their effectiveness.

Federal Support

The Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act (SDFSCA) of 1994 provided federal funding for formula grants to state agencies to be used on programs

intended to decrease drug use and violence. This funding was intended to serve several functions, including programs, professional training and development, targeted resources for high drug areas, and safe passage of students from school to home. The SDFSCA was recently reauthorized through the No Child Left Behind Act, part A of Title IV. Currently, 20 percent of state SDFSCA funding goes to the governor to distribute through competitive grants, and 93 percent of all funds granted to state educational agencies must go directly to local educational agencies to use in drug prevention programs. Federal grants may also be obtained by local school administrators, nonprofit organizations, or partnerships designed to decrease drug abuse or violence that comply with the Principles of Effectiveness outlined by the federal government. The Principles of Effectiveness include needs assessment, measurable objectives/performance measures, effective scientifically based programs, program evaluation, and parent involvement.

DARE programs are generally focused on elementary school students, even though research suggests that there is no significant difference in future drug use between those who had DARE in elementary schools and those who did not. DARE is a nonprofit organization that receives funding and assistance from the Departments of Justice and Education, federal and local grants, state budgets, donations from organizations, "sin" taxes, drug recovery and forfeitures, and local law enforcement. It is a network of law-enforcement officials, school leaders, and grassroots organizations that focuses on providing information about drugs and mentoring students. DARE can be found in foreign countries as well.

Outcomes Research

Hundreds of drug education programs have recently been evaluated by the Departments of Education and Health and Human Services (HHS). Only a handful have been found effective, including ones that focus on life skills, increasing protective factors, resisting pro-drug pressures, focusing on family factors, and providing community-based programs that utilize mass media, parent education, and health policy programming. According to DARE, it is currently going through a

revision in order to utilize the most effective means of educating and preventing illicit drug use among youth.

While drug education has been undergoing reviews and changes, President George W. Bush has poured money into random drug testing of America's school children. This is a million-dollar industry, and its practices bring up questions about students' right to privacy and confidentiality. Scare tactics, like random drug testing, are often used to deter students from using drugs. Proponents of drug testing in schools argue that random drug testing will allow drug-abusing students to receive treatment that they would otherwise not receive. Opponents claim that it is a violation of First Amendment rights.

In addition to drug education partnerships like DARE, some schools provide drug education in health or science classes. Other schools do not provide any form of drug education. The controversy behind drug education's effectiveness is currently a major factor behind the evaluation of its success in decreasing drug use among American students. Whether or not the programs are found successful, many of them will continue to reap the benefits of the billion-dollar industry of drug education.

Mark Mussman

See also Family, School, and Community Partnerships; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Gangs in Schools; Moral Education; No Child Left Behind Act; Surveillance in Schools

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DRUG-EXPOSED CHILDREN

Public concern about the education of drug-exposed children dates back to the mid-1980s. During that time, prenatal drug abuse among poor urban women

became epidemic, which resulted in unusually high numbers of drug-impacted children enrolling in school. Many of these children demonstrated developmental impairments. Interest concerning the educational prognosis for these youngsters resulted in a public discussion about the future of children whose mothers abused drugs while pregnant and had inadequate prenatal care and poor maternal health. This entry reviews the needs of these children and describes appropriate interventions.

During the 1980s, drug-exposed children became an urban educational issue. Educators had many preconceived beliefs about what to expect from these youngsters in the classroom. School officials were bracing themselves for the worst, assuming that these children would have extremely low intellectual functioning or mental retardation and be uncontrollable, and that schools would not know how to handle these children. Most troubling was the idea that this population would consume most of the special education funding, placing further strain on school resources for children with developmental challenges.

More sophisticatedly designed research on children prenatally exposed to drugs and their developmental outcomes have given educators hope for working with this population. Studies have shown that although these children have early childhood delays, which for the majority will lead to later educational difficulties, their impairments are not as severe as was once believed. With appropriate intervention, most can reach appropriate developmental milestones. In fact, many drug-exposed children have tested within the normal cognitive range on commonly used intelligence test measures.

So, how are public schools responding to the needs of these children? In *Educating Drug-Exposed Children*, Janet Thomas points out that public school systems have not seriously addressed this issue. The book gives attention to the dilemmas teachers face in working with this population and the three key issues involved in educating these children. The first issue is behavioral and learning problems. Teachers have found that there are specific patterns that present challenges to working with these children in a regular classroom setting. Although many of these children show potential, their behavioral and learning problems

cause many to be referred for special education placement, which is not always appropriate to address their needs.

The second issue is the psychosocial risk factors that present obstacles to positive educational outcomes of school-age children. These things include but are not limited to inconsistent caregiving, lack of educational continuity, frequent absences, and exposure to drug-abusing environments. Teachers have found that these factors are prevalent in the drug-impacted population and that they have as negative an effect on school performance as do behavioral and learning problems.

The third issue is the need for guidance on how schools can effectively intervene. Teachers have expressed a need to develop a professional knowledge base for dealing with this population. Public schools have no assessment tool for detecting the symptoms of prenatal drug-exposure, a problem that is often missed when using traditional measures. Teachers have no professional guidance on how to effectively intervene on behalf of this population in a special education or regular education environment. For this reason, these children are among the most educationally at-risk populations.

Recommendations

The educational difficulties of drug-impacted school-age children are best addressed in the context of school and community. Educational policies and programs focusing on these children's specific needs are necessary to effectively intervene with this population. Such interventions must take a comprehensive approach, start before these children enroll in school, address psychosocial risk factors, and provide guidance for schools working on behalf of these children.

Drug-exposed children with developmental issues should be identified for early childhood interventions before they enter school. Intervening as early as possible will help prevent their issues from developing into more serious problems. Tracking systems are especially needed in school communities where there are large numbers of children whose mothers abused drugs while pregnant.

School-based social support systems are needed in public schools to assist these children as they move through the educational system. Such services should be community oriented, extending support to the caregivers of drug-impacted, school-age children. This can be a powerful collaboration for advocating for the educational need of drug-exposed children with developmental challenges.

Building the knowledge base about drug-exposed children is the most important aspect of addressing these children's school failure. Education professionals must become more proactive in contributing to the understanding of how drug exposure impacts children and what are effective education practices. Other populations with birth-related developmental challenges have been clearly defined and appropriately studied, and the drug-impacted population deserves equal attention.

Janet Y. Thomas

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling; Family, School, and Community Partnerships

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E

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Early childhood education is a field within education encompassing the knowledge base related to children from birth through age eight (third grade). Early childhood is a unique time in the development of a child, during which much learning takes place. Approaches to teaching young children cover a wide spectrum ranging from direct instruction to emergent curricula. This entry provides a brief historical background of early childhood education, discusses its roots in child psychology, summarizes outside impacts on the field, and describes its main curricular models.

Historical Background

The development of young children is addressed in historical evidence from the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome (by the work of Plato and Aristotle and Quintilian) to the Middle Ages in Europe (by the work of Martin Luther, John Amos Comenius, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi, and Friedrich Froebel).

In Colonial America it was typically the role of the parents to educate the youngest children in the family, although there is evidence of some New England families using the services of private dame schools to help their children learn basic reading skills. By the early 1800s, infant schools were established in large cities across the country (New York, Philadelphia, and Boston) as a primary means of addressing the needs of

disadvantaged youth. Modeled after the schools run by Pestalozzi in Europe, these schools typically used a play-based method of teaching. Even at this time there was controversy as to the roles of rote memorization and discipline in the education of young children.

Education and Psychological Development

The phrase *developmentally appropriate practice* is commonly linked to early childhood education. Educators working with young children understand that there is a predictable sequence of growth and development and apply this knowledge of how young children grow as they develop and learn to prepare learning environments that meet the “age appropriate” educational needs of the children in their setting. As all children grow at varying rates, educators must consider the “individual appropriateness” of learning experiences. The work of Jean Piaget serves as the foundation for what today is considered developmentally appropriate practice. Piaget’s work established that children’s cognitive development evolves in a series of stages (sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operations), with each stage bringing a unique opportunity for young children to construct their own knowledge by interacting with the environment and with those around them. By using these developmental profiles, early childhood educators can encourage unique child-centered learning experiences that highlight the development of the whole child (physical, social, emotional, and cognitive).

The work of Lev Vygotsky also contributed greatly to the study of young children. He believed that the sociocultural aspects of learning had to be considered and he highlighted the role of language in reaching higher cognitive processes. His theory supports assistance by others in helping the young child to a more complex level of development if the child is near his or her own limit of ability or zone of proximal development (ZPD). The learning theory known as constructivism has its roots in the “active learning” models of both Piaget and Vygotsky.

Various Impacts on the Field

There is a great focus internationally on the development of young children, and many professional organizations address young children’s needs. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) has brought professional leadership to the development of accreditation criteria, establishing position statements that define and support developmentally appropriate practice. Over almost eighty years, NAEYC has been a leader in promoting excellence in early childhood education, working with other organizations to enhance professional development for those working with young children. The Zero to Three organization provides up-to-date, research-based resources, with a focus on brain research, for early childhood educators. Citing work from child development professionals at the Erikson Institute, they provide “parent friendly” resources that summarize important aspects of the 2000 National Research Council and Institute of Medicine report titled *From Neurons to Neighborhoods: The Science of Early Childhood Development*.

Government has also had an impact. In the United States more and more families have both parents in the workforce, making the demand for high quality early childhood care and education even greater. In 1965, as part of President Lyndon Johnson’s “War on Poverty” program, the federal government supported the establishment of the Head Start project in an attempt to counteract the effects of childhood poverty by providing high quality early childhood experiences, health education, nutritional information, social services, and parent education experiences.

Head Start and Early Head Start have served as models for other early childhood programs, and federal support has continued due to the overwhelmingly positive support from communities that have benefited from this focus. It is important to note the fact that federal dollars are used to support this initiative, and therefore there is an element of accountability that must be addressed. Many longitudinal studies have been conducted to confirm the success of these programs, resulting in a greater national focus on collecting data. Thus, even those programs geared for young children are required to assess children in order to continuously provide the evidence necessary to maintain funding.

Research and Curricular Models

The curriculum in early childhood education is determined by the philosophy of learning that is being emphasized. Therefore, many early childhood programs rely on a child-centered approach to developing the curriculum; however, it is the philosophy that establishes how this looks in practice. In addition, there are several important curricular models that have impacted early childhood education throughout history.

Maria Montessori (1870–1952), the Italian physician who worked to educate children of the working class, discovered through her observations at Casa dei Bambini that children who work in carefully prepared environments can develop a sense of independence if the self-correcting materials that they work with and the directress (teacher) who guides them emphasize practical life experiences. Her success in working with this population caught the attention of many, and the materials that she developed quickly became part of the Montessori Method, which emphasizes that children can naturally teach themselves. She made several visits to the United States beginning around 1913 to share her method of teaching, and the American Montessori Society (AMS) that was founded in 1960 still works to accredit schools and prepare teachers in this model of early childhood education.

In 1914, Caroline Pratt founded the City and Country School in New York City at a time when the progressive education movement was being emphasized in the United States. She was a firm believer that

play is the “work” of children and that through the use of open-ended materials children could explore the world around them. As a result she designed wooden unit blocks to be used with two- to seven-year-olds, and the blocks are still popular today in many early childhood classrooms across the country. In 1917 she was joined by Lucy Sprague Mitchell, and together they created a community where children were passionate about learning. Their work, often called the “developmental interaction” model, was later established as the Bank Street approach to educating young children.

The High Scope approach to early childhood education emerged from the work of David Weikart at the Perry Preschool Project in Ypsilanti, Michigan. The work of Jean Piaget was influential in the development of this cognitively oriented curriculum. Teachers participate freely in activities with children, guided by “key experiences” that provide a framework for planning activities but allowing flexibility to accommodate the needs of individual learners. The “plan-do-review” sequence is used throughout the day, and gives teachers time to observe and record the progress of a child’s development. Today, this method of delivering early childhood educational experiences is quite popular in that there is an extensive amount of research supporting the long-term effectiveness of this approach.

The Waldorf approach to educating young children emerged from a model of the school that was designed for the employees of the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette company by Rudolf Steiner in 1919. Steiner’s vision of educating the “whole child” includes the mind, the heart, and the will of the child. All Waldorf teachers focus on the aesthetics of the educational experience, and much of the subject matter is taught through drama, art, or music. In visiting a Waldorf school today, an observer would likely notice the emphasis on nature and the surrounding world.

The newest curricular approach to early childhood education is found in the programs exploring the Reggio Emilia model. This approach began in the Italian community of Reggio Emilia through the efforts of Loris Malaguzzi and a group of women who came together to advocate for a law requiring free quality early care and education for children up to age six. Reggio educators (pedagogistas) are keenly aware of the need for documentation (photos, drawings,

recordings, etc.) of a child’s development. They consider the curriculum to be ‘emergent,’ in that only general goals are established and the curriculum emerges around the interests of the children as they explore projects ranging from a few days to a few months. All Reggio schools have a unique space called the atelier that serves as the studio or workshop for the projects. There is an atelierista who is trained in the arts who provides guidance on projects.

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See also Education, History of; Reggio Emilia Approach

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- National Head Start Association: <http://www.nhsa.org>
- Zero to Three: <http://www.zerotothree.org>

ECOJUSTICE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Educators interested in ecojustice analyze and fight to end the increasing destruction of the world's diverse ecosystems, languages, and cultures by the globalizing and ethnocentric forces of Western consumer culture. In addition, they also study, support, and teach about the ways that various cultures around the world actively resist these forces by protecting and revitalizing their "commons," that is, the shared languages, practices, traditions, and relationships (including relationships with the land) necessary to sustain their communities. By emphasizing the commons (and its enclosure or privatization), scholars using ecojustice perspectives recognize social justice as inseparable from and even imbedded in ecological well-being. Ecojustice education thus emphasizes educational reform at the public school, university, and community levels as necessary to stem the tide of both cultural and ecological destruction.

The following five priorities are central to ecojustice-based educational reforms: (1) helping to overcome the environmental and political sources of environmental racism; (2) reducing the consumer-dependent lifestyle and traditions of thinking that contribute to the current exploitation of the cultures of the southern hemisphere by the cultures of the northern hemisphere; (3) revitalizing the diversity of cultural and environmental commons as a way of reducing the environmentally destructive impact of the West's industrial culture; (4) learning to live in a way that helps to ensure that the prospects of future generations are not being diminished; and (5) contributing to a wider understanding of the importance of what Vandana Shiva refers to as "earth democracy"—that is, the right of nonhuman participants that make up the earth's interdependent ecosystems to reproduce themselves in ways that are free of technological manipulation and exploitation.

This entry looks at the ecojustice view of education from the perspective of an advocate.

The Commons and Educational Reform

Educational reforms that contribute to the revitalization of the commons, in effect, represent pedagogical

practices that are achievable within different communities and bioregions. Rather than being built on abstract theories about emancipation or transformation, these practices are grounded in the diverse day-to-day relationships and needs of particular communities and built upon important knowledges and traditions passed down through many generations. Rather than arguing for universal application, this approach to educational reform begins by recognizing the specificity of local cultures—the attending languages, practices, beliefs, decision-making patterns, and so on—in relation to a particular geographical context. It also recognizes that all communities and cultures share the necessity to preserve the life systems that they depend upon to survive. Thus, while the particular ways they may go about creating these practices and relations may differ radically, all cultures create a "commons."

The commons are not a theoretical abstraction, and thus they should not be understood as a project to be achieved in the future. They represent the aspects of everyday life and of the natural world that have not yet been privatized and monetized. Scholars in this field refer to "enclosure of the commons" when the shared aspects of day-to-day life that once contributed to the general well-being of communities are transformed into privately owned money-making resources. Many taken-for-granted aspects of life are practices that have been refined and handed down through many generations, including practices as seemingly mundane as the way to make a bed, set a table, shingle a roof, or stack wood; more threatened practices like gathering and preserving seeds or protecting life in a stream; and more formalized practices and principles such as those represented in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are two parts of the U.S. commons that are shared by all citizens and keeping American communities healthy.

Thus, the commons need to be understood as still existing in both rural and urban settings and in every culture and bioregion on earth. Some commons practices and relations are expressed in craft knowledge (how to farm without wearing out the soil, or how to select a tree and plane a log to become a piece of lumber), others in formal and informal rules of decision making (ward representation in community politics, or household division of labor), still others in more

mundane “chores” (how to keep a house clean, a garden tidy, or animals fed and cared for).

The cultural and environmental commons thus represent the lived alternatives to money-dependent activities. They are potential sites of resistance to the spread of the consumer-dependent lifestyle that is viewed as a major cause of ecoinjustices. While not all commons practices are necessarily ecofriendly, learning about the commons in the students’ own community and bioregion, as well as the economic and technological forces that threaten what remains of the local commons, helps students to identify those areas that are healthy.

Such a focus should thus be a major aim of educational reform within public schools and universities. The emphasis on the local and the nonmonetized practices of daily life that have a smaller ecological impact would require a radical shift away from the centuries of focus on progress, competition, and growth.

Conceptual Foundations

Although the commons is part of everyday experience, its complexity, as well as the ways people depend on its many life-enhancing and community support systems, go largely unnoticed. The patterns of interdependency that make up the commons are largely taken for granted. For example, speakers of English write from left to right, and speak in patterns that are organized in terms of subject, verb, and object. The embodied experiences of the commons—for example, the multi-sensory experience of well-being one can get from working in the garden or sharing in a community-based activity—are also difficult to recognize for reasons that have direct implications for thinking about educational reforms.

From the ecojustice perspective, corporations and other modernizing institutions such as the media expose people to a constant stream of images that connect consumerism with success, happiness, and the achievement of social status. Images of the activities and relationships that do not promote the monetized and commodified culture are largely nonexistent. Advocates of ecojustice believe that public schools and universities, for the most part, contribute to the dependency upon a consumer-oriented culture by

promoting a mix of what they see as classical liberal, Enlightenment, and industrially inspired myths. These ideas include: the individual becoming ever more autonomous, change as a constant and a sign of progress and success, literacy and other abstract systems of representation as a more reliable source of knowledge than the context-sensitive oral communication that sustains daily life in the community, and experimental approaches to knowledge and values as more empowering than intergenerational knowledge. Ecojustice advocates argue that the ethnocentrism that underlies the high-status knowledge found in universities leads to a greater dependency upon the industrial system to supply daily needs and discourages students from understanding their own cultural commons and bioregion. It also contributes to the near total silence on how non-Western cultures are attempting to sustain their commons in the face of globalization.

An example of how the combination of silences and linguistic-based misrepresentations can distort the ability to recognize the realities of daily life can be seen in how the Nobel Prize committee omitted Marie Curie’s name when they awarded the Nobel Prize to her husband and Henri Becquerel, even though the scientific discovery was largely based on her research.

From the ecojustice perspective, the interpretative framework that still dominates universities and public schools makes local traditions appear as sources of backwardness and impediments to change, progress, and greater individual freedom. To make the point more directly, advocates would say that being able to recognize the commons as sources of individual and community empowerment and self-sufficiency is undermined by the way in which traditions are misrepresented in the educational process. Many teachers, for example, understand traditions simply as holidays and family gatherings, rather than as the complex collection of shared practices of everyday life. Among some social justice or multicultural educators, traditions are presented only as the harmful practices associated with social inequities related to racism or sexism, and thus needing to be overturned in the name of social progress. Most students graduate from universities without learning to use critical analysis to identify the traditions and practices in day-to-day life that need to be *conserved* to sustain healthy communities, ecojustice advocates say.

These advocates argue that most students graduate from universities having learned one primary form of critical reflection, a technical form that prevails in the corporate and/or scientific world. Beginning from the question “What will work best?”—and often devoid of the complementary ethical question, “Is it good for the society and the ecosystem?”—this approach results in the development of new technologies and new forms of dependency. To understand the cultural and environmental commons, students need language that more accurately represents the complex nature of traditions—including the continuities within the culture that are examples of nonmonetized activities, relationships, and forms of knowledge that protect the land and the human communities living on it, ecojustice advocates say.

Issues Related to Language

Ecojustice educators point out other basic misconceptions and silences that limit people’s ability to understand the importance of the commons to a sustainable future. Again, what seems to underlie these is the ethnocentrism that is learned in everyday life and reinforced in the educational process, so that a number of other cultural myths are central to giving legitimacy to what is represented as high-status knowledge. One of the more important, ecojustice advocates would say, is the view of language as a conduit in a sender-receiver process of communication. This view of language supports other ideas, such as the objective nature of knowledge and the conception of the individual as an autonomous rational—even critical—thinker. As a result, individuals lack a conceptual basis for making explicit the taken-for-granted cultural practices that are viewed as undermining the commons.

In the ecojustice view, this misunderstanding of language, particularly the assumptions encoded in such words as *progress* and *development*, leads to ignoring or viewing as backward the ways in which other cultures are able to maintain a balance between their commons and market-oriented activities. Ignorance about how the metaphorical nature of language encodes a specific cultural way of knowing also leads to a state of prideful ignorance about the differences in other cultural ways of knowing, advocates assert.

For example, when the notion of progress is taken for granted, along with the idea that Western cultures are the most advanced, the conceptual and moral groundwork has been laid for cultural imperialism, which may lead to the subjugation and economic exploitation of the commons of other cultures.

Some Potential Reforms

Suggesting curricular and pedagogical reforms that focus on the different aspects of the cultural and environmental commons that have not been monetized is relatively easy. For example, having students give special attention during a typical day to the different activities and relationships that have been monetized is the first step in increasing their understanding of the differences between what is shared as part of the commons and how much of daily life has been enclosed by market forces. Similarly, having students identify the many relationships and activities within both the cultural and environmental commons that have not yet been entirely enclosed (privatized and monetized) is also a straightforward and easy task. Depending upon the cultural group and bioregion, students might identify different forms of intergenerational knowledge about food, healing, entertainment, craft knowledge, narratives, ceremonies, and traditions of mutual support within the family and community, as well as the characteristics of the natural environment that have not been degraded or turned into an exploitable resource. Even these simple, straightforward activities of mapping the aspects of daily life that do not require money, as well as the many more that do, will be affected by language.

Educational reforms that contribute to revitalizing the commons, which in turn help to address the issues that ecojustice advocates believe have worldwide importance for the future of humans and natural systems, require more. If the diversity of the world’s cultural and environmental commons is being affected by a wide array of forces—ideological, economic, technological, even religious—then the commons must become a more central part of the university curriculum. This is potentially the most difficult part of the educational reforms proposed by ecojustice advocates: getting university faculty to recognize that in carrying on the traditional approaches to their respective

disciplines, they are in a state of denial about how serious the ecological crisis really is. Such a revised curriculum might include issues discussed in the next section.

Issues for the Ecojustice Curriculum

One critical theme for ecojustice advocates is the many ways in which industrial culture encloses the commons, from the genetic engineering of plants and animals to the privatization of the airways and cyberspace. This should lead to an examination of the connections between the many ways the commons is being enclosed, the ecological crisis, and the spread of poverty. The impact of enclosure on the different forms of intergenerational knowledge that represent the alternative to monetized dependencies should also be considered.

Another area of inquiry should focus on how the ideology of the World Trade Organization leads to undermining local economies and democratic decision making. Western science and technology are too often introduced without a consideration of the traditions of self-sufficiency within the cultural commons that contribute to living within the limits of the bioregion. The assumptions that underlie Western educational approaches to development also need to be questioned in terms of whether they contribute to the loss of cultural and linguistic diversity and to undermining the local traditions that kept market-related activities from overwhelming the life of the community. For example, does Western science undermine the narratives that are the basis of the moral values and sense of life purpose not centered on possessing more material goods?

A discussion of how ideologies support or undermine the commons can be centered on the nature of the commons: diverse in terms of culture and bioregion, dependent upon the renewal of intergenerational knowledge that reduces the dependency upon consumerism, with patterns of moral reciprocity rooted in the different cultures' narratives. The question can then be raised as to whether Western ideologies of market liberalism, libertarianism, Marxism, and social justice liberalism support or undermine the commons. There should also be a discussion of the connections

between economic globalization and the rise of fascism—including how fascism affects the local commons of different cultures.

A more accurate understanding is needed of how the metaphorical nature of language encodes and carries forward over many generations ways of thinking that are not sensitive to the importance of the cultural and environmental commons. This might show how language now reproduces the thought patterns and values of the industrial culture. Special attention should be given to understanding the nature of root metaphors that represent humans and the environment as interdependent and that take account of responsibilities for renewing the nonmonetized traditions that contribute to community self-sufficiency. The root metaphors that undermine the commons also need to be identified and discussed in terms of how they influence people to think and act in ways that contribute to their impoverishment and isolation. How the curriculum in both public schools and universities reinforces the root metaphors that contribute to undermining the commons also needs to be examined.

Ecojustice educators believe it is a myth to represent technology as a neutral tool; the expression of progress needs to be considered in terms of how it impacts the commons. Questions that should be considered include: What are the differences between the modern technologies of the West and indigenous technologies? How does the organization and use of technologies in the factory system influence human relationships, contribute to the loss of craft knowledge, and impact the local economy? Is automation inevitable, and what are the assumptions that represent it as inherently progressive? How do computers influence local language and knowledge systems that encode generations of knowledge of the characteristics of the bioregion? In what ways can computers be used to strengthen the commons, and what are the uses that contribute to undermining the commons? Do computers, by their very nature, contribute to the enclosure of different aspects of the cultural commons?

Educational reformers may base their proposals on a superficial understanding of current theories of learning that do not take account of the differences in the knowledge systems of different cultures, and the environmental crisis. The proposals need to be carefully

examined. Government-initiated educational reforms, as well as reforms such as place-based education and reforms based on various constructivist theories of learning, should be assessed in terms of whether they promote the forms of learning that strengthen the mutual support systems within communities and prevent the further enclosure of the local cultural and environmental commons.

Historical Record

A number of thinkers have written on themes related to ecojustice and the revitalization of the commons, long before these terms were in common use to designate such issues. Among the earliest books to warn that unending progress might be disrupted by the industrial approach to the environment was Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962). This was followed by a report to the Club of Rome, *The Limits to Growth* (1972). Since these early warnings, a steady stream of scientifically grounded books has appeared on subjects ranging from species extinction, depletion of the world's fisheries, and chemical contamination to global warming.

Of special importance was the yearly report *State of the World*, published by the Worldwatch Institute. The warnings of these scientifically based books and reports on the deepening ecological crisis were taken seriously and led to more credibility for the social theorists who subsequently provided the conceptual basis for understanding the importance of the commons as sites for resistance to economic globalization and reducing the adverse human impact on the environment.

The understanding of the commons and dynamics of enclosure that underlie ecojustice recommendations for educational reforms was first derived from Karl Polanyi's 1944 classic, *The Great Transformation*, a new edition of which was published in 2001, and *The Ecologist's* publication *Whose Common Future* (1993). In the past decade or so, a number of other books have made the case that the strengthening of local economies and decision making represent the most viable alternatives to economic globalization—and have influenced thinking about what should be the major focus of educational reform. Among these are *The Case Against the Global Economy and for a Turn Toward the Local* (1996) by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith, and

the report of the International Forum on Globalization, *Alternatives to Economic Globalization* (2002). Joel Spring's *How Educational Ideologies Are Shaping Global Society* (2005) makes a more recent contribution to understanding how the neoliberal ideology that underlies the thinking of many educational reformers contributes to the form of global culture required by transnational corporations.

The writings of Third World activists have provided further insight into how Western colonization is contributing to the loss of identity and traditions of self-sufficiency in the Third World. These writings on how the commons are being exploited by Western corporations and governmental policies have helped ecojustice proponents to recognize both the nature and importance of the commons—understandings that had not been part of American graduate studies. In effect, their writings also helped American educators to recognize the ethnocentric foundations of their thinking. Among the most important sources of influence about what ecojustice should encompass, and how it relates to resisting the enclosure of the commons, are the writings of Vandana Shiva, Helena Norberg Hodge, G. Bonfil Batalla, Gustavo Esteva, Grimaldo Rengifo, and the contributors to Wolfgang Sachs's *The Development Dictionary* (1992). *Vanishing Voices* (2000) by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine and *Linguistic Ecology* (1996) by Peter Muhlhäusler have been especially useful in helping Westerners to understand the connection between globalization and the loss of linguistic diversity—and how conserving linguistic diversity is essential to conserving biodiversity.

Several of these Third World activists have recently given personal accounts of how their attempts to introduce Paulo Freire's approach to fostering literacy and consciousness raising led to their realization that Freire's ideas were based on Western cultural assumptions and that his approach represented yet another example of colonization—again, in the name of progress and emancipation. These essays can be found in *Rethinking Freire: Globalization and the Environmental Crisis* (2005), edited by C. A. Bowers and Frederique Apffel-Marglin.

Other sources of influence that have led to the present understanding of or approaches to educational reform centered on ecojustice and revitalization of the

commons include the Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and the Alfred Schutz tradition of the sociology of knowledge. *The Sociology of Knowledge* (1967) by Berger and Luckmann was especially important in that it explained the role of language in the construction of a taken-for-granted, socially shared view of everyday reality. Edward Shils's *Tradition* (1981) was essential to understanding the complexity of the everyday traditions that we rely upon—and that go largely unnoticed because of their taken-for-granted status. His book was especially important to our current effort to understand that the revitalization of the commons and the forces promoting its enclosure represent traditions that need to be made explicit so that those that are undermining the commons can be made explicit and democratically challenged. These books, along with books on the metaphorical nature of language—for example, Richard Harvey Brown's *A Poetic for Sociology* (1977), Andrew Ortony's *Metaphor and Thought*, (1979), and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980)—have provided a way of understanding how language carries forward earlier patterns of culturally specific ways of thinking, as well as how language encodes and intergenerationally reproduces the moral values of the culture. They also have provided a basis for recognizing the constructivist theories of learning that assumed that knowledge is constructed by individuals, and that individual autonomy should be the goal of radical approaches to educational reform, were fundamentally at odds with the reality of culturally constructed knowledge, which the individual may question, reinterpret, and/or misinterpret but for the most part take for granted.

The origins of thinking that led eventually to making ecojustice and the revitalization of the commons the central foci of educational reforms can be traced back to C. A. Bowers's *Cultural Literacy for Freedom* (1974), which presented the argument that educators can only address the systemic causes of the ecological crisis as they help students to recognize the cultural assumptions that were contributing to overshooting the sustaining capacity of natural systems. More recent educational writings on the need to address the cultural roots of the ecological crisis include David Orr's *Ecological Literacy* (1992), Gregory Smith's *Education and the Environment* (1992), and Gregory

Cajete's *Look to the Mountain* (1994). Smith's writings focused on the importance of educational reforms that strengthen the sense of connection to place and community, while Orr's work focused on the need for a more intelligent understanding of ecological design. Cajete's contribution was in presenting the indigenous approaches to environmental education that are still practiced in communities across the land. One of the first books to introduce the idea that an understanding of the environmental commons should be part of the curriculum was Mitchell Thomashow's *Ecological Identity* (1995). In *Our Common Illiteracy* (2002), Rolf Jucker combined an in-depth critique of how global capitalism is undermining the earth's natural systems with a series of recommendations for the reforms that need to be introduced at all levels of our educational institutions. Rebecca Martusewicz's *Seeking Passage* (2001) reflects her deep rootedness in the sociology of knowledge, as well as in the ideas of Gilles Deleuze, Michel Serres, and Gregory Bateson. She has been especially focused on overturning the idea of the individual as a rational agent acting on a nonintelligent world, and on highlighting the importance of context and the generative role that difference plays in human-nature relationships.

Others who have added to our understanding of how the revitalization of the commons contributes to the achievement of greater ecojustice in the world, as well as the implications for educational reforms, include David Gruenewald, who writes on the importance of connecting place-based educational reforms with the emancipatory agenda of critical pedagogy theorists, and C. A. Bowers, who has written a number of books that explain how constructivist theories of education contribute to undermining the world's commons. Bowers's work also explores how western universities are complicit in the globalization of the West's economic and consumer-dependent culture, and suggests the nature of reforms that must be undertaken in teacher education programs if the revitalization of the commons is to be taken seriously. Important contributions to how an understanding of ecojustice issues can be incorporated into teacher education courses are currently being made by Jennifer Thom, Kathleen Pemberton, Kate Wayne, Elaine Riley-Taylor, Amanda Phillips, Karen Ferneding, Bob Farrell, Eugene Provenzo, and Jeff Edmundson.

Edmundson has undertaken the most comprehensive approach to introducing an ecojustice/revitalization of the commons perspective into all of the courses being taken by students in a teacher education cohort at Portland State University.

Current Directions

Unlike place-based educational reforms, and the various approaches of constructivist learning advocates, the sociology of knowledge and the understanding of how the root metaphors of a culture reproduce earlier patterns of thinking have become central to ecojustice proposals for how teachers can become aware of how the ecological patterns of thinking that support the industrial culture are passed in the curriculum and in classroom conversation.

Educational reforms that contribute to the greater achievement of ecojustice through the revitalization of the commons can also be understood as contributing to the practice of an environmental ethic. These educational reforms are deeply moral in nature. They are also based on a tradition of both western and non-western ways of understanding moral reciprocity within the human and human-nature communities. In terms of the western tradition, Aldo Leopold's "land Ethic" and the writings of Wendell Berry, Gary Snyder, and Gregory Bateson have been the most formative. Again, our own cultural ways of understanding the practice of environmental ethics has been influenced by what we learned from the writings about non-western practices of an environmental ethic. The writings of Keith Basso, G. Bonfil Batalla, Loyda Sanchez, Grimaldo Gengifo, Vandana Shiva, and Helena Norberg Hodge have been especially useful in enabling us to see more clearly our own cultural patterns—and possibilities.

The relationship between the theory and classroom/community practices that contribute to a more ecologically sustainable future is explored in the online journal *The Ecojustice Review: Educating for the Commons*, which includes articles on the practice of an ecojustice pedagogy. The journal's Web site also contains an ecojustice dictionary that clarifies how words take on different meanings, depending upon whether their definitions are based on the assumptions that underlie

the West's industrial, consumer-dependent culture or on the assumptions that take account of the nature and diversity of the world's commons.

Chet Bowers and Rebecca Martusewicz

See also Cultural Pluralism; Globalization and Education; Social Justice, Education for

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The Ecojustice Review: Educating for the Commons:
<http://www.ecojusticeeducation.org>

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The study of the relationship between economic inequality and educational opportunity has been guided by at least three assumptions. First, education is a crucial factor in improving one's social and economic status. Second, the quality of schooling one receives is related to the degree of social and economic success one achieves. And, third, the society has some level of responsibility for the type and quality of schooling available to its citizens. Following a description of the historical context of the relationship of education to economic inequality, this entry discusses two opposing perspectives from which that relationship has been interpreted. To conclude, several key legislative decisions and educational reform movements related to economic inequality and the schools are summarized here.

Historical Context

Support for publicly funded education has, from its earliest attempts, been framed largely in terms of the need to provide for equal economic opportunity through equal educational opportunities. While couched in the language of religious salvation, even early mandatory education legislation, like the Massachusetts School Law of 1642 and the "Old Deluder Satan Act" of 1647, could be considered economic legislation, given the close tie between Puritan views of salvation and a person's work ethic and the fear that the poor and unchurched might be a threat to the social and economic order.

Certainly by the time of early nationhood the notion that education was closely tied to social mobility and personal advancement and should be available to all American citizens was well established. More importantly, what was established was the inconsistency between rhetoric calling for free public schooling and

new curricula and the reality that most educational ventures were actually local, erratically funded projects that were not available to large segments of society. From then on, the challenge to any claim that education can be an economic equalizer would involve understanding the relationship between the quality of schooling provided and future economic success, and coming to some agreement as to how to provide high quality educational opportunity to all citizens.

Two Conflicting Perspectives

Two perspectives have come to characterize the study of the relationship between schooling and economic inequality. One is sometimes called a functionalist perspective. This perspective, often associated with conservative political and economic ideology, assumes that one of the roles of the school is to justify inequalities in society by explaining that wealth and status are the proper rewards of educational attainment. An underlying understanding is that the degree of educational and economic success people attain is due largely, if not solely, to the choices they make and their inherent or natural gifts. From this perspective, failure to attain one's economic goals through education is due less to any societal inequity than to the personal qualities of the individual or the technical or professional failings of individual teachers and schools. Among the influential contemporary advocates of this position are Diane Ravitch, Chester Finn, and William Bennett. In recent years, this position has also provided the sociological and ideological bases for proponents of educational vouchers, school choice, and other market-based reforms.

It follows then that for schools to do a better job of bringing about economic equality, they need to strive for greater personal and institutional accountability, responsibility, and efficiency. This can happen by helping students make better personal choices and take on new skills and values, or when schools are seen as the cause of students' failures, may be a matter of correcting the school's low expectations or forcing schools to become more efficient and effective or close their doors as a result of free market competition with other schools of choice.

An alternative analytical framework is based on the notion that economic inequality is the result not so

much of individual choice or limitation as of well-established societal barriers to economic advancement. From this perspective, often associated with liberal or progressive political and economic ideology, the critique of the relationship of public education and economic inequality is systemic in nature and seeks to expose those deeply rooted barriers and the role played by schools in reinforcing the cultural assumptions and values that sustain them.

The more radical statement of this perspective argues that schools are among the social institutions that reinforce the existing social and economic order and are relatively powerless to correct economic inequities. Schools reward qualities like passivity and obedience and discourage creativity and spontaneity because that is what a capitalist economy demands. Even critics sympathetic to this general position realize that such an interpretation fails to take into account the ways in which existing schools can undermine capitalist goals and overlooks the potential of individuals to actively resist the control of others and construct their own futures.

What has emerged in recent years is a more refined and empowering critique of the school's role in reinforcing economic inequality. This includes an emphasis on an analysis of the roles played by individuals in succumbing to or resisting dominant groups; the relationships between social class, race, and gender; and the development of what has been called a *critical pedagogy*. This refers to ways of teaching that are intended to help people to become more aware of their cultural, political, and economic context and those systemic factors that lead to discrimination or oppression. They then learn ways in which literacy and other intellectual tools can be used to bring about economic and political change.

Some Key Events

Perhaps the earliest, deliberate attempt to create equal educational opportunity and erase some social class barriers was Thomas Jefferson's attempt to pass his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge in 1778. In the bill he proposed a system of free schooling through the university level based solely on the merit and achievement of the students. Another important

step toward equality of opportunity intended to address economic inequalities was the “common school” movement that began in the late 1830s. While the primary motivation behind the movement was to create a uniform system of schools in which all American young people, especially recent immigrants, would be steeped in common American values, it was also argued that if poor immigrant children had access to free public schooling they would be able to increase their education level and, thereby, their economic and social standing. Both efforts are not without critics who argue that simple access to schooling cannot overcome the advantages of wealth; it is clear that at least the rhetoric acknowledged existing inequalities and the need to lessen them.

Any discussion of attempts to address economic inequality through education must include the efforts of the federal government during the 1950s and 1960s. An important step was the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which acknowledged the connection between race and economic and educational inequality and declared that racially segregated schools were unconstitutional and could not provide equality of educational opportunity. The 1966 *Equality of Educational Opportunity* study, which is often called the “Coleman Report,” further documented the inequality in schools based on the economics of individual communities, and the federal government responded with a variety of well-funded legislation designed to provide additional educational opportunities and resources to children in poverty. The government’s actions extended to other social spheres and institutions as well.

Few critics or defenders of public education will argue that schools have had a lasting impact on lessening economic inequalities, especially given recent data that shows the gap between rich and poor to be increasing. Recently, efforts to lessen economic inequality have gone in at least three directions. The federal government, through the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, has turned its efforts to demanding that schools be more accountable to and have higher expectations for the achievement of poor and minority students. The government is also attempting to assist a second approach that is more populist in tone and direction, the creation of charter schools designed to use public

money to create schools tailored to special interests and local needs and the funding of voucher programs that allow parents in low-achieving schools to move their children to the school of their choice. A third trend involves challenging the constitutionality of state policies that fund public education primarily through local property taxes, since that practice is considered by some to be one of root causes of inequality of educational opportunity by ensuring that schools in wealthy communities and large tax bases will always have more than those located in poor communities with little source of consistent funding.

Rick A. Breault

See also Civil Rights Movement; Compensatory Education; Critical Theory; Hegemony; Sociology of Education

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EDUCATION, AIMS OF

Educational aims express the social and developmental outcomes that schools hope to achieve. Herbert Spencer approached educational aims through the question, *What knowledge is of most worth?* This and the following related questions have long been central to educational scholarship. Why are certain types of learning valued over others? Should schools strive for critical thinking or cultural literacy? Should they seek practical relevance or academic rigor? Should schools prepare students to accept social norms and the responsibilities of adult life? Should they prepare students to reform society through civic participation and activism? Or are all of these aims equally important?

Some educational writers treat the terms *aims* and *objectives* as synonymous. Objectives, however, are usually more specific than aims because the former are justified largely on the basis of how they contribute to a particular discipline or subject area. Knowledge of grammar, for example, might be justified as an objective of the English language arts if it contributes to literacy. In contrast, aims typically go beyond subject matter to ask, at a more general level, who benefits and how. To what use, for example, should literacy be put? Why is it valued, by whom, and in what contexts? Must everyone learn grammar? Why or why not? This entry examines educational aims as broad statements of intended outcomes and desires. It discusses how social and developmental needs serve as key sources of educational aims, and it addresses how these aims function within education to inform both its theory and practice.

Sources of Educational Aims

Socrates was one of the earliest western thinkers to explicitly link education and social needs. He argued that a good education could not be formulated directly without first addressing the question of what constitutes a good society. A clear understanding of the good society would then provide the logical foundations for determining educational aims. This approach places education largely in the service of the state and its citizens, a perspective widely evident today as schools are called upon to address an ever increasing range of social needs—from the nation's economic security to responsible citizenship.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and child-centered progressives such as John Dewey would later challenge the adequacy of social needs as the sole basis for education. Albeit for different reasons, both Rousseau and Dewey sought to balance the needs of society with needs of individuals. This balance is well illustrated in the National Education Association's 1918 report, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The report lists seven educational aims: (1) health, (2) command of the fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character. Today's curriculum may seem less generously conceived, but concerns over individual

needs are still widely evident in the guise of human development training, in constructivist theories of learning, and in concepts such as self-actualization.

How Aims Contribute to Education

Theorists and the public at large rarely agree over what counts as a social need, and even developmental needs often spark controversy. Nevertheless, aims remain squarely at the center of education. The intractable importance of aims can be understood by recognizing the key roles that aims play in both the theory and practice. Theory and practice in education are closely related, much like two sides of the same coin or like the rows and columns that define each cell in the table as informed by both types of activity.

Theory, the first dimension, is used here to include the competing schools of thought that are found in common approaches to conceptualizing curriculum and instruction. These approaches include, for example, essentialism, perennialism, social adaptation, social reconstructionism, constructivism, and progressivism. Space does not allow a full description of these approaches other than to suggest that each approach is distinguished largely on the basis of the educational aims it adopts. In essentialism, for example, the primary aims of education are to bequeath our cultural heritage as it is represented in the academic disciplines. In perennialism, the aims are to cultivate the intellect and promote rational thinking. In social adaptation, schools are to prepare individuals in ways that will make them fit for the roles of adult life. In social reconstruction, schools are to promote justice and equity through social reform. Constructivism and progressivism seek individual development for participation in democratic life. Many of these aims clearly overlap. Yet, each approach possesses enough distinctiveness and coherence to give its proponents their own sense of identity and rallying points. Moreover, the aims of each approach hold far-reaching implications for the practical work of program design.

Program design is the second dimension of education, in which aims play a necessary and leading role. For more than fifty years, the chief paradigm for program design has been the "Tyler rationale," named for Ralph W. Tyler, the author of the highly influential

book *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1950). In this slim volume, Tyler organized program design around four questions. First, what aims should schools seek to attain? Second, what experiences will be useful in attaining these ends? Third, how can these experiences best be organized? Fourth, how can the effectiveness of these experiences be evaluated? In this approach, aims not only come first, but they require almost half of total number of pages that Tyler's book devotes to the whole design process. Moreover, the four steps are sequenced so that experiences and organization follow directly from program aims, and the program itself is finally evaluated by comparing its outcomes with its original aims. Thus, one could argue that once aims are determined, the remainder of the design work is largely mechanical or at least prefigured by the first step of specifying aims.

The preceding discussion is meant to highlight two key functions of educational aims. First, aims tether education broadly to social life and individual well-being. Second, aims guide the basic approaches and processes of educational design. Because contemporary education is dominated by talk of standards and high-stakes testing, aims talk seems to be on the wane. In particular, content standards and test scores are often assumed to be important without questioning why, for whom, or under what circumstances. But if history is our guide, the perennial and complex questions that surround educational aims will not quickly yield to simple and expedient remedies.

David J. Flinders

See also Philosophy of Education

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EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

The history of education is the study of the origin and evolution of organized learning in the lives of individuals, groups, institutions, and nations. The field attempts to assess the values and behaviors of systems of education, their achievements and dysfunctions. In this sense, the field is akin to other social scientific approaches to education, such as sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science. It is not too much of an overstatement to say that the field is concerned with the vast cultural terrain between theories about how education should work and what children and adults actually do with what they have learned. Rather than recounting the history of education, this entry looks at the field of study and its principal scholars.

Describing the Subject

How and why did education arrive at this contemporary set of conditions, structures, and policies? This is the driving question of History of Education. To make sense of the present, historians of education research questions about the grand plans, events, and controversies of the past. The point is to describe and explain how those educational heritages have shaped contemporary assumptions and practices.

Historians ask, for example: Who and what have exerted the most influence on the way we currently conceive educational problems and solutions? Which groups have enjoyed access to quality education? Who has been denied equality of educational opportunity and why? How and why have movements to reform schools succeeded or failed? These are the kinds of inquiries that motivate historians to discover the past and organize it into coherent narratives.

A Humanistic Inquiry

But historians are not focused exclusively on contemporary educational problems. A second important aspect of the field is less related to the social sciences and is a kind of humanistic inquiry. In this frame of mind, historians of education ask questions about educational traditions—attempting to address the past

on its own terms and for its own sake. The human condition presupposes intergenerational communication and training for the young. The humanistic study of the educational past takes this intergenerational encounter as its starting point. Connecting the past to the present becomes, therefore, a secondary consideration, a minor concern.

This humanistic purpose is served by investigating the unfamiliar educational worlds of the past. The point is to better understand the circumstances educators have faced and the cultural forms they have adopted to prepare their children for an uncertain future. Bernard Bailyn believes that historians should not apologize for these humanistic and at times antiquarian inclinations. For Bailyn, the study of history begins with the idea that the past was essentially different from the present.

What all of these historians assume is that education was and remains a complicated, mediating, moral, and political human invention. Education is complicated by the fact that historically it has taken many forms and served many purposes. It is a mediating institution, shaped by assumptions about what makes for good lives within the context of a good and evolving society.

Education is a moral enterprise in that its justification proceeds from elders' desire for a better future in an improved world for "favored" members of a younger generation. Education is political in the sense that educational resources are not distributed in isolation from a political process. Political interests define who is favored and who is neglected in the conflicted allocation of financial, social, and intellectual capital to communities, schools, and students. Historians begin their work, therefore, with the assumption that education cannot be researched in isolation from the visions of preferred ways of living, model communities, and idealized futures that are embedded in educational theory and political realities.

Admittedly, this agenda is grand and perhaps grandiose. Historians of education alternate between granular, empirical analysis of single high schools and rarefied interpretations of national reform movements. They ask about the connective tissues among a single community's students, textbooks, teachers, and schools. They inquire about systems of thought and

institutional arrangements at an expansive societal level. They do their work on unwieldy, multileveled stages, hoping to understand the many functions education has served.

Historians of education operate with theoretical premises that inform their choices of researchable questions and influence how they categorize data and reach conclusions. Carl Kaestle argues that these premises usually occupy a "middle ground" between overarching social theories and antitheoretical narratives that purport to stick to the facts for the purpose of telling a good story.

No Single Version

The expression "*the* history of education" is misleading, since the manifold circumstances of time and place, to say nothing of the daunting archives of evidence, have made comprehensive narratives virtually impossible. The most encompassing single interpretation is James Bowen's exceptional *A History of Western Education* (three volumes). Bowen offers a transcontinental tour of educational ideas and institutions from ancient Mesopotamia to Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock*.

A single, definitive narrative of education in a nation as old and diverse as the United States has been difficult to conceive and implement. What exists are *histories* of education, analytic chronicles that are thematically organized and set in a national or regional context. Historians value both the majestic synthesis and the revelatory case study, and the lack of the latter is cause for concern.

Historians worry about "presentism" in their work, the fallacy of mining the past to justify a desired version of the present or imagined model of the future. The historian's dilemma is a real one. Isolate oneself too far from the present and the field becomes anachronistic. Adhere too closely to the issues of the month, and the field's well-earned temporal detachment and hard-earned perspectives are compromised.

Ruminating on this dilemma in 1978, Warren Button foresaw no easy way out. The dilemma, in Button's view, is a historian's professional fate. He argued that historians could not extricate themselves from the dual responsibility of understanding the past on its

own terms and using their expertise to provide better ways to think about current educational problems.

Problematics of the Field

Academic fields are defined and bedeviled by their “problematics,” and the history of education is no exception. “Problematics” are those core questions, disciplinary boundaries, methodologies, and instances of “specified ignorance” that guide the research agendas of practicing scholars.

When there is substantial agreement among practitioners about core problematics, a field can mature by generating knowledge, resolving important questions, renewing its research agenda, and gaining the regard of scholars outside of the field. If there is substantial disagreement, then a field may be absorbed by other fields, fail to train a next generation of researchers, or become irrelevant to contemporary scholarly exchange.

The history of education is a field in which there is both significant agreement and disagreement about problematics. A consequence is that the field occupies an ambiguous position in the larger conversation about the exasperating intergenerational challenge known as education. As the educational historian John Rury has argued, the field is somewhat odd and isolated, not entirely embraced by either the professional world of teaching or academic history departments and their major professional organizations.

On the one hand, there has been a rough consensus that the history of education is a project focused on schooling within nations, although some attention has been paid to cross-national comparisons. It is commonly assumed that historians of education will publish their work in traditional genres: biographies, case studies, scholarly articles, thematic monographs, institutional histories, grand narratives, and documentary histories. Periodization, at least in the context of the United States, has not been a cause of significant contention.

But there have been sharp disagreements over core disciplinary issues. The publication of Lawrence Cremin’s *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980*, the third and final volume of his grand narrative on the history of American education, provided the occasion for an intense and unsettling

exchange. In a *History of Education Quarterly* Forum on *The Metropolitan Experience*, Robert Church criticized Cremin’s work, recognizing it as the most comprehensive existing history of American education but voicing chagrin that it expressed ambivalence and distaste for the political project of providing equal education opportunity. British historian Harold Silver concurred with Church, calling Cremin the “ultimate de-schooler,” and concluding that *The Metropolitan Experience* looked to the future more than the past.

Cremin vigorously defended his interpretation and the definition of education that he had steadfastly employed throughout his career. Cremin offered a broad view of education as the systematic and ongoing effort to communicate knowledge, skills, and values, as well as its results. This formulation is only slightly narrower than that of Bernard Bailyn, who had defined education as the process in which a culture reproduces itself into the future.

Cremin’s definition gave him wide latitude to connect people, events, and institutions to the intellectual and cultural climate of their times. He argued that the field of the history of education needed to liberate itself from the narrow institutionalism, anachronism, and moralism of teacher training institutions. Cremin rejected the laudatory “lives of the saints” approach to history of education. Concerned about the field’s isolation, he demonstrated one strategy for connecting the field to a larger landscape of European and American ideas, ideals, and institutional arrangements. In the end, Michael B. Katz posed the most serious challenge to Cremin, arguing that Cremin’s broad definition actually impeded research and had brought the field to a state of crisis. Its broadness posed an impossible challenge for historians.

Cremin and his critics had reached a stalemate. School curricula and soap operas both engage in the deliberate transmission of attitudes, values, and sensibilities. Which of the two is more important to study and why? Without a clear and compelling answer to these questions, what was to prevent the history of education from dissolving into cultural studies? On the other hand, if school agendas expressed the political agendas of dominant groups writ small and camouflaged with manipulative rhetoric, then what else was there to understand?

Given these issues, it is reasonable to ask: What is the payoff for undertaking this research, for studying this field? What value can the history of education deliver to other disciplinary investigations and scholarly exchanges about education? The answers to these questions require elaboration but can be stated concisely. Historians can describe and explain the influential, the significant, change and structure, and contradictory trends and offer a detached and reasoned perspective.

Historians disentangle complicated, cross-cutting historical trends. They sort out events that seem to contradict each other and establish distinctions and contexts in which the contradictions can coexist and be connected by a new historical logic. In a nation such as the United States, a climate of national crisis overlaps with local moods of relative contentment about public education. Historians can therefore provide valuable perspectives on the nature of educational criticism itself. When is it on target and fair? When is it misinformed and excessive?

What Merton calls strategic research materials (SRMs) are also an important aspect of problematics. A field's evidence makes up the most significant part of what it brings forward for public and professional consideration. These discovered and organized data are what scholars present in support of their claims, arguments, and conclusions.

The Future of the Field

To speculate about the future of the field is to ask whether it consists of a disorganized mass of case studies, institutional histories, and single-issue, regional monographs or whether it provides some depth of knowledge or breadth of understanding that might engage the interest of scholarly or public audiences. The history of the field suggests that no single structure or perspective unites the diverse field. Historians will continue to work in areas where their talents and their intellectual interests merge. The questions are these: Can those talents and interests be better directed at defining and enriching the field, and can historians negotiate a more central role in scholarly and public debates about the future of education?

It is important for the professional credibility of historians to participate in scholarly and public deliberations about how current educational problems are framed and which solutions are being considered. Without these engagements, historians' valuable perspectives on influence, significance, and contradictory trends and criticism will be lost.

But the quality of historians' participation will depend on the quality of the field's problematics: the core questions, the specified ignorance, the definitions, explanatory models, and the strategic research materials. Energetic attention to and some degree of consensus about these foundational issues can yield useful directions for the history of education.

It will continue to be important for scholars and the public to understand the various ambitions, implementations, and results of educational reform. Historians are uniquely positioned to engage scholars and the public in discussions of how and why change has proceeded well and badly. Diane Ravitch's *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* is a cautionary tale. She emphasizes how often reforms have become paths of least resistance, lowering academic standards, embracing social problems and passing along underprepared students to the next tier in the system.

Larry Cuban and David Tyack's *Tinkering Toward Utopia* is insightful about the stages of reform—policy talk, policy action, and implementation. And it details how schools change reforms, sticking to the plan without taking care of unintended outcomes. In American education there will be continuing tensions between systems and reforms, and historians have the expertise to ask whether schools have the capacity, the focus, and the commitment to avoid faddish programs where durable solutions are needed.

Historians who employ a developmental framework will find that their work dovetails with the longitudinal studies of social scientists interested in questions of when and how education matters over the life course. Sociologist Katherine Newman, for example, has completed a third set of follow-up studies of Harlem's working poor, *Chutes and Ladders*, which provides multiple perspectives on how some students succeeded while others did not.

Similarly, the work of David Lavin and David Hyllegard suggests that educational interventions later

in the life course of adults, such as those offered by the City University of New York (CUNY) in its open admissions programs of the early 1970s, can have an impact on a city or region's social structure by increasing the number of people in minority communities who have a college degree. Henry Drewry and Humphrey Doermann's *Stand and Prosper* documents the role that historically Black colleges and universities have played in building a civic leadership class in urban centers such as Atlanta and Charlotte.

Finally, it will be important for historians to develop ways of understanding the emerging interplay between globalization and education. Thomas Friedman's "flat world" envisions a future in which anyone can take part in communications, both creative and not. If brick and mortar institutions lose their hold on future generations of students, how will the history of that dramatic change be researched and written?

John G. Ramsay

See also Educational Research, History of

See Visual History (all)

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EDUCATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Like any discipline, educational anthropology is a network of individual scholars, a kinship group, linked by common theoretical frameworks and research interests as well as reflected in the professional organization's structure through which it disseminates scientific inquiry. The field begins, grows, and changes through the work of these scholars as knowledge and methodologies of research are passed down through formal and informal mentoring of the next generation of scholars. These networks of researchers are reflected in the organizational structure of the field, in this case, in the Council on Anthropology and Education (CAE), a unit within the American Anthropological Association (AAA). This entry examines the history, organization, and key theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions of the field.

The Formative Years

The anthropology of education is an interdisciplinary field that has its roots in nineteenth-century anthropology and became structured over the course of the twentieth century through the engagement of anthropologists and educators as they examined notions of culture, particularly in non-western groups.

Anthropological interests in educational problems, practices, and institutions can be traced back to Edgar I. Hewett's articles in the *American Anthropologist* titled "Anthropology and Education" (1904) and "Ethnic Factors in Education" (1905). In these papers, Hewett recommended the incorporation of ethnological and cultural history within the course of study in public schools, joint meetings of national education and anthropology societies to discuss mutual problems, and the inclusion of anthropological studies in the training of teachers.

As early as 1913 Maria Montessori drew on work in physical anthropology to inform her work with children, which stressed a developmental process,

respect for individual differences in growth and function, and the study of local conditions in the development of her notion of "pedagogical anthropology." In his 1928 *Anthropology and Modern Life*, Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, argued for anthropological research to be used by educators to better understand cultural notions of child development.

From the 1890s through the early 1950s anthropologists engaged in intensive fieldwork in small communities using participant observation of everyday life to understand the culture or ways of life of a particular group. Using these ethnographic methods enabled researchers to detail what they believed to be the "total way of life" of a group including the use of language, enculturation of their young, and ways formal and informal education took place within these groups. Anthropologists working during this time period were particularly interested in cultural maintenance (how cultures were continued across generations) as well as cultural acquisition (how people got culture). These researchers often reported on the life-cycle development from birth through childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, and elderhood and focused on learning and teaching in all aspects of the culture. Much of this early descriptive work was an effort to capture indigenous cultures before they were transformed through contact with other cultures, particularly western cultures.

Elizabeth Eddy (1985) described 1925 through 1954 as the formative years of anthropology and education, when many anthropologists were engaged in studies documenting formalized systems of education and the enculturation of the child. Major anthropologists contributing to this body of work include Gregory Bateson, Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, John Dollard, John Embree, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Felix Keesing, Ralph Linton, Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Hortense Powdermaker, Paul Radin, Robert Tedfield, Edward Sapir, W. Lloyd Warner, and John Whiting.

Social anthropologist Ruth Benedict, a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University, wrote *Patterns of Culture* (1934), a major work in the personality and culture school, arguing that each culture had a "personality" consisting of certain traits that were encouraged or enculturated into individuals within the culture.

When Benedict was on the faculty at Columbia, she worked with Margaret Mead, whose research also focused on personality and culture as well as childrearing in works such as *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935).

In the 1940s when studies of culture and personality were central to anthropological work, a six-year social-action research program on Indian personality, education, and administration was initiated by the U.S. Department of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. It was first established in cooperation with the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, and later with the Society for Applied Anthropology. This interdisciplinary study to collect scientific data from 1,000 Indian children in twelve reservations representing five tribes became the basis for preparing recommendations to improve policies in Indian education and administration.

The work of these anthropologists who examined education within cultures was shared in a series of conferences between 1930 and 1954, thus facilitating the growth of the field of anthropology and education. In 1930, Edward Sapir and John Dollard conducted a seminar on the impact of culture on personality at Yale University. This initiative was followed in 1934 with the Hanover Conference on Human Relations, in which researchers examined enculturation and socialization of the child, and in that same year, the Education and Culture Contacts Conference at Yale where A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and others addressed the theme of adapting education to individual and community needs. Two years later, Felix Keesing organized a five-week study conference at the University of Hawaii in which sixty-six educators and social scientists from twenty-seven nations examined problems of education and adjustment among peoples of the Pacific.

While much of the early work was done with non-western groups, anthropologists and sociologists began ethnographic examinations of educational settings in the United States with mainstream communities. Two examples of early work within these school and community settings are Robert and Helen Lynd's classic *Middletown: A Study in Modern American*

Culture (1929) and August Hollingshead's *Elmtown's Youth* (1949).

During the first half of the twentieth century, relationships between anthropologists and educators in major universities laid the groundwork for the field of anthropology of education. Hervé Varenne noted that by the 1930s courses in anthropology were offered as part of the foundations of education, with anthropologist Margaret Mead establishing a long association with Columbia University's Teachers College. After World War I, researchers increasingly turned their attention to communities, schools, and other institutions in industrialized societies with the aim of understanding the structures and socialization of youth in these community and school contexts. Work in culture and personality diminished as psychological anthropology and cognitive anthropology became a focus of study among anthropologists. For example, the work of John and Beatrice Whiting, cultural anthropologists at Harvard University, documented comparative child development and the influence of culture on human development. Perhaps their most well-known work, *Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis* (1963), which examines childrearing and children's behavior through ethnographic data collected in Mexico, India, Kenya, New England, Okinawa, and the Philippines, is a classic study in the field.

There was a growing interest in the social sciences on inequalities in education for specific cultural groups of children and the role of educators in perpetuating these unequal consequences of schooling. Anthropologists used ethnographic methods in educational contexts to critically examine how schooling was enacted in communities for different groups of students. In 1949, Mead organized the Educational Problems of Special Cultural Groups Conference at Teachers College. Solon Kimball joined the faculty in 1953, as did other anthropologists, to establish a strong anthropological presence at that institution that continues in its current program in anthropology and education. Stanford, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania developed in parallel, with anthropologists working within schools of education training the next generations of researchers and K-12 teachers equipped with anthropological understandings of schooling for diverse groups of children.

Organizational History of the Council on Anthropology and Education

From 1950 to 1970, the field of anthropology moved to a more formal organizational structure first through a series of conferences and finally to the founding of the Council on Anthropology and Education in 1970. This section describes events within this period, incorporating discussions of major themes and research contributions within this emerging field.

A figural event for the field of anthropology and education was the June 9–14, 1954, conference sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation at Carmel Valley Ranch, California, which brought together twenty-two anthropologists and educators to examine the relevance and relationships between these two fields and explore ways each could contribute to the other. Formal papers were presented by James Quillen, George Spindler, Bernard Siegel, John Gillin, Solon Kimball, Cora DuBois, C. W. M. Hart, Dorothy Lee, Jules Henry, and Theodore Brameld. Anthropologists who participated in the discussions included Margaret Mead, Alfred Kroeber, Louise Spindler, and Roland and Marianne Force. Participants included educators William Cowley, Lawrence Thomas, Arthur Coladarci, Fannie Shaftel, Lawrence Frank, Hilda Taba, and Robert Bush, and psychologist William Martin.

According to George Spindler, the 1954 conference consolidated and systematically focused attention on educational issues that had been raised in earlier anthropological work, but not pursued. In that sense, the conference was the beginning of the formal period of an anthropology of education. The original papers presented at the conference, as well as the substance of the discussions, were compiled in Spindler's *Education and Anthropology* (1955). In his introductory chapter, Spindler summarized ways anthropology could contribute to understanding educational problems, arguing for more analysis of the interrelationships between educational systems, educative processes, and social structures, as well as for inclusion in the foundations of education courses within teacher and administrator training programs. He argued that since anthropologists in the United States had only recently been interested in their own society, anthropological

contributions to understanding educational problems in American society had yet to be made.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA), with support from the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, and other foundation sources, held a series of conferences in the 1960s where anthropologists and educators began to systematically focus on educational issues and contexts. At the request of Francis A. J. Ianni, Deputy Commissioner for Research in the U.S. Office of Education, Stanley Diamond (Syracuse University) initiated the Culture of Schools Program, sponsoring a 1966 Culture of Schools Conference at Syracuse University, the first of two conferences sponsored by the AAA. The program included statements from participants who provided early organizational leadership to the emerging field of anthropology and education: Jacquetta H. Burnett (University of Illinois), John H. Chilcott (University of Arizona), Elizabeth Eddy (Hunter College), Estelle S. Fuchs (Hunter College), Fred Gearing (University of California, Riverside), Solon T. Kimball (Teachers College, Columbia University), Eleanor Leacock (Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn), and Murray Wax (University of Kansas).

After a year and a half, the Culture of Schools Program was transferred to AAA, while maintaining the support of the Office of Education, where it became the Program in Anthropology and Education (PAE), which was directed by Fred Gearing and Murray Wax from 1967 to 1969. Under the auspices of PAE, Gearing and Wax used Wenner-Gren funding to initiate a set of major and minor conferences including AAA's second sponsored conference, the National Conference on Anthropology and Education, which was held in Miami Beach on May 9–12, 1968. The organizing committee was composed of Malcolm Collier (AAA's National Science Foundations funded Anthropology Curriculum Study Project), Charles Frantz (AAA), Frederick Gearing (University of California, Riverside), and Murray Wax (University of Kansas).

Nine papers were presented at this conference by early leaders in the field: Daniel G. Freedman (University of Chicago), Frederick Gearing, John C. Holt (Boston University), Dell Hymes (University of Pennsylvania), Vera John (Yeshiva University), Martin Orans (University of California, Riverside), Theodore

Parsons (University of California, Berkeley), Sherwood Washburn (University of California, Berkeley), and Murray Wax. Anthropologists Solon Kimball (Teachers College, Columbia University), Eleanor Leacock (Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn), Robert Textor (Stanford University), and Harry Wolcott (University of Oregon) served as respondents.

Conference participants proposed two specific tasks that were aimed at continuing to articulate this emerging field of anthropology of education to a broader audience: (1) a bibliography of source materials in the field of anthropology of education, and (2) a summer institute. These sponsored conferences established a system of communication among anthropologists and educators interested in the emerging field of anthropology and education.

A significant event in the formation of the field was the 1968 meetings of AAA in Seattle, Washington, where a session called the Ethnography of Schools was organized by John Singleton and chaired by George Spindler. This session brought together educational anthropologists from the Stanford and Columbia groups around the anthropological study of educational settings. An ad hoc group on Anthropology and Education was established and chaired by Solon Kimball. Over 120 AAA fellows and members formally constituted this group and established procedures for the immediate election of a permanent steering committee. Conrad Arensberg, Dell Hymes, George Spindler, Robert Textor, and Sherwood Washburn served as members of the temporary steering committee. While senior scholars known for their work in educational anthropology such as the Whitings, the Spindlers, Mead, Robert Havighurst, and Hollingshead were not participants in this meeting, some were represented by their students, Harry Wolcott and Charles Harrington. The ad hoc group formally established four working committees of persons whose special interests involved research and development work in (1) the cultural, linguistic, and biological study of school and community; (2) minority curricula improvement; (3) the training of anthropologists and educational anthropologists; and (4) the preparation of teachers and school administrators and curriculum planning incorporating anthropological perspectives.

This organizational meeting at the fall 1968 AAA conference was followed up by a February 8, 1969, steering committee meeting in Chicago where Murray Wax served as the chair and first president of the newly formed Council on Anthropology and Education. He wrote the final draft of CAE constitution that was published in May 1970 in the first volume of the *Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter*. This inaugural newsletter summarized the history of the field of anthropology and education by stating that CAE members had carried out John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt's 1904–1905 recommendation that anthropologists and educational researchers work together in the areas of their common interests. These activities included organizing symposia presentations for the American Anthropological Association, the American Educational Research Association, and other professional associations. The newsletter listed the group's research interests as the following: minority-group educational programs built on cultural difference rather than cultural pathology models, schools as social and cultural systems, relationships of education and poverty, generational conflict and cultural transmission, teaching of anthropology, linguistic and cognitive aspects of education, and what might be called "applied educational anthropology" in school systems, teaching materials, and teacher-training programs. It was the stated expectation of those involved in the organization of the Council on Anthropology and Education that research from those areas should contribute significantly to the development of anthropological theory and to the practical improvement of education.

In March 1970, in an effort to share their work with the educational research community, a number of anthropologists presented an overview of the field at the American Educational Research Association meeting through a symposium organized by Harry Wolcott, *Anthropological Approaches in Educational Research*, which included work representing major themes of the anthropological research at that time: sociolinguistic analyses of classroom interaction, cultural conflict in classrooms, ethnographic approaches to teacher education, and ethnographic methods in curriculum evaluation.

By 1971 the interest groups identified by the fledgling CAE in 1968 became the first four standing

committees of the Council on Anthropology and Education: (1) Anthropological Studies of Schools and Culture, (2) Cognitive and Linguistic Studies, (3) Graduate and Undergraduate Education in Anthropology (changed to Teaching Anthropology in 1972 and later to Anthropology of Post-secondary Education), (4) Minority Affairs (with divisions, including Black, Chicano, Native American, Women's Studies). Two more committees were later added: (5) Anthropology, Education, and the Museum, and (6) Preparation of Educators and Educational Materials.

Over the years, these committees changed names, and new committees were added to reflect the research interests of constituent members. The committee structure of the organization has remained relatively stable since its inception in the early 1970s and has served to provide its membership a means to contribute to the scientific program at the national meetings of CAE within the larger American Anthropological Association. Many of the papers presented were published in the *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, the official journal of the CAE that is disseminated to a broader academic community. This journal began as the council on *Anthropology and Education Newsletter* in 1970, became the *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly* in 1974, and four years later was renamed *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, a name it has maintained today.

The group committed to teaching of anthropology in PreK–12 settings as well as the preparation of resources and curricular materials began its work immediately with two annotated bibliographies, *Anthropology and Education: A General Bibliography* (1970) and *Anthropology and Education Annotated Bibliographic Guide* (1974), both intended to survey the anthropological research focused on formal and informal education. Those scholars committed to infusing anthropology throughout the K–16 curriculum organized sessions on undergraduate and graduate education in anthropology and teaching anthropology, as well as sessions for teachers on the contributions of anthropological research on education for their work in the classroom. Sessions like these continue to be offered by members of the Council on Anthropology and Education community.

Establishing the Field

While the field was engaged in organizational development, its contributing anthropologists and educators used ethnographic methods to study informal and formal educational settings. Anthropologists examined ways culture was transmitted through teaching and learning in communities and schools. As a reaction to the models of cultural deficit and cultural disadvantage that were at the core of the 1960s “War on Poverty,” anthropologists used their skills to examine cultural transmission in minority communities as well as the culture of mainstream schooling and the ways these cultures clashed.

Anthropologists of education argued that by understanding “culturally different students” research could inform teachers’ work within these communities. This research took the form of more traditional ethnography in schools and other educational settings with a focus on cultural transmission and anthropological studies of cognition and learning. Other anthropologists at the time used close analysis of language and interactions in classrooms to understand cultural mismatches between students and their teachers. In addition, some researchers worked extensively with teachers to use the tools of ethnographic inquiry teachers to understand cultures within their own classrooms as a means to provide more culturally congruent schooling for students from minority communities. A related theme in the field was the inclusion of anthropology in the K–12 and higher education curriculum to more broadly prepare citizens to understand ways culture is created, transmitted, and adapted in their daily lives. A brief discussion of each of these thematic strands in the anthropology and education literature follows.

Traditional structural functionalist ethnographies conducted in schools examined school structures as well as the relationships between communities and schools. Jules Henry, an anthropologist at Columbia, was an early contributor to the field through a number of articles focused on how learning and teaching takes place in cross-cultural settings. In his classic *Culture Against Man* (1963), Henry used anthropological methods to examine American culture of the 1950s, arguing that the competitive, hierarchical processes and interactions in schools he observed limited the development of

students' critical and creative abilities. This book influenced later ethnographers of schooling in work such as Estelle Fuch's *Teachers Talk* (1967), Louis Smith and William Geoffrey's *The Complexities of an Urban Classroom* (1968), Philip Jackson's *Life in Classrooms* (1968), Elizabeth Burke Leacock's *Teaching and Learning in City Schools* (1969), Elizabeth Eddy's *Becoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status* (1969), and Gerry Rosenfield's *Shut Those Thick Lips!: A Study of Slum School Failure* (1971).

Harry Wolcott's *A Kwakiutl Village and School* (1967) and Alan Peshkin's *Growing Up American: Schooling and the Survival of Community* (1978), as well as his later book *God's Choice: The Total World of a Christian Fundamentalist School* (1986), provided insights into how culture is learned, transmitted, and perhaps resisted through sociocultural interactions among participants within school structures and processes. Theoretical foundations for the field at that time included George Spindler's 1963 *Education and Culture: An Anthropological Approach*, his 1974 *Education and Cultural Process: Toward an Anthropology of Education*, Murray Wax, Stanley Diamond, and Fred Gearing's 1971 *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, Gearing's 1973 *Where We Are and Where We Might Go: Steps Toward a General Theory of Cultural Transmission*, Solon Kimball's 1974 *Culture and the Educative Process*, and Friedman Hansen's 1979 *Sociocultural Perspectives on Human Learning: Foundations of Educational Anthropology*.

The body of studies focused on the anthropology of learning or cognitive anthropological included early essays by Hansen, the Spindlers, and Erik Erickson on the centrality of learning to the concept of culture and in the discipline of anthropology. Erickson argued that deliberately taught cognitive learning should be of interest to anthropologists with a shift to the individual learning within the learning environment. Jean Lave's anthropological work on situated cognition, or how people use knowledge and problem-solving skills within formal learning contexts such as craft apprenticeships, serves as one example of the way anthropologists use observational data to understand learning and cognition in everyday life.

Another approach to educational anthropological research used sociolinguistic analyses of classroom

communications to explain the relationships between classroom interactions, culturally based communications, and school success and failure. Studies looked at cultural differences and cultural congruities or lack thereof between minority students and their mainstream teachers. Courtney Cazden, Vera John, and Dell Hymes's 1972 *Functions of Language in the Classroom* served as a key text for the examination of how verbal and nonverbal language is used by teachers to communicate with students in classrooms, particularly with students from different cultural groups. Educational anthropologists used these sociolinguistic, microethnographic approaches to examine teacher-student classroom interactions. For example, Kathryn Hu-pei Au and Cathie Jordan's work at the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Honolulu was central to the work that used participant observation and microanalysis of videotapes to argue that poor school achievement by many minority children is related to the nature of the teacher-student classroom interactions. Gerald Mohatt and Frederick Erickson reported in 1981 how they used microethnography to examine differences in native and non-native social interactional differences in two first-grade classrooms in northern Ontario in classrooms of Odawa and Ojibwa children. They argued that the different cultural backgrounds of the teachers established differences in the cultural organization of social relationships in that classroom, resulting in two different participation structures—with the native teacher providing a more culturally congruent setting that allowed more pauses, or "wait time," for increased student participation.

These studies all argued for a closer examination of schooling for culturally different (from mainstream White middle-class) students, and they called for culturally responsive pedagogies. Spindler's 1982 *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action* is a compilation of the first ethnographic studies in the field of anthropology and education. This volume served as a classic for students in schools of education. Frederick Erickson and Jeffrey Shultz's 1982 *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: Social Interaction in Interviews* used this microanalytic approach to interactions between educational counselors and their clients, illustrating

differential treatment based on the extent to which the client shared similar verbal and nonverbal communication styles.

Shirley Brice Heath's ethnographic study *Ways With Words* (1983) analyzed styles of questioning and speech interaction between parents and their children in two communities, Trackton, a working-class Black community, and Roadville, a middle-class White community. Her study documented differential use of language in these communities and involved teachers in analyzing and using community-based interactional styles with Trackton students. Her work with teachers as inquirers of their own contexts and practices demonstrated a model for training teachers to look ethnographically at their own classrooms and communities to better understand how to interact in ways that were culturally congruent with their students.

In contrast to micro-ethnographies of social interactions, anthropologists such as John Ogbu used macro community and historical analyses to explain variations in minority student performance. Ogbu's work, spanning almost three decades, began with *The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood* (1974), which theorized variation in minority student school performance through an analysis of the historical and cultural context of the particular group. He argued that minority students vary in their status as historically subordinated or migrant groups, and categorized them into (1) autonomous minorities who were born in the United States and no longer experience systematic discrimination despite cultural differences from mainstream; (2) voluntary immigrants or immigrant minorities who moved to the United States for economic, political, or religious opportunities and buy into mainstream work ethic and success in school as a means for economic advancement; and (3) involuntary or castelike immigrant minority groups incorporated into society forcibly either through conquest or colonization, and having experienced a long history of subordination and oppression based on the historical conditions and experience of the particular cultural group in the United States, and face a job ceiling constructed by a racist society that puts limits on their economic opportunities even if they are academically successful. Signithia Fordham built on Ogbu's theories in her

1991 ethnographic study of Black students' academic success at "Capital High School," a school located in a predominantly African American section of Washington, D.C. Fordham found that many students were coping with the burden of "acting White" and did poorly because they had difficulty reconciling school achievement and maintenance of African American cultural identity. What she called "fictive kinship" or "sense of peoplehood" was a compelling reason for these Black students to assign more importance to success with their peers and community than to success in the school community.

Also utilizing Ogbu's framework in an ethnographic study, Margaret Gibson conducted an ethnography, published as *Accommodation Without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School* (1988), in which she found that Sikhs in America were more serious about school and attained higher academic achievement than their European American classmates. She attributed their success to parental expectations, as well as to cultural values that placed respect for family and authority at a premium and enabled them to maintain their own community culture while accommodating successfully to Western school structures and practices. These studies that examined cultural transmission, learning and cognition, cultural differences between students and school contexts, and various theories to explain differential success of minority students were shared not only with the scientific community within the anthropological and educational spheres, but also with practicing teachers and administrators.

Critical and Postmodern Anthropology of Education

Since the late 1970s, educational anthropologists have been influenced by critical and postmodern theorists who reject claims to an objective truth, call into question functionalist notions of culture, and critique anthropologists' traditional roles in the communities they have studied as well as their representations of these communities. Critiques from within mainstream anthropology have raised issues around positionality, reflexivity, objectivity, and representation in ethnographic work in works such as George Marcus and Michael Fischer's *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental*

Moment in the Human Sciences (1986) and James Clifford and George Marcus's *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986).

During this same time period, macro-level theories of economic stratification, social class, power, and cultural structure—and the role of schooling in transmitting these class and cultural structures as well as resistance to them—shifted the focus of anthropologists of education toward more critical analyses of school contexts. Critical educational theories in the works of Michael Apple and Henry Giroux were particularly influential in the United States. In addition, theorists and researchers in the new sociology of education in Europe began using observational methods to understand how the explicit and implicit curriculum in schools transmitted cultural understandings to students. Jerome Karabel and Albert Halsey's *Power and Ideology in Education* (1977), Paul Willis's *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (1977), and Nell Keddie's *Classroom Knowledge* (1977) provided theoretical and empirical foundations for later critical ethnographies such as Dorothy Holland and Margaret Eisenhart's *Educated in Romance* (1990), Michelle Fine's *Framing Dropouts: Notes on the Politics of an Urban High School* (1991), and Douglas Foley's *Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Tejas* (1990). Critical, postmodern, poststructural, and feminist theories and analyses problematized traditional understandings of culture, how researchers study "the other," and the politics of representation.

Ethnography and Qualitative Research in Education

Educational research during the 1960s and 1970s was largely dominated by quantitative designs from psychology. Dissatisfied with analyses of educational problems that largely ignored local classroom and school contexts, the field of anthropology and education during this time captured the attention of educational researchers moving toward a closer examination of the culture of schooling and other educational settings. Using ethnographic and qualitative methods for this work, created a need for more attention to these methods in schools of education. Anthropologists of

education were ready to fill this need through their commitment to explicitly teach these methods to researchers and doctoral students.

Anthropologists of education have been at the forefront of the field of ethnography and qualitative research in education. The centrality of ethnographic methods in the formative years of the Council on Anthropology and Education continues to influence the work of scholars today. Anthropologists learning their craft in the early and mid-twentieth century typically received little formal training in research methods, so there were few texts to guide education researchers in ethnographic methods. Pertti Peltto and Gretel Peltto's *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry* (1978), Hortense Powdermaker's *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist* (1966), James Spradley's *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979) and *Participant Observation* (1980), and Rosalie Wax's *Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice* (1971) provided some guidance for new ethnographers.

Frederic Erickson's 1973 essay "What Makes School Ethnography 'Ethnographic'?" and his 1986 article "Qualitative Methods in Research on Teaching" articulated the ethnographic method in educational settings. Harry Wolcott's 1975 "Criteria for an Ethnographic Approach to Research in Schools" began his long involvement with training researchers in ethnographic methods. Judith Goetz and Margaret LeCompte's *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Education Research* (1984) is now a classic text in research design grounded in anthropological traditions. Margaret LeCompte, Wendy Millroy, and Judith Pressle's 1992 *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education* is another contribution to the field of qualitative research methods. Corrine Glesne and Alan Peshkin's *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction* (1992) used an anthropological field-method framework aimed at beginning researchers in the field, and it continues to be used in both undergraduate and graduate introductory courses in qualitative research methods.

Since the early 1990s, there has been an explosion of resources in the field of ethnography and qualitative research more generally, with hundreds of texts available to address general qualitative research methods as well as specific approaches to research

such as narrative, interview research of varying types, ethnomethodology, and arts-based research. This continually expanding literature certainly informs the way anthropologists of education now do their work, as is evidenced by the last decade of articles in the Council on Anthropology and Education's journal, *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*.

While the original research interests of educational anthropologists of the 1960s and 1970s remain—cultural transmission and acquisition, ethnographic approaches to schools and their communities, cultural contexts of language, literacy and cognition, multicultural and multilingual education as well as work focused on specific groups (e.g., Blacks, Latinos) and gender in education—the theories and methods informing this work have become more complex and nuanced, thus leading to work that is reflective, reflexive, and in collaboration with community members.

Kathleen deMarrais

See also Critical Theory; Educational Research, History of; Postmodernism; Qualitative Research

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EDUCATIONAL EQUITY: GENDER

For many years, researchers have been documenting the multiple ways in which girls and women are “shortchanged” in their schooling experiences. Today, there continue to be differences in schooling access, experiences, opportunities, and outcomes for girls and women in this country, and gender inequities can be found from grade school to graduate school. In spite of many years and many attempts to eradicate these inequities, girls and women still receive less recognition and encouragement in the classroom, fewer questions from and interactions with their teachers, and less representation—on classroom bulletin boards as well as in the curriculum.

Over the course of their schooling experiences, these inequities take their toll on female students, combining to insure that they receive less support for their academic confidence and success than male students receive. While there have been many advances for girls and women—socially, politically, economically, and

educationally—these advances sometimes mask the continuing discrepancies they face.

Today, girls are getting better grades, and women are entering college in increasing numbers; however, gender equity still has not been achieved. For example, although girls are performing better on math and science achievement tests, they continue to score lower on both verbal and mathematics sections of high-stakes tests such as the SAT, Advanced Placement exams, and the GRE. And while women are entering medical schools in increasing numbers, they continue to be concentrated in particular specializations that are female friendly and lower paying. Before these gender inequities can be addressed, an understanding is needed of the subtle, and not so subtle, ways in which girls and women continue to experience discrimination in their access, experiences, opportunities, and outcomes in schools and classrooms. This entry provides some background on gender discrimination, looks at Title IX legislation and its impact, and discusses other potential ways to address continuing discrimination.

Background

Gender discrimination and inequalities have been present in U.S. schools for centuries, largely reflective of similar patterns of discrimination and inequality present in the society at large. This can result in different experiences, expectations, and outcomes for many students. The very idea that girls and women should have access to education, especially to higher education, is in itself a relatively recent development in U.S. history. Until late in the 1800s, most women had few opportunities for education beyond elementary schooling, and when they were allowed to pursue advanced schooling, their access to schools and experiences there depended upon a system that was separate and unequal, much like that experienced by Blacks in this country. Today, girls are for the most part allowed to attend the same schools, take the same classes, and do the same activities as boys. However, the “equal” access girls currently enjoy often masks the continued discrimination and inequity that girls experience in schools.

There is much evidence about how traditional curricula, school and classroom interactions, and pedagogies work to disadvantage girls. The result is often a gender-biased classroom and/or school that (1) does not represent the experiences of girls and women in teaching and evaluation material; (2) instills the development of negative attitudes toward and thus an avoidance of particular content areas such as math and science in girls; (3) reinforces lower career aspirations for girls; (4) promotes and/or maintains an acceptance of sexual harassment; (5) relies heavily on gender stereotypes in classroom and school materials, practices, and/or interactions; (6) reinforces cultural stereotypes about girls and women; and (7) contributes to lower self-esteem for girls. These gender-based disparities and forms of discrimination do not apply to all classrooms and all schools, nor do they disadvantage all girls in the same ways, in part because identity is comprised of the intersection of many different characteristics. Social class can change the dynamics and impact of some of these factors, as can race and ethnicity or sexuality. In addition, many of these same disadvantages also apply to some male students, especially those who do not conform to traditional male gender norms.

Title IX

One of the more recent attempts to address gender discrimination was the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX is a comprehensive federal law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program or activity. Its principle objective is to prohibit the use of federal funding to support educational programs that engage in discriminatory practices on the basis of sex, and to provide individual students and teachers effective protection against those practices. The law requires educational institutions to create and maintain policies, practices, and programs that do not discriminate on the basis of sex. Under the scope of Title IX, it is expected that males and females will receive fair and equal treatment in all arenas of public schooling, including recruitment, admissions, course offerings and access, financial aid and scholarships, sexual harassment, extracurricular activities, counseling, and facilities and housing.

Impact of the Law

Today, many people believe that Title IX is at the heart of efforts to create gender equitable schools for girls and women by creating equality of opportunity and access, thus leading to equal outcomes. While the link between Title IX and increased opportunities for women and girls in athletics is well known, Title IX has also played a role in improving schooling for girls and women in areas such as access to higher education, career education, employment, learning environment, math and science, sexual harassment, standardized testing, and treatment of pregnant and parenting teens. The focus on athletics is much easier to document since it is easily understood and examined in relationship to numbers: numbers of teams for boys and girls, numbers of players, numbers of dollars spent, and numbers of scholarships awarded, for example. Other areas of improvement are not so easily defined and much less easily measured. Sexual harassment in the classroom and the representation of girls and women in teaching materials are more difficult to define, to measure, and to prove—leading to less of a focus on them.

In many ways, schools have made much progress in eliminating gender discrimination from their policies, programs, and practices. However, vestiges of bias, discrimination, stereotyping, and inequities remain intact, and they continue to have a powerful and often negative influence on many students. For example, it is rare today to see a specific policy prohibiting female students from enrolling in nontraditional vocational courses like auto mechanics or carpentry, and yet few girls and young women do enroll in them. In addition, while schools may offer equal numbers of sports for girls and boys, other inequities often remain—who has access to fields, practice spaces, or equipment; who is able to play on teams traditionally associated as “male” sports; and who has access to coaching opportunities, among other things.

Ongoing Issues

Sexual harassment is yet another example of continuing gender discrimination. Large numbers of girls and women continue to experience various forms of sexual harassment in their schooling experiences. Often, teachers and administrators do little to address

these infractions. This is another issue that does not affect all girls and women in the same way. Young women who adhere to more traditional forms of femininity and whose bodies represent the desired cultural norm are less likely to experience such harassment. In addition, the sexual harassment and bullying of boys, especially of those boys who are perceived to be gay, represents another way in which gender discrimination extends beyond the experiences of girls and women. While many schools meet the letter of the law in relationship to Title IX, it is clear that in many ways many students still have not achieved educational equity based on gender.

Examples of continuing gender inequities often reflect the links between educational inequities and broader social and cultural assumptions and inequities. For example, while girls often receive higher grades than their male peers, especially early in their schooling, this may represent their reward for being quiet and passive in the classroom. Female students at all levels tend to be invisible members of classrooms, spectators for their male peers who dominate classroom talk and activities. Teachers often do not recognize that they are calling on and encouraging boys more often, providing more critical questioning and probing for boys, or utilizing materials that fail to represent girls and women or represent them inaccurately or inappropriately. Sexual harassment of girls, women, and gay students also represents broader social norms where such harassment is seen as inevitable and acceptable. When something becomes accepted practice, it becomes difficult to even recognize when it is happening. And when we do not recognize something, we cannot address it.

Today, gender equity is often defined as parity in quality and quantity for girls and boys within schools and classrooms. Thus, in order to achieve gender equity, girls should be represented in equal numbers to boys in all facets of schooling—from science classes to sports to scholarships. However, focusing on equal numbers allows us to ignore broader issues related to gender equity, and is one reason that Title IX is sometimes said to have failed. Even though girls and women may sit in classrooms in equal numbers to boys and men does not mean they are benefiting equally from those experiences. In addition, focusing

specifically on girls and women allows us to obscure how gender discrimination may be affecting other students in our schools. Typically, discussion of gender inequality focuses on the experiences of girls and women in relationship to the experiences of boys and men. However, it is not as simple as looking at the experiences of girls and women. In relationship to schooling, this means that not all girls experience schooling in the same way. In addition, some boys are also affected by gender discrimination and inequality. For example, boys who are perceived to be gay certainly do not experience schooling in the same ways that their heterosexual peers do.

Another way to define gender equity might be as the ability for all students to attain full and fair participation in and benefit from their schooling experiences. Thus, gender equity in schooling may reflect a broader responsibility, embodied in a social justice model, where schools have an obligation to prepare all students to participate in, contribute to, and benefit from a democratic society through their schooling. This broader goal demands more than just equal numbers and more than just a focus on girls and women—it requires a shift in how schooling experiences are created.

Corrective Proposals

In this model, equity may be achieved by focusing not on equal numbers, but on equitable representation, treatment, and outcomes. In part this may require not treating people equally (in the same ways), but treating people differently, and in ways that are sensitive to their differences. Another positive step would be contextually equitable classrooms that are representative of the fluid and multiple meanings, experiences, and identities that students bring with them to school. This demands a shift in the cultural norms associated with schools and classrooms in order to truly move toward a more inclusive and responsive practice.

Such a shift might entail a reexamination of the competitive construction of schooling, and a move toward more collaboratively focused classrooms. Collaboration, rather than competition, forms the basis for the more equitable forms of participation that could benefit all students, not just girls and women. Such

an approach has the potential to recognize the value of each person's voice and knowledge. It also helps insure that knowledge becomes the construction and possession of all participants. Schools and classrooms may also need to address the individualistic and meritocratic nature of schooling that values and rewards some students at the expense of others, as well as how power and privilege are imbued in such a system. Rather than depicting gender equity as a battle between girls and boys, or men and women, it could be reframed as negotiating the interactions between them. Such a shift could provide more students with possibilities for enhanced learning and success.

A more inclusive and responsive practice would also demand attentiveness to the actions of teachers as well as students. Self-awareness is vital to this process; it is difficult to recognize bias without it. In addition to self-awareness, teachers and administrators must be aware of their actions—instructional practices, curricular and assessment tools and materials, classroom and school management, for example. Simple instructional practices, like the use of wait time, can make for more equitable practice. Using wait time before calling on a student for a response can allow the possibility of more voices participating in and benefiting from classroom interactions. In addition, using wait time after a student responds allows teachers to consider the strengths and weaknesses of a student's answer and provide all students with feedback that will push their critical thinking and analysis.

Schools must also address the invisibility, fragmentation, and selectivity of representations of girls and women in the curriculum and in classrooms. For example, discussion about how women were “given” the vote denies the work and suffering of women who “won” the vote; the use of Women's History Month allows schools to ignore their contributions the rest of the year and integrate this information more broadly into the curriculum; and glossy multicultural covers on textbooks often mask the actual integration of multicultural perspectives and information contained within them.

To address gender equity successfully requires examining how the dominant values, assumptions, and practices of schooling contribute to the success of some at the expense of others. Recognizing how these

are constructed, mediated, and perpetuated by broader social and cultural norms and expectations is also important.

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See also Title IX

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EDUCATIONAL EQUITY: RACE/ETHNICITY

The history of U.S. education has included a record of inequity for and discrimination against many students and communities of color. The concept and practice of educational equity has been a long-developed and

sought-after goal of educators, activists, parents, and students who aim to ensure that all students have equal educational opportunities. Those working toward educational equity have attempted to highlight current and historical policies and practices that have marginalized students, while also advocating for changes in perspective.

Unequal school funding, tracking, discipline, and the lack of access to a rigorous curriculum are some of the issues that have sustained the struggle for equity. Although this struggle is long-standing, research and scholarly debate over equity in education has gained increased attention in recent years. For scholars who engage in educational research, inform policy debate, and lead from within multiple school settings, as well as those who advocate for social and community change, educational equity remains an uncompleted goal. This entry provides a brief summary of the issues and three areas of contention: school financing, deficit-based research, and subtractive schooling.

A History of Inequity

Discussion of race and racism, a complex and contentious topic, is foundational in the conceptualizing of educational equity. Although a universally accepted definition of *race* does not exist, multiple scholars have described it as a socially constructed concept in which power and a racial hierarchy lead to institutionalized and systemic inequity. Moreover, many scholars expand upon the narrow conceptualization of race or racism as discrimination or inequity based on biology or skin color. They attempt to shift the discussion to systemic, institutional, or historical notions of discrimination or oppression, such as the way funding systems have been developed and implemented in a manner that disadvantages communities and students of color. For Latinas/os, scholars point to issues of immigration, language policy, and accountability systems as examples of educational policies and practices that continue to institute racial inequity.

While African American scholars as far back as W. E. B. Du Bois have written about the “problem of the color line,” accurately pointing out structural and/or systemic inequity based on race, the problem has persisted into the twenty-first century. Some educational

scholars contend that the problem no longer exists, but research demonstrates that inequity remains entrenched in U.S. educational systems, policies, and practice.

School Financing

Examples of blatant racism and gross inequity are ubiquitous in the history of U.S. education, a history that informs current educational inequity. Thus analyses of state educational finance systems provide evidence of long-standing and hard-fought civil rights litigation, years of legislative stalling, and ongoing grassroots political activism striving to change school finance policies. In Texas, most districts where property values and the taxes based on them are low have historically consisted of students of color, while districts with high values and greater tax revenues have predominantly consisted of White students.

The Texas legislature resisted a shift to a more equitable system until 1995, when concerned parents from some of the poorest neighborhoods in the state initiated a campaign of litigation, social action, and legislative battles to achieve an “equalized” system. Similar actions occurred in states such as New Jersey and New York. As with school funding issues, historical inequity continues to shape the current situation in areas such as access to rigorous and culturally relevant curricula, highly qualified and caring teachers, and higher educational opportunities.

Deficit-Based Research

Educational practice, policy, and research continue to marginalize children of color. Deficit-based research focuses on students, parents, or communities of color as the primary “problem” in educational underachievement. It blames the victim, often society’s least powerful members, rather than placing the onus on the educational systems developed, implemented, and administered by predominantly White educators and educational leaders. Equity-oriented scholars contend that an inherent danger to democracy and social justice exists when policy makers, education leaders, and school administrators fail to critically analyze the effects of education policy on the most vulnerable of schoolchildren. When analyses and practice are based

on deficit notions, the danger to educational equity becomes more apparent.

Subtractive Schooling

In addition, subtractive schooling processes negate the home language, culture, traditions, and knowledge that students bring with them to the classroom, resulting in what equity scholars see as another barrier to educational equity. Rather than viewing students of color and their families as “holders and creators of knowledge,” subtractive schooling practices further entrench school inequity and create challenges for advocates, researchers, and educators trying to make education more equitable for all school children.

Enrique Alemán, Jr.

See also African American Education; Civil Rights Movement; Critical Race Theory

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS

Educational indicators are pieces of evidence that provide information about the success of educational

programs, policies, or processes. The indicators used in different instances depend on the goals that are being examined and the level of education that is being evaluated. There is no universally agreed upon set of educational indicators primarily because in a diverse society there is ambiguity regarding the aims of education. Educational indicators can be standard measures that are easily compared or nonstandard assessments used to judge the value of educational outcomes.

Reports of educational successes or failures are conclusions based on analyses of the indicators that were selected for the evaluation. Educational indicators exist at the societal level, the systemic (district or state) level, the school level, and the individual level. This entry looks at various kinds of indicators and what they purport to say about education.

Indicators of Social Aims of Education

Education is a fundamental institution of society and is frequently used as a vehicle to accomplish broad goals such as social justice and equity. Social justice refers to the equal treatment of citizens under the law, regardless of social class, race, religion, disability or other characteristics. Historically, underprivileged and minority groups have not had the same opportunities as the majority to attain a high quality education. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that separate schools for racial groups were permissible if they were equal. However, in 1954 this ruling was overturned when the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that “separate but equal was inherently unequal.” The Court effectively set up racial integration of schools as an indicator of social justice.

Another social aim of education is equity, or the provision of equal opportunities for all. In the 1960s a number of studies concluded that family income had a large impact upon the educational attainment of students, and that children from low-income homes did not have an equal chance of success without some form of intervention. This ushered in an era of compensatory educational programs aimed at increasing opportunities for the success of high-poverty students. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)

of 1965 provided funding for schools to offer programs designed to “level the playing field” for these students. Multiple factors may be used as indicators of such broad-based social aims as social justice in education, because there is no simple or obvious way to measure attainment of these complex goals.

Indicators and School Accountability

Since the 1990s, educational reforms have stressed the need for greater school, district, and state accountability for results in education. In response to this push, most school districts and states began to develop systems for tracking and reporting school effectiveness. Prior to the passage of federal legislation, each state was left to decide whether to report student achievement to the public, and if so, to determine how.

In 1994, ESEA was reauthorized under the Improving America’s Schools Act. In 2002, it was again reauthorized and renamed the No Child Left Behind Act. This federal legislation requires states to report on the academic achievement of students at each individual school. In compliance with No Child Left Behind, each state developed an accountability plan for reporting academic achievement to the public. School accountability systems usually focus on student achievement in core academic areas such as mathematics, reading or English, science, and social studies.

Although educational indicators of student achievement used by the states vary somewhat, student performance on standardized tests is the primary indicator of educational success in most accountability programs. These tests can be state criterion-referenced tests that measure attainment of state standards, or norm-referenced tests that compare student achievement to national norms. State accountability plans may also include other indicators, such as attendance, graduation, and/or dropout rates. The indicators selected by the states are weighted, in some fashion determined by the state, and used to calculate a school index score that reports the mean achievement of students at each school. This score is intended to inform the public about how effective each school is. No Child Left Behind also requires that a separate score be calculated for each

subpopulation within the schools; this is meant to serve as an indicator of equity.

Other Systemic-Level Educational Indicators

There are a number of indicators of educational quality that are not frequently included in school accountability reports. Some of these include: high school graduation rates, scholarships issued, grade-point averages, advanced courses taken, student attitudes toward school, suspension rates, and portfolios of student work. Post-high school indicators of school success might include college graduation rates, incarceration rates, or income, but these measures are controversial as educational indicators because there are a number of other factors that could impact them besides the educational system.

States and school districts also use indicators to signal the success of specific educational programs. The indicators selected depend on the goals of the particular policies or programs under evaluation. For example, if a drug prevention program is being evaluated, indicators of success might include student attitudes toward drugs before and after participation in the program, self-reported use of drugs following participation in the program, comparison of rates of drug use for participants versus nonparticipants, or arrests for drug use in areas that have had the program in use for a while.

Indicators of the effectiveness of particular programs include measures of whatever outcome the program was expected to impact. Usually these outcomes are compared with outcomes of similar populations that did not participate in the program. Analysts use various techniques to interpret the meaning of the indicators, for example input-output models might be used to determine the cost effectiveness of various initiatives. For example, when determining the amount of state money to be appropriated to English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, indicators of success might include comparisons of grades or graduation rates of program participants and nonparticipants. A cost-benefit strategy might be employed to determine whether the benefits derived from the program (based on the indicators selected) merit the amount of investment required.

Individual-Level Indicators of Educational Attainment

Student growth from year to year in each major discipline is frequently considered an indicator of individual student learning. Standardized tests provide an easy means of assessing growth when they report the grade-level equivalent scores. A simple comparison of student scores from year to year can indicate student academic growth. Grades are also a commonly used indicator of student achievement. College admission departments frequently rely on a combination of student high school grade point average (GPA) and student score on a standardized admissions test such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which measures reasoning and verbal abilities, or the American College Test (ACT), which is designed to measure mastery of various subject areas. Some colleges use other indicators of student achievement or ability such as questionnaires, interviews, or portfolios to predict a student's potential for success in higher education.

"Authentic" Assessment Indicators

Educational indicators that do not involve test scores are used less frequently, regardless of the level or program, but are considered by some to be more authentic measures of student learning. Proponents of authentic assessment argue that test scores are not the only measures of student achievement, nor are they necessarily the most valid means of assessing competence or learning. Authentic indicators of achievement might include student performances, presentations, projects, demonstrations, oral or written discourses, or other demonstrations that allow an assessment of student mastery. Authentic educational indicators are sometimes collected in portfolios.

Critics of authentic indicators cite problems with the use of portfolios in education, including lack of clarity or uniformity in determining what goes into a portfolio and difficulty in arriving at a standard means of comparing the data from student to student and from school to school.

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See also Compensatory Education; No Child Left Behind Act

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

While U.S. presidents currently play an important role in creating and shaping educational policy in the United States, this is a fairly recent phenomenon. Prior to the 1960s, presidents played a minor or nonexistent part in the creation of educational policy. This largely stems from limited federal involvement in education and a prevalent view during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that education was a state, not federal responsibility. This entry offers a brief historical review and discusses how presidents make policy in this area.

Historical Review

Beginning in the 1960s, presidents grew more involved in educational policy making, although interest varied across administrations. President John F. Kennedy spoke often about educational policy and proposed several bills, but it was not until Lyndon Johnson's Great Society that significant educational policy saw realization at the federal level. With the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act, both of 1965, President

Johnson substantially changed the federal role in education.

While Johnson established a new model for presidential involvement in educational policy making, his next three successors did not follow suit. Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter largely ignored education throughout the 1970s. Even that decade's most significant educational milestone, the creation of the federal department of education in 1979, resulted not from President Carter's leadership but from heavy pressure from the National Education Association.

It was not until the 1980s that education again played a significant role in the American presidency, but the policy ideas differed from Johnson's. Ronald Reagan entered office vowing to reduce the federal role in education. He called for greater state responsibility and the dismantling of the Department of Education. His proposed policies included school choice, an amendment for voluntary school prayer (eventually the Equal Access Act), and block grants to states. With the 1983 release of *A Nation at Risk*, a report commissioned by Secretary of Education Terrel Bell, Reagan also called for educational excellence and reform in the form of a core curriculum, stronger school discipline, greater parental influence, and higher academic standards for teachers and students.

George H. W. Bush continued the momentum of these policies, particularly educational reform through school choice, greater state oversight of education, and academic standards. Through his educational summit with all fifty state governors in 1989, the latter policy received the most attention and eventually resulted in academic standards and assessments in nearly every state and a set of national educational standards.

These same standards became the centerpiece of President Bill Clinton's Goals 2000, which became law in 1994. Clinton's other major education policy, also approved in 1994, was School to Work, a program to provide high school students the opportunity to gain job-related skills. Although Clinton continued to focus on education throughout his terms, an opposition Congress elected in 1994 limited his ability to pass policies of any substance.

It was not until the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 that another major educational

policy (other than reauthorization bills) passed through Congress. In NCLB George W. Bush pressed for increased accountability, the closing of the achievement gap, a greater emphasis on reading and math, expanded school choice, and increased flexibility for state education agencies working under federal law; only the first three of these remained in the bill's final version in significant form.

How Presidents Make Policy

This review of presidents and educational policy making demonstrates the vehicles typically utilized by modern presidents in shaping education. First, and by definition, legislation represents the most important function of educational policy making in the presidency. Through it, presidents can define terms, set agendas, identify priorities, and establish standards of accountability. However, the involvement of presidents in educational legislation differs significantly. Some play an active role in the creation and passage of policy, while others merely preside over bills passed on their watch.

Second, presidents set policy through budgets. Although budgets do not necessarily define terms and establish standards, they most certainly identify priorities and set agendas. For example, efforts to reduce educational spending or implement block grants to the states send a clear message and produce different effects than spending increases and programmatic and/or categorical funds.

Third, presidents shape educational policy through executive orders and vetoes. For example, President Carter issued executive order 12232 aimed at using federal resources to strengthen historically Black colleges and universities. However, because of their narrow scope compared to legislation, executive orders as a policy-making tool are restricted. The veto, too, is a limited means compared to legislation, but the ability to prohibit the passage of some pieces of legislation while allowing others unquestionably shapes the policy landscape.

Finally, presidents shape educational policy through rhetoric. With the "bully-pulpit," presidents can champion some policy ideas over others, raise the nation's collective consciousness about educational issues and

priorities, and define and popularize obscure concepts. For example, until President Reagan championed it, school choice remained a largely unknown policy idea. Through his rhetoric on school reform, Reagan brought choice into the educational debate as a legitimate, albeit controversial, policy option.

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See also Achievement Gap; Educational Reform; Equal Access Act; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; *Nation at Risk*, A; No Child Left Behind Act; School Choice; U.S. Department of Education

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Reform is a complex concept. As a noun, the term is used to describe changes in policy, practice, or organization. As a verb, *reform* refers to intended or enacted attempts to correct an identified problem. As an educational aspiration, its goal is to realize deep, systemic, and sustained restructuring of public schooling. Throughout the history of American public education,

reform has been a means of conceiving and enacting visions of the collective good. From the establishment of common schools, through struggles over John Dewey's advocacy for public education as the primary method of social reform, to the far-reaching ambitions of the No Child Left Behind Act, reform efforts have responded to conditions of broad consequence that require ethically centered and future-oriented deliberation and action. This entry looks at three key approaches to reform and the challenges each faces, then outlines one strategy that might be used to achieve comprehensive reform.

Approaches to Reform

Reform movements in American public education have been framed by declarations of *crisis*, with rhetoric of intolerable urgency, and visions of *hope*, with inspirational themes to guide principled action. What constitutes crisis and hope has been largely shaped by three competing conceptions of educational reform—essentialism, progressivism, and holism. Reform can be glimpsed in terms of the controversies raised for educational principles, policy, and practice in American public schools.

Essentialism

For essentialists, educational philosophy and policy center on providing access for all citizens to a common literacy—a core of knowledge, skills, and values applicable across time and cultures. Heavily informed by idealist and realist philosophies, the concept of learning is conceived as an individual quest for excellence. Learners are to accumulate the knowledge base and higher level cognitive skills necessary to lead an intellectually, morally, economically, and socially productive life. The learner's progress is acknowledged and rewarded by his or her achievement and maintaining of positions in competitive hierarchies.

Public schools, through teachers as primary agents, lead individuals along a clearly defined path by articulating, modeling, and holding learners accountable to universally held standards. Teachers, as respected authorities, skillfully guide learners to humanity's highest thoughts (e.g., Socratic method, liberal studies) and

most useful methods for shaping the world around them (e.g., formal logic, critical reasoning). As all are offered the same invitation to excel, and variations in needs, abilities, and interests are understood and accepted as differences in personal motivation and merit. As all receive a common grounding in prevailing traditions and expectations, learners experience a sense of shared purpose and social unity.

Contemporary essentialists are critical of most aspects of public school performance. Current reform objectives and initiatives feature national standards for student achievement and teacher preparation (citing significant discrepancies in state-based standards and requirements); the emergence of a national curriculum (emphasizing advanced placement, “cultural literacy,” “numeracy,” and scientific reasoning); strengthening student, school, and district accountability for academic performance (emphasizing standardized tests); expanding school choice (emphasizing open enrollment, charter schools, and homeschooling); enhancing connections between educational and economic goals (emphasizing job-readiness and consumer education); and promoting “character development” (emphasizing role modeling, patriotism, and traditional social values).

Progressivism

Progressive educators also pursue universal access to personal fulfillment, but they work to promote social justice (emphasizing civil rights) and social change (emphasizing educational, economic, and political equity). Progressives draw from a broad range of philosophical perspectives, including romanticism, humanism, pragmatism, and social reconstructionism. Education remains largely an individual journey, but one leading to a broadened self-identity and heightened sense of social responsibility. The definition of valued knowledge is expanded beyond the intellectualized priorities of the essentialists, to assert inclusion of emotional dimensions of learning and to recognize education as an explicitly political endeavor.

The central purpose of public schooling shifts from preparing “the best and the brightest” to compete academically and economically to empowering those disadvantaged by their social position to pursue their

educational goals and improve the quality of their lives. Knowledge is explicitly regarded as a form of power. Learners are encouraged to acquire knowledge to strengthen their skills in self-efficacy (e.g., values clarification and affective learning) and social advocacy (e.g., feminist and critical pedagogy). The progressive teacher guides learners through carefully designed experiences (i.e., developmentally appropriate and responsive to diverse learning styles) so that they might work together to construct knowledge (e.g., constructivist pedagogy and cooperative learning). Knowledge is valued for its relevance and utility to specific persons in specific social contexts. Progressive classrooms are to extend into all aspects of community life. Communities are called upon to restructure patterns of social and economic privilege to guarantee movement from goals of equal access toward goals of equal power, participation, and performance.

Current progressive reform advocacy includes more equitable school financing (e.g., increased state and federal funding, decreased property tax dependence); power-sharing through decentralization (e.g., site-based management, charter schools); multicultural, bilingual, antibias, and gender-fair curriculum (i.e., responsive to academically and socially significant dimensions of diversity); strengthened ties between schools and communities (e.g., service learning, community partnerships); and teaching the skills of democratic deliberation and social activism (e.g., contemporary issues-driven and discussion-based curriculum, civic engagement, authentic democratic school governance).

Holism

The third approach, holism, draws from Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism, Transcendentalism, indigenous belief systems, and ecologically centered philosophies. The primary purpose of public education is to encourage full development and integration of mind, heart, body, and spirit while promoting social and environmental communion. For holists, knowing is essentially relational—it occurs within the context of connections that are close, compassionate, enduring, and mutually beneficial. Holists work to design schooling to encourage supportive relationships across multiple dimensions

of learning, such as intrapersonal learning (promoting integration of mind/heart/body/spirit), interpersonal learning (enhancing the quality of relationships among people and building community), and transpersonal learning (connecting in life-affirming ways with non-human entities, spiritual values, and social and environmental forces).

As each individual is fundamentally connected to the whole of humanity and nonhuman nature, deep knowing is at once intensely personal and profoundly social. Personal transformation occurs in harmony with social and biophysical worlds, resonating outward through intricate webs of relationship. Its effects are strengthened when communion is created across dimensions of difference. Individual, societal, and biophysical diversity is valued and protected because it provides opportunities for creative synthesis and renewal. Holists struggle to develop and integrate a spiritual dimension along with intellectual, emotional, and moral aspects of learning and life. Spirituality is described and experienced as the inspirational moment at which elusive and complex understandings suddenly become clear. Though difficult to capture in words, such moments are characterized by intense and elegant integration of sensation, emotion, insight, and mystery.

Contemporary holist educators favor shaping public education to be more interdisciplinary (emphasizing interdependencies between fields and methods of inquiry); multisensory (emphasizing opportunities to synthesize perceptive, cognitive, emotional, and kinesthetic learning); and exploratory (emphasizing student inquiry over content coverage). Also featured are broadly conceived understandings of environmental sustainability (emphasizing environmental ethics and both social and economic consequences of consumption) and civic education (emphasizing nonviolent conflict resolution and coalition building). Holists further envision public education reform that supports spiritual development (emphasizing intuition, aesthetics, and nonmaterialism).

Challenges to Reform

Advocates of essentialist, progressive, and holistic approaches have actively engaged in reform, but remain deeply dissatisfied with the results and sharply

critical of the status quo. Essentialists have attempted to influence decision elites—some target master teachers, local school boards, state departments of education, and state legislators, while others lobby national policy makers. They have generally adopted a top-down implementation style, seeking mandatory standards from higher authorities and directing their preferred changes downward through the school system. They have been frustrated, however, by incomplete compliance, which they attribute to resistance from mid-level administrators, professional curriculum developers, many classroom teachers and their unions, and special interest groups championing specific categories of students and their needs.

Progressives have also attempted to influence decision elites, often petitioning the courts to bring sweeping changes in federal-, state-, and district-level policy. Although their reform aspirations are broad and systemic, initiatives are most frequently implemented locally, as targeted demonstration projects. While much frustration flows from bureaucratic indifference and interference, at the same time progressives confront widespread public and professional ambivalence toward what is perceived as an excessively critical perspective and overtly political agenda. Transforming public education into the primary site for social change is as politically volatile as it is pedagogically challenging.

Holists have “dreamed impossible dreams” in an implementation environment that sometimes shares their broad objectives but effectively thwarts most of their programmatic attempts. Their aspirations for a fully integrated public school experience confront increasingly competitive, specialized, and segmented bureaucratic, social, economic, and political realities. Professionalized division of labor and fragmented curricula, along with entrenched hierarchies and their oppositional politics, are usually successful in resisting holism’s distinctively expansive and integrative reform efforts. Most initiatives are relegated to the margins, or struggle to survive outside of traditional public school systems.

Comprehensive Reform

Essentialism, progressivism, and holism present competing educational principles, contrasting approaches to policy, and distinctive pedagogies. All three share

advocacy for comprehensive, systemic change. Yet given the barriers to enacting any complex vision in large, resource-constrained, bureaucratic, and authoritarian sociopolitical systems, *deep reform is a daunting ambition*. As some education analysts see it, implemented reforms generated by all three positions have been fragmented, incremental, and programmatically fragile, and none have resulted in broadly sustained philosophical, institutional, or participatory change. In education, politics, and the economy, fundamental patterns of opportunity and interaction are difficult to alter in structural ways.

Reducing the gap between reform aspirations and their realization may require radical changes—those that are deeper and more systemic—to ensure greater equity and effectiveness in schools and society. While advocates often claim widely shared values, the politics of education reform has been divisive and oppositional. The exclusivity projected by the most ardent essentialists, progressives, and holists as they have pursued change on their own terms has limited cooperation and depleted imagination. New reform perspectives, with new political and pedagogic practices, need to be composed through collaborative discourse and hard work of proponents of the three approaches.

Comprehensive, systemic public education reform might be negotiated and implemented through local strategic coalitions of proponents of the three competing positions. Reform strategies that build from diverse perspectives are likely to support continuing participation of ideological adherents, as well as those who demand a predetermined organizational form or pedagogic design. Continuing connections could then be established linking school- and district-level initiatives to state and national policy development.

Comprehensive, systemic reform is an evolving project that brings new insights to perennial public education concerns, requires reconfiguring both human and material resources, and challenges advocates’ imagination and stamina. Comprehensive educational reform must embrace deeper visions, bolder proposals, and sustained innovation.

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See also Holistic Education; Politics of Education; Progressive Education

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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, HISTORY OF

Educational research has a long and distinguished history, closely related to the evolution of the social and behavioral sciences. It also has been centrally concerned with the improvement of instructional practice and determining better means to aid learning. Research in education has thus embraced both theoretical and practical dimensions of systematic inquiry into teaching and learning. It also has been shaped by ongoing disputes about the nature of human development and the aims of education, as described in this entry.

Early Works

Inquiry into learning and education dates from ancient times, but it became a more highly organized social activity with the advent of state-sponsored mass schooling in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the earliest forms of such research in the United States were found in comparative accounts of school systems in other parts of the world, provided by traveling educators and other observers. State and federal departments of education published reports on various educational problems, as did early journals such as Henry Barnard's *American Journal of Education*. More systematic forms of inquiry into education and learning appeared with the early development of the

social and behavioral sciences in the closing decades of the century, particularly psychology.

Early psychological research and writing related to education focused on the learning process and child development and was associated with such influential figures as William James, G. Stanley Hall, and John Dewey. They contributed to the growth of "child study," a movement focusing on the observation and analysis of children's physical and mental development and the learning process.

In the opening years of the twentieth century, yet another line of inquiry focused on measuring differences in learning, leading to the development of early mental tests. Following the ground-breaking work of French researcher Alfred Binet, such American proponents of IQ testing as Lewis Terman and Edward Thorndike contributed to the growth of standardized testing as a characteristic feature of American education.

A Scientific Approach

Testing proponents were a major element of the movement to foster "scientific" approaches to educational research across much of the twentieth century. This impulse extended from psychologists to researchers studying educational administration. The former emphasized the importance of experimental methods to determining the effects of educational "treatments" or instructional strategies. The latter utilized survey research and case study approaches to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of school systems, especially those in larger cities. Both approaches were considered scientific in the sense that they relied upon the systematic analysis of data collected under "objective" criteria. The growing use of testing in schools across the country, and survey methods to assess schools and districts, meant that thousands of students were introduced to these forms of educational research at colleges and universities each year by mid-century.

Other forms of educational research existed alongside these approaches. Inquiry regarding education in the domains of history and philosophy was conducted during the nineteenth century as well, and these fields also were widely taught in universities. John Dewey was the predominant figure in the philosophy

of education until his death in 1952, and beyond. Sociological research on educational topics came into currency during the twenties and thirties with such figures as George Counts and Willard Waller providing important models.

These tendencies extended into the post–World War II era, when race emerged as a critical issue in education. Allison Davis and Kenneth Clark, influential African American researchers, helped to demonstrate the impact of educational discrimination and inequality, leading to the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 and subsequent efforts to desegregate schools and insure equality. The sociological tradition of educational research was reflected in the work of James Coleman, whose career spanned a wide range of topics and theoretical contributions to the field. In the domain of experimental research design and statistical methodology, such educational researchers as Donald Campbell and Julian Stanley gained worldwide renown for their technical expertise. Psychologists such as Jerome Bruner and B. F. Skinner proposed new conceptions of the learning process. The American Educational Research Association (AERA), which had been founded in the 1920s, grew to become a large, diverse organization by the end of the 1960s.

A Funded Enterprise

In the 1970s and '80s educational research became a large-scale enterprise, drawing financial support from the federal government as well as private foundations. Much of this research was quantitative, focused on racial inequities in schooling and other problems related to social inequality. Another body of work represented the growing field of evaluation research, intended to provide comprehensive assessment of educational programs and other types of systematic interventions to change human behavior. Large scale national surveys of educational questions were undertaken with federal support.

Coleman supervised an influential study of educational inequality in 1967 that revealed the importance of such nonschool factors as parental background on the educational performance of children. Christopher Jencks and other researchers followed with additional

quantitative studies of social stratification, highlighting the contributions of education to individual success. This line of inquiry was supplemented with observational studies that examined the effects of race, social class, and other factors in the experiences of teachers and students in particular schools. Case studies of desegregation plans proliferated in the wake of ongoing controversy over busing and other approaches to racial integration.

Experimental studies of particular learning strategies and instructional approaches continued apace, but a new interdisciplinary approach to studying the learning process emerged in the 1960s and '70s in the field of cognitive science. Spearheaded by Jerome Bruner and his colleagues at Harvard, this line of inquiry embraced a wide variety of methodological traditions and disciplinary perspectives, all dedicated to better understanding how people think, acquire knowledge, and solve problems. Perhaps the most widely influential outgrowth of this was the work of Howard Gardner on “multiple intelligences,” but it has affected many other realms of educational theory and practice as well. The development of cognitive science also helped to foster a greater degree of methodological diversity in scholarship on learning.

Dueling Paradigms

Educational researchers debated the virtues of quantitative and qualitative approaches to investigation during the 1980s, a time marked by “paradigm wars” between proponents of different research traditions. Ethnographers Harry Wolcott and George Spindler were influential practitioners of observational methods, and growing numbers of students eschewed quantitative research in favor of naturalistic inquiry. Educational historians and philosophers displayed limited interest in these debates, focusing much of their attention to questions of inequality and social justice.

The American Educational Research Association continued to grow in size and complexity as it strove to embrace a widening diversity of research modalities. The association's 1988 publication of the collection of essays titled *Complementary Methods for Research in Educational Research* marked an attempt to bring coherence to the field. Subsequent editions of the book have

featured an ever-expanding array of approaches to investigation, making it difficult to identify a predominant tradition within the educational research community.

The closing years of the twentieth century were marked by a number of major developments. Perhaps the most striking was the Tennessee Student–Teacher Achievement Ratio (STAR) project, which randomly assigned thousands of students and teachers to different size classes to determine the effect on educational outcomes. Results from this massive experiment appeared in the early to mid-1990s, clearly demonstrating the advantages of smaller classes, especially for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. STAR data also showed the contributions of effective teachers. These dramatic findings, along with the availability of major new national data sets on education, children, and youth, helped to spark renewed interest in quantitative research. Increasingly, however, investigators combined qualitative methods with quantitative studies, utilizing “mixed methods” to achieve greater insight into educational problems. As the century drew to a close, debates related to the dueling paradigms of earlier years subsided audibly.

Policy Debates

Educational researchers became embroiled in critical controversies over educational policy during the 1990s and beyond. One prominent issue was school choice and the impact of vouchers, which had been aggressively promoted by conservative social critics for a number of years. As school voucher experiments were conducted in Milwaukee, Cleveland, New York, and other cities, researchers on either side of the issue exchanged barbed commentaries about their findings. Again, experimental studies were pointed to as the “gold standard” for evaluating the effectiveness of such approaches. Although this style of inquiry was favored by conservative proponents of choice, studies conducted in this fashion failed to provide much support for their cause. At the present time, there is little evidence, experimental or otherwise, that school choice promotes higher school achievement, but debates continue regardless.

At the start of the twenty-first century, educational research is once again at the center of national debates about educational change. Conservative proponents of reform in the federal government called for more “scientific” research on schooling, specifically citing the need for experimental and quantitative approaches to evaluation and other forms of investigation. The research community has responded by noting that “science” embraces many different traditions, including case studies, historical or documentary inquiry, discourse analysis, and ethnography.

Calls for greater attention to “applied” research have also prompted debates over the extent to which everyday problems in education and related fields can be “solved” by the application of systematic inquiry. In the last analysis, it may very well be the case that the principal function of educational research, in all of its varied forms, lies in the realm of informed reflection on major educational issues rather than the ultimate resolution of particular problems or practical dilemmas.

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See also Qualitative Research

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EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER

The study of policies that have been transplanted from one cultural context to another occupies a prominent place in comparative education research. To some extent, educational borrowing and lending implies artificially isolating education from its political, economic, and cultural context. Consequently, numerous warnings have been made about this kind of educational transfer, whether it is wholesale, selective, or eclectic.

Comparative research on *policy borrowing* has undergone several major discursive shifts in the past twenty years. Arguably, the largest shift was the move from normative to analytical studies; the first being concerned with what *could* and *should* be borrowed and the latter interested in understanding *why* and *how* references are made to experiences from elsewhere. Jürgen Schriewer, noted German comparative education researcher, needs to be credited for critiquing normative or meliorist approaches to the study of policy borrowing. Using a theoretical framework of system theory, Schriewer proposes to study the local context of policy borrowing to better understand the “socio-logic” of externalization.

According to this theory, references to other educational systems provide the leverage for carrying out reforms that otherwise would be contested. Schriewer also finds it indicative of the “socio-logic” of a system that only specific educational systems are used as external sources of authority. Which systems are used as “reference societies” and which are not tells a great deal about the interrelations of actors within various world systems.

Using a similar approach, David Phillips identifies factors that account for “policy attraction” between two educational systems. By studying British interest in German education over a sustained period of time, he finds that the same educational system can be an object of attraction for different reasons at different times. Pursuing an analytical rather than a normative approach to the study of educational borrowing, a conclusion may be reached that is quite the contrary to what normative borrowing advocates have suggested: Borrowing does not occur because reforms from elsewhere are better, but because the very act of borrowing has a salutary effect on domestic policy conflict.

Several scholars have applied the concept of externalization to comparative policy studies and found that it is precisely at moments of heightened policy contestation that references to other educational systems are made. Thus, borrowing, discursive or actual, has a certification effect on domestic policy talk. Against this backdrop of system theory, three common phenomenon, which at first appear to be counterintuitive, make perfect sense: (1) very often the language of the reform is borrowed, but not the actual reform; (2) borrowing occurs even when there is no apparent need, that is, even when similar reforms already exist in the local context; and (3) if the actual reform is borrowed, it is always selectively borrowed and sometimes locally recontextualized to the extent that there is little similarity left between the original and the copy.

The concept of externalization has also been applied to *policy lending*, where the political and economic reasons for policy export have been examined. For example, Phillip Jones, of the University of Sydney in Australia, focuses on the duality of the World Bank’s education portfolio: the World Bank’s portfolio with regard to monetary *loans* and its portfolio with regard to the *lending* of ideas about educational reform to low income countries. Although using finance as a means to drive policy change is hardly new, the scale and global reach of international organizations raise critical questions for education theory, policy, and practice. For example, have national educational reforms gradually converged toward an international model of reform that produces a shared global belief in progress and justice? Driven by questions like this, Stanford neo-institutional sociologists John Meyer and Francisco Ramirez have greatly contributed to theory in globalization studies and to research on educational borrowing and lending.

In the context of globalization, research on educational transfer has experienced a revival in recent years, with researchers turning their attention to what the established field of comparative education can contribute to understanding the processes of local adaptation and recontextualization that occur as a result of reform import.

Gita Steiner-Khamsi

See also Globalization and Education

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EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Education is related to various kinds of development: individual human development, different dimensions of societal development (e.g., political and cultural), and national economic development. This entry focuses on the last relationship, between economic development and education, which can be understood from different perspectives, grounded in functionalist, conflict, or less structuralist social theories.

Functionalist Views

From a functionalist perspective, development is usually linked to the idea of modernization. Scholars and policy makers adopting this perspective stress that it is a normal and positive experience for undeveloped or developing nations' economies to come to model the

economies of “modern” or “developed” nations (i.e., capitalist or “free market” systems). Based on assumptions of human capital theory, investment in education (schooling and nonformal education) is seen as building a nation's stock of human capital (the knowledge, skills, and values of its worker-citizens), and this along with investments in physical capital (e.g., machines) fosters economic development. Within functionalism, the education system is viewed as not only training but also selecting and sorting—meritocratically, based on their talents and motivations—future workers.

From this perspective, a developing nation's government officials, business leaders, educators, other professionals, and citizens can steer their education systems to facilitate their nation's advancement. Educational development to promote economic development is accomplished by using national human and financial resources as well as by arranging for financial and technical assistance from international organizations, such as corporations, philanthropic foundations, and bilateral and multilateral development agencies. The education systems of “developed”—and, particularly, “newly developed”—nations are taken as the models for other countries' educational development.

Debates among functionalists tend to be couched in technical terms and to focus on (a) what levels of the education system (primary, secondary, or higher) contribute most effectively; (b) what kinds of skills, knowledge, and attitudes are most productive to include in the curriculum; (c) what mix of public and private funding sources is most appropriate; and (d) whether formal or nonformal education programs represent a better investment.

Conflict Perspectives

In contrast to functionalism, which views human systems as performing certain necessary functions (determined by consensus), conflict perspectives conceive of human social relations as determined by the needs and interests of dominant groups or nations, which conflict with or contradict the needs and interests of subordinate groups or nations. At an international level, conflict perspectives include dependency theory and world systems theory and tend to employ terms like *imperialism*, *colonialism*, and *neocolonialism*.

Rather than assuming that some nations are “undeveloped,” scholars and policy makers adopting a conflict perspective highlight that some nations are underdeveloped. That is, the economies of societies in the periphery of the world system are constructed through exploitative, dependence-inducing relationships imposed on such nations by the dominant groups in more powerful, core societies. Thus, more powerful nations “develop” and their elites accumulate capital at the expense of less powerful nations. Moreover, from a conflict perspective, socialism (rather than capitalism) is often viewed as the desired goal of economic development.

In the conflict-perspective narrative, elite groups in more powerful, wealthier nations design educational systems to serve their own interests. They seek to educate youth and adults within their own countries with the skills, knowledge, and attitudes “needed” for producing wealth that elites can accumulate, while at the same time inculcating worldviews that justify inequalities in wealth and power relations within and between countries. Individual or group achievements in education and in the economy are viewed as based not on “merit” but on the possession of cultural capital recognized and valued by elites.

Moreover, elites in core nations seek to shape the education systems of societies in the periphery to train more productive workers and to socialize citizens who view as legitimate not only their positions within their country’s stratification system but also their nation’s less privileged place within the hierarchically organized world system. Core country elites’ interventions that create underdevelopment in societies on the periphery are facilitated by the activities of multinational corporations, philanthropic foundations, and bilateral and multilateral development agencies.

Less Structuralist Views

In contrast to the more determinist, structuralist accounts provided by functionalist and conflict theories, less structuralist perspectives highlight human agency. Rather than (a) viewing government officials, administrators, and teachers in undeveloped or underdeveloped societies as passively accepting the educational policies, curriculum, and processes “lent” or “imposed on” them

by core and/or developed nations; and (b) viewing students (and their parents) as necessarily accepting and internalizing the lessons they are taught, adults or young people are portrayed as ignoring, resisting, struggling, or even strategically accepting (for purposes that contradict what was intended) “foreign” educational structures, content, and practices.

For instance, during their pre-1954 colonization of Vietnam, the French sought to use schooling to inculcate in Vietnamese youth conceptions of history and culture that characterized Vietnam as incapable of political or economic independence, but Vietnamese teachers and community members challenged this message and even set up “illegal” alternative schools to transmit other curricular messages to their children. In the 1980s, when Vietnam occupied Cambodia in the aftermath of the latter’s destructive Khmer Rouge regime, Vietnamese advisers promoted the use of the Vietnamese language and curricular ideas. However, these were accepted by Cambodian leaders only selectively, temporarily, and competitively—with the languages and ideas offered through educational assistance from Cuba and the Soviet Union—in their strategic efforts to rebuild their higher education system.

Also in line with a less structuralist perspective are contingency theories, which emphasize that the links between education and the economy are always contingent and subject to readjustment. Such theories draw attention to political struggle over the selection and allocation of workers and to variations (across time and place) in employers’ demands for workers with different types of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Such theories could be combined with world systems theories to explain why different types of “educated” workers are desired by employers in different industries in core, semiperipheral, and peripheral societies, and why the formal and hidden curriculum of schooling and higher education might vary across Fordist and post-Fordist economic formations.

Finally, less structuralist theories are reflected in analyses that do not take as predetermined or natural that globalization entails certain changes in education or the economy. This creates debates regarding the contemporary relevance of the nations as economic or political entities. Scholars and policy makers in this tradition may focus attention on global dynamics and

international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, which can shape the provision of education and other economic commodities and services. However, at the same time, they highlight the agency of actors situated in various (core and periphery) nations and transnational organizations.

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See also Comparative and International Education; Economic Inequality; Politics of Education

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EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

Education Commission of the States (ECS) is a non-profit, nonpartisan, interstate organization composed of forty-nine states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands. Its primary purpose is to improve public education by researching, gathering, and disseminating information to inform educational policy makers and leaders across the United States. Now in its fourth decade of service

to American public education, ECS supports the diverse needs of numerous stakeholders.

History and Organization

In his 1964 book titled *Shaping Educational Policy*, former Harvard University president, James Bryant Conant, called for a national educational policy partnership among the states. Early in 1965, his call was answered when John W. Gardner of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and former North Carolina governor Terry Sanford led the creation of the Compact for Education—the Congress-approved, state-endorsed, agreement that created the ECS. Two years later, ECS sprung into action as the operational branch of the Compact for Education out of its national headquarters in Denver, Colorado. Today, each state and territory that makes up the Education Commission of the States is represented by seven commissioners, including one state legislator from each house, the governor, and four others that she or he appoints. ECS is financially supported by a wide range of grants, sponsorships, state fees, and contracts.

Purpose and Goals

The primary purposes and goals of the ECS are detailed in the Compact for Education and in the ECS statement of mission, values, and goals. At its core, ECS acts as an advocate for the improvement of American public education through its varied approaches to informing state leaders and the general public about educational policy issues. These approaches include providing research, policy analysis, technical assistance, recommendations, and publications to educational decision makers, as well as creating a nonpartisan forum for interstate communication and collaboration across educational policy issues. Further, ECS acts as a national clearinghouse for all relevant research and information related to educational policy.

Contributions to Education

ECS is well respected as an educational policy resource due to its comprehensive and significant contributions to the field. In addition to its services to members of the

commission, ECS offers a wide range of resources to the general public. These resources include up-to-date news and information provided on the ECS Web site and in electronic publications and newsletters; policy research and analysis on a wide range of relevant topics; national, state, and regional policy conferences, workshops, and seminars; technical assistance and technology-related services; a quarterly report, numerous print publications, and links to additional resources across a diverse set of educational issue areas; and the ECS Clearinghouse—the country’s only complete database of state and national policy enactments, multistate reports, and links to detailed information across more than 100 educational policy issue areas.

Carri Anne Schneider

See also Philanthropy, Educational; Policy Studies

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Web Sites

Education Commission of the States: <http://www.ecs.org>

EDUCATIONESE

Critics of education use the term *educationese* to describe what they consider to be the pretentious jargon educators use when, in the critics’ opinions, everyday English would be more appropriate. Conservatives are the most vocal critics of educationese, as part of their general challenge to the legitimacy of public education and educators. However, educators’ use of specialized language also concerns liberals and progressives because it may impede efforts to communicate with families and community members.

Linguistic Background

Educationese is a pejorative term, and educators usually would not use it to describe their language. The *-ese* suffix can be added to the name of any field

to create a term for the language used by practitioners in that field (e.g., *legalese* and *medicalese*). Such terms denote specialized vocabularies, not entirely distinctive languages. They are pejorative because they parody the use of obscure terms or euphemisms when common, everyday words might do. Academics play a major role in creating these specialized vocabularies. Practitioners in a field acquire them through professional education, and keep up to date on new terminology through continuing education.

Other terms relevant to educationese are *bureaucratese*, which disparages the technical, impersonal language that accompanied the rise of bureaucracy as an institutional type, and *doublespeak*. Bureaucratese is a barrier for people who need to communicate with staff in an organization in order to receive services. Bureaucratic jargons are also replete with euphemisms that make undesirable or mundane things sound more tasteful or important. Although George Orwell did not coin the term *doublespeak*, it is probably an adaptation of his term *Newspeak*, a political language meant to deceive the citizenry in the novel *1984*. Detractors of doublespeak believe that euphemisms (such as *downsizing* for “firing” or *collateral damage* for “dead civilians”) are deliberate attempts to hide the harms of corporate or governmental actions from the public.

Specialized vocabularies need not be viewed so negatively, however. They indicate the professionalization of an occupation. For members of a profession, specialized terms facilitate communication with colleagues, because they allow more precision in description. For example, *spinal stenosis* is more precise than “aching back,” and *autistic* is more informative than “acting strange and not talking.” In addition, professionals today often work in bureaucratic organizations in which they must adopt technical terms and acronyms associated with government programs, the insurance industry, and/or other entities that impinge on their work.

Sociological Interpretations

Sociologist Max Weber is most associated with analysis of the rise of both professions and bureaucracies as institutional changes in modern societies. Neo-Weberian institutional theorists interpret the specialized vocabularies of the professions and

bureaucracies as markers of intentional institutional advancement. For example, Murray Edelman interprets language change as a strategy in the advancement of the helping professions. As actors claim the exclusive right to certain practices and give those practices special labels, they are able to exert more power over those outside the institution. They label or frame problems in ways that give them a greater prerogative over the solutions.

Some sociologists argue that physicians, for example, medicalize more and more areas of life, so that nonphysicians become more dependent on their services. Spoofing or denouncing medicalese can be a way to question the legitimacy of such power. Ethical problems also arise when professionals communicate with those outside the profession. Lay people, especially clients, often cannot understand professional jargon, and this may impede professional-client communication or even the client's ability to receive or benefit from services.

Applications to Education

Education both fits and does not fit this general analysis. Public education in the United States and other nations did become increasingly bureaucratized during the twentieth century, and there have been calls for greater teacher and administrator professionalization. In 1975 when sociologist Dan Lortie published the book *Schoolteacher*, he reported that teachers did not use terms unfamiliar to the general public. Since that time, if critics are to be believed, educators have traded their everyday way of talking for a pedantic style loaded with jargon.

Conservative critics of educationese, such as Diane Ravitch, have been especially scathing, perhaps because of an assumption that educators neither receive the extended, rigorous education nor possess the advanced skills of other professionals, such as physicians. Thus, their adoption of specialized jargon is a mere pretense. Educators' "politically correct" euphemisms, such as "performing below grade level" and "underachieving," are attempts to prettify the harsh truth of academic failure. Education professors also regularly borrow contemporary jargon from other fields, such as business and science, and add it to their discourse. While such practices seem open to question,

educators must use certain terms and acronyms to communicate with government bureaucracies, and classroom teachers must be acquainted to at least some extent with the technical vocabularies of colleagues in special education and other programs.

At the same time that educators have been striving for more professional status, education reformers have called for more parent and community involvement in schooling, which would require educators to understand and speak the language of homes and neighborhoods. This is more complex than it may seem, because educators and noneducators in some communities may operate according to different cultural models. Special educators, in particular, have adopted more scientific models for children's behaviors that parents or community members might label "bad" and deserving of punishment. There is some evidence that homeschoolers and parent advocacy groups are advising their members to learn educationese, so that they can balance the power in conflicts with public school educators. Understanding such language differences must be part of any attempt to bridge the gaps between homes and schools.

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See also Bureaucracy; Discursive Practices; Sociology of Education; Teachers, Professional Status of

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EDUCATION IN THE NEW AMERICAN REPUBLIC

In hindsight, education during the American nation's first fifty years looks like a hodgepodge. Although several of the nation's founders urged broad access to schooling, the Constitution was silent on education.

Thomas Jefferson imagined an ambitious, multilevel schooling scheme, and the Land Ordinance of 1785 dedicated one section to schools in each future township. Some states had school funds, but no state boasted a real school system. The founders' dreams evaporated as most Americans resisted school taxes. Better-off parents preferred private education; existing options plus apprenticeship met others' expectations. Yet over the next fifty years or so, the attitude toward the importance of education changed, as this entry shows, and by the 1830s, the nation was primed to offer public education for all.

In early America, as in colonial days, parents taught introductory literacy, although female literacy lagged. Young town-dwelling children might attend a "dame school," learning letters in a woman's busy kitchen. Longer-settled areas usually offered basic public schooling. As settlement dispersed after the Revolution, rural towns split schooling functions into tiny districts of perhaps twenty neighboring families, each district possessing a one-room schoolhouse and a superintending committee.

Early public schools met for three-month summer and winter terms, since farm work dominated spring and fall. Older boys attended winter schools, while younger boys and girls could attend both, except where girls were schooled separately at odd hours. Most teachers were men, ministers or college students, with widely varying teaching abilities. Learning involved solitary memorization of Bible passages, Noah Webster's "blue-backed speller," and random family-owned schoolbooks, followed by recitation—not understanding or reflection. Rural schoolhouses were drafty or hot, with rough backless benches; urban schools met in any available room. Corporal punishment was common, for both misbehavior and recitation mistakes. At term's end, "rate bills" charged parents for each day their children had appeared. Attendance was optional and spotty.

Urban education featured more private schools, although the public-private boundary blurred. Churches and philanthropic groups funded schools for the poor, including separate "African" schools. Beginning around 1810, Sunday schools targeted working children, offering literacy more than religion. In large cities, where free schooling signified genuine

poverty, a motley array of academies served the majority of families. Most charity and pay schools resembled public schools in pedagogy, facilities, and teacher quality.

Since early colleges produced mostly classically trained ministers, college-bound boys studied Latin with a private instructor or attended a preparatory academy. In a few places, notably Massachusetts, towns supported Latin "grammar schools." Girls had sparse advanced schooling opportunities; most elite girls' academies spotlighted music, fancy needlework, and dancing.

As voting eligibility extended to men of little property after 1800, however, more Americans sought correspondingly broad educational access. The education of females gained importance from John Locke's childrearing ideas, which emphasized children's early impressionability, while the emerging concept of "republican motherhood" suggested that only educated mothers could raise republic-ready men of thoughtful judgment. These forces plus an increasingly complex, technical economy, demanding flexible, transferable skills and knowledge, slowly built acceptance of expanded schooling. When better schooling became more visibly useful, more parents invested in it.

By the 1810s, public and private schools began broadening their curricula. Academies offered more history, geography, modern languages, advanced mathematics, and occasionally teacher training. Boston's English High School, founded in 1821, provided a practical public education beyond the classics. Soon academies sprouted everywhere, peaking in the 1820s, when there were perhaps 6,000 (many ephemeral) by 1850. Girls enjoyed greater access to town and private schools by 1800. A few girls' academies rivaled advanced education for boys, and some towns added girls' secondary schools by the 1820s. With more women equipped to become teachers (and working cheap), district schools began hiring women, at first for summer sessions, when older boys did not attend. Imported teaching methods promoted further innovation.

Meanwhile, westward migration and Protestant denominational splits helped quadruple the number of colleges by 1820. Many colleges widened their offerings, and medical and law schools multiplied. Still, no college admitted women before the mid-1830s.

By 1830, schooling had clearly gained momentum. Challenges remained: bills and work demands that shut out poorer children; inferior opportunities for African Americans; limitations on women's higher education; unsuitable textbooks, buildings, and teachers; skimpy attendance; and skeptical taxpayers. Yet the notion that American children of all classes—if not all races—could learn together in free public schools lay just around the bend.

Rebecca R. Noel

See also American Education, Themes in the History of; Higher Education, History of; Literacy in the Colonial Era

See Visual History Chapter 2, Early Textbooks

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ENGINEERING EDUCATION, ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF

In standard accounts, the history of American engineering education began with the establishment of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1802. This was the first institution to offer formal instruction in civil and military engineering in North America. Through the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, engineering education became increasingly widespread and professional, as this entry describes.

Early Education

If the ruins left by ancient Mayan and Aztec civilizations are considered, then informal means of engineering education existed in the Americas long before colonists crossed the Atlantic. The pyramids at Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza provide evidence of early forms of engineering education in at least two ways. First, the ruins by their very structure imply a

pattern of scientific organization and a familiarity with basic mathematical sciences. Central to pyramid construction were applications of principles derived from geometry and physics. Second, the structures suggest a pattern of social organization necessary for transmitting scientific or practical knowledge. A means of passing this knowledge from one group (i.e., organizers) to another (i.e., managers and laborers) required an informal process of teaching and learning engineering concepts.

Formal institutions of higher learning first appeared in the “new world” in Latin America during the sixteenth century and then in North America during the seventeenth century, but these institutions largely ignored the practical and engineering sciences. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, North American colonial colleges followed the classical curriculum that required studies in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, logic, and other language-related areas, with slight attention to mathematics and science. The science courses offered to students were often dated and not aligned with practical interests.

Systematic attention to engineering education, as at West Point, began to appear in the early to mid-nineteenth century within a dynamic social and cultural milieu. Developments in American society after the Revolutionary War and into the antebellum period included wars with England and Mexico, a fundamental transformation in the economy from agrarianism to industrialization, patterns of migration from rural to urban areas, and westward expansion. Wars with European and Latin American forces prompted calls for greater attention to military engineering. The founding of military academies soon followed with the establishment of the Virginia Military Institute (1839), the Citadel (1843), and the U.S. Naval Academy (1845).

Change Produces Needs

The transformation of the economy, meanwhile, resulted in a dramatic shift from agriculture to industry. At the start of the nineteenth century, there were only a handful of American factories; by 1850, there were over 140,000 producing more than a billion dollars worth of goods. The technical and technological needs of factory operation created a demand for graduates of engineer-

ing education. Rapid industrialization facilitated the process of rapid urbanization. In 1800, there were fifteen Americans in rural life to every one city dweller. By 1850, the ratio was approximately five to one.

With an increased concentration of labor in urban centers came the establishment of mechanic institutes. These organizations, such as the Franklin Institute (1824) in Philadelphia, developed curricula centered on practical and useful knowledge. Westward migration increased the need for those knowledgeable in the practical sciences. Large-scale land surveys funded by local, state, and federal governments as well as the construction of rail lines often required trained engineers and contributed to the expansion of formal engineering instruction.

Antebellum social, cultural, and educational developments are particularly important to note for historiographical reasons. Traditional, and now defunct, interpretations about higher education before the Civil War have suggested that these institutions failed to respond to the needs of society and that little, if any, attention was placed on practical or scientific studies. Recent scholarship has emphasized that many technical schools, polytechnic institutes, mechanic institutes, practical lyceums, military academies, and other institutions came into existence during this period, along with curricular reform at traditional colleges that expanded opportunities for practical and engineering studies.

Approach to Education

The conceptual foundation of many well-established American engineering institutions—such as West Point, Rensselaer in 1824 and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1861—relied to a large extent on French models of polytechnic instruction. West Point's first superintendent, Sylvanus Thayer, visited the École Polytechnique in Paris and borrowed heavily from its curricula upon his return. Rensselaer's Amos Eaton practiced a laboratory model of instruction that also mirrored the French system. And MIT's conceptual founder, William Barton Rogers, was highly influenced by the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures.

Common to the Parisian schools was an emphasis on the practical and mathematical sciences and their application to field work. Differences between French institutions largely had to do with the focus of student preparation. Graduates from the École Centrale prepared for such fields as agriculture, architecture, railroad engineering, textile manufacturing, public works, industrial chemistry, general civil engineering, machine manufacturing, metallurgy and mining, and commerce. The École Centrale was established in response to the largely mathematical, theoretical, and military training of the École Polytechnique; as a civilian, rather than military, program, it balanced theoretical training in geology, physics, and chemistry with practical laboratory exercises and the workshop. A majority of students in these laboratories and workshops came from the business, industrial, and labor classes.

During the mid- to late nineteenth century, U.S. government support for engineering education fueled the expansion of existing institutions and the founding of new ones. The Morrill Act of 1862 is often noted as the first federally funded program for American higher education. Senator Justin Morrill had as a goal for the act the establishment of college-level agricultural and mechanical programs of study. The funding came from an allotment of western lands to, at first, Northeastern states, since the act was passed during the Civil War. Southern states later received an allotment for similar purposes shortly after the war and in a federal land-grant act of 1890.

Although popular as a result of developments during the antebellum period and as evidenced by the land-grant acts, engineering schools produced a culture clash within the profession. The cultural rift occurred between those who learned their skills and knowledge through experience (i.e., shop culture) and those who learned the same through formal instruction (i.e., school culture). Thus, shop culture tended to distrust “book learning” and valued the practical experiences gained through work, whether in shops developing machinery, in open fields surveying lands, or deep within the earth mining for natural resources. School culture tended to find incomplete the learning acquired through work experience and valued the knowledge gained through

formal science and engineering courses. By the turn of the twentieth century, the culture clash began to fade as the engineering community underwent a process of professionalization and engineering programs became more common.

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See also Higher Education, History of; Morrill Act

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ENGLISH-ONLY MOVEMENT

The “English-only” movement (also known as the “Official English” movement) is a network of activists organized around the legislative goals of passing a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States and restricting the use of languages other than English for official purposes. These would include written usage in ballots, signage, drivers’ licensing exams, public safety pamphlets, and other government documents, as well as oral usages such as voting assistance, provision of social services (e.g., health care or job training), and translation assistance for crime victims, witnesses, or defendants. Some cities have passed English-only laws restricting the use of other languages on private business signs. A major area of debate has been language policies around public education, particularly for immigrant children. Correspondingly, schooling has been a major focus of the movement’s campaign, and bilingual education advocates are among its staunchest opponents.

Throughout U.S. history, public enthusiasm for declaring English the (exclusive) official language has waxed and waned, largely as a reaction to the ebb and flow of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries. In earlier decades, such immigrants were mainly from Europe and China. Aggressive assimilation policies targeting Native Americans (e.g., via the forcible removal of Indian children to English-medium boarding schools) and anti-German sentiment surrounding World War I also prompted several states to pass legislation restricting the use of languages other than English in public schools.

More recently, immigration from Latin America, particularly Mexico, has spurred the English-only movement to aggressive action on various fronts. Spearheading this movement has been California businessman Ron Unz, whose “English for the Children” initiative led to the passage of California’s Proposition 227 in 1998. Though it did not outlaw bilingual education outright, Proposition 227 severely restricted the educational options available to students learning English, and established various bureaucratic hurdles to the provision of educational services in other languages.

To date, roughly half of the fifty states have passed English-only laws; court challenges to these measures are ongoing in some states. Not surprisingly, the English-only movement has been most active in states with a large proportion of speakers of other languages, such as California, Florida, Nebraska, Colorado, Hawaii, and Massachusetts. On the other hand, some states with large immigrant populations (e.g., Texas) have resisted such legislation, while a few (notably New Mexico) have passed nonbinding “English plus” measures in support of multilingualism.

Although critics have charged that the English-only movement is fueled by nativist, anti-immigrant, or racist sentiments, and tenuous links have been drawn to White supremacist organizations, bilingual education advocate James Crawford argues that such links are less significant than is often believed. Rather, the movement has gained widespread public support (even among some Hispanics) by stressing the right of all immigrants, especially children, to have access to the English language. They argue that the provision of

services in other languages impedes immigrants' acquisition of English, and that bilingual education, while arguably necessary for some children, should be of short duration and focused on the transition to English-medium education.

Opponents argue that such policies fly in the face of most research, which indicates that well-implemented, long-term bilingual education programs are more effective at promoting the acquisition of English than are transitional bilingual education or "sink or swim" English immersion programs. Organizations dedicated to the defense of civil liberties and minority rights have also argued that laws restricting language use are inconsistent with the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, as well as the First Amendment's protection of free speech. Nevertheless, English-only advocates have, for the most part, been more effective at disseminating their views among a public that is generally unfamiliar with research on second language acquisition, and tends to view monolingualism as the norm in human societies.

Aurolyn Luykx

See also Activism and the Social Foundations of Education; Bilingual Education, History of; Discrimination and Prejudice; Hispanic Education; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues; Immigrant Education: History

See Visual History Chapter 14, Immigration and Education

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- James Crawford's Language Policy Web Site & Emporium: <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford>
- Language Policy Research Unit, Arizona State University: <http://www.language-policy.org>

EQUAL ACCESS ACT

In 1984, President Ronald Reagan signed into law the federal Equal Access Act (EAA). This law permits student-initiated noncurricular clubs to meeting during noninstructional time, if a given public secondary school maintains a "limited public forum." In addition, if a public school permits other noncurricular organizations to meet on school grounds outside of instructional time, it cannot bar religiously oriented student groups.

EAA was passed on the heels of a thrice-defeated proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would have permitted state-sanctioned prayers in public schools, and the original legislative intent behind EAA was specifically religious. However, in the midst of the legislative process, the original wording was modified to include *secular*, noncurricular groups.

EAA's constitutionality was later upheld in *Board of Education v. Mergens* (1990). At the time, religious conservatives hailed the Supreme Court's 8–1 decision. However, the *Mergens* decision also built the foundation for later conservative discontent. In his lone dissent, Justice John Paul Stevens predicted that to meet the law's requirements, school districts would have to bar most groups from using their facilities if they wanted to ban controversial organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan.

Justice Stevens's observation proved to be prophetic. By the mid-1990s, Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs), which are student-initiated clubs for both straight and gay secondary students, formed at public schools across the United States. In some instances, public school officials permitted the groups. But in the case of Salt Lake City, Utah, the local school board chose to ban all noncurricular groups rather than permit the GSA, which was their only other option under the constraints of *Mergens* and EAA. The student group later won in federal court, and the courts have consistently maintain the right of GSAs to form if the school district in question maintains either an open public forum or limited public forum. In lay terms, thanks to the EAA, if a school district permits

a Bible club to meet on school property, it must permit a Gay-Straight Alliance to also meet. It is an ironic legacy from a conservative presidency.

Catherine A. Lugg

See also Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Politics of Education; School Governance

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ETHICAL ISSUES AND SCHOOL ATHLETICS

When applied to sports, *ethics* refers to the principles and values associated with sports participation, including sportsmanship and character development. It is an important issue in K–12 school athletics. Sports participation is generally believed to teach character and leadership skills that can be applied later in life. Teamwork, communication, peaceful resolution to conflict, goal setting, motivation, and the work ethic are seen as some of the positive aspects.

In addition, certain values and principles are associated with being engaged in athletic activities, such as respect (for rules and people), integrity, competition, honesty, safety, fairness, trust, and sportsmanship. Since ethics is often thought about as “doing the

right thing,” then sport ethics means doing the right thing in a sports setting. Sportsmanship cannot be achieved without ethical behavior.

When an ethical dilemma occurs in a sports setting, two or more values, such as wanting to win versus safety or fairness are in conflict and the participant is forced to choose between those values. When the need to win becomes more important, unethical or unsportsmanlike behavior may occur, such as a coach playing an injured athlete simply to win a contest. This entry examines the ethical issues in school athletic programs that are confronted by athletes and their coaches and parents.

Ethical Dilemmas

The extent to which ethical issues play an important role in the climate of contemporary schools can be seen in the results of a number of recent surveys. In a 2004 survey of 4,200 high school athletes, 12 percent of males and 36 percent of females admitted to using performance enhancing drugs in the past year. In addition, 68 percent of males and 50 percent of the females in the study admitted that they had bullied, teased, or taunted someone in the past year, and 55 percent of males acknowledged using racial slurs. A 2006 survey revealed that high school students involved in athletics cheat more in school than their nonathlete counterparts.

Young athletes are increasingly the subjects of news stories about negative incidents in sports. Recently, a thirteen-year-old boy was charged with murder for a fatal attack with a baseball bat on another boy who teased him about losing a baseball game. A case that received worldwide attention involved a Dominican immigrant who became one of the biggest sensations in Little League baseball history by pitching the first perfect Little League game in forty-four years and striking out 90 percent of opposing batters with a skill level that far exceeded all of his thirteen-year-old competitors. It was later discovered that his birth certificate had been altered by two years, meaning that he was and had been ineligible during his championship run. Parents, coaches, and players were all aware that he was too old to play but ignored the rules in favor of winning games.

Ethical issues involving school settings are not limited simply to students, but also involve coaches and parents. In a recent study of 803 athletes ranging in age from nine to fifteen, and 189 parents and 61 youth sport coaches, poor behavior among parents and coaches was consistently reported. Among parents, 13 percent acknowledged angrily criticizing their child's performance.

Coaches are increasingly reported as being involved in unsportsmanlike behaviors—behaviors that often clearly have ethical overtones. For example, a 2004 study indicates that 8 percent of coaches encouraged their players to hurt an opponent, while 7 percent condoned cheating, and 33 percent admitted yelling at players for making mistakes. In addition, 4 percent of the athletes reported that a coach had hit, kicked, or slapped them.

A relatively new phenomenon, “sports rage” has developed in recent years, with an increasing number of parents and coaches stepping over the line at sporting events and engaging in aggressive and violent behavior. Examples can be found of a father shooting a football coach because of the coach's treatment of his son, a father being beaten to death by another parent at a youth hockey game, four- and five-year-olds watching parents brawling at a t-ball game, and parents poisoning the members of an opposing team.

Ethical Theory Applied to Sport

A number of important concepts drawn from the more general field of ethics have a particular application to sports ethics. These include deontology; teleology; rule, principle, and the categorical imperative; situational ethics; and the ethics of social contracts.

Deontology refers to ethical decision making based on moral obligations and responsibilities or actions that are taken for reasons other than consequences, such as telling the truth and respecting others. In sport, helping an injured opponent, equal participation, and being honest with officials or referees serve as examples of deontology.

Teleology suggests that ethical behavior is based on ends, consequences, or goals, often manifested in sports by the focus on winning. How one wins may be viewed as less important than the victory itself. The

utilitarian view looks at the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain as a measure of the “rightness” of an action, and when more than one person is involved, what is best for the greatest number of people.

In youth sports, for example, when a coach chooses to play only the best players in an effort to win, and thus ignores the notion that equal participation is important at this level, a teleological approach has been used. If happiness is achieved, especially for the greatest number of people (team, coaches, players, and parents), then the fact that a few players sat on the bench is considered unimportant.

Another aspect of teleology, and perhaps a more practical way of approaching ethical theory lies with a situational approach, or “letting conscience be your guide.” In this theory, an individual views each moral episode as a separate and unique event, and decisions are based on what is right in a given situation without regard to a specific set of rules, likely consequences, or moral obligations. An example of this type of behavior might be a coach looking at another team's playbook or an athlete tampering with the equipment of an opponent.

A rule- or principle-based perspective, based on the work of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, is predicated on the maxim that an action is acceptable as a universal law. The cheater in sports doesn't want everyone to violate the rules; otherwise, cheating would offer no rewards. This includes the virtuous aspect of sport, or what it “ought” to be, as opposed to what it is, or winning the “right way” instead of “winning at all costs.”

The social contract view of ethics maintains that the community or group dictates what is ethical or not. Athletes on a team, for example, agree to the rules and parameters of their participation, and decision making takes the form of give and take. When athletes take steroids, the action violates the social contract that athletes have agreed to abide by—that is, not to have an unfair advantage over their opponents.

Sportsmanship Versus Gamesmanship

Understanding the difference between sportsmanship and its counterpart, gamesmanship, is essential to a discussion of sport ethics. Sportsmanship refers to the

virtuous perspective or the way that sport participation “ought” to be. It includes winning the right way, being willing to lose gracefully, having appropriate respect for opponents and officials, understanding and abiding by the spirit of the rules, and putting competition into perspective. Gamesmanship, on the other hand, is the winning-at-all-costs mentality; it is the way that sports may be, not how it should be. It includes looking for exceptions to the rules, taunting, fake fouls, illegal head starts, taunting to gain an advantage, intentionally injuring another player, and intimidation or espionage.

While winning is commonly the goal in a sport contest, the pervasive notion that it is the most important aspect of the contest causes unethical behavior and even violence in sports. In the 1996 Olympics, a popular Nike ad sent the message that “you don’t win the silver, you lose the gold,” and the famous NFL football legend and coach Vince Lombard is often quoted as saying “winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing.” These examples perpetuate the notion that winning is the most important goal in sports, and to be successful, one must attain that goal in whatever manner available. It is also a perspective that is not necessarily consistent with what is considered appropriate ethical behavior.

The Future of Sport Ethics

The future of sport ethics at the K–12 level rests on the ability of those involved to adhere to the principles of good sportsmanship and minimize the need to win at all costs. Education of parents, coaches, teachers, administrators, and athletes is essential, and can take the form of holding sport ethics clinics and workshops, developing and implementing codes of ethics for all stakeholders, rewarding good sportsmanship, and having a zero tolerance for gamesmanship.

Susan P. Mullane

See also Athletics, Policy Issues

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Positive Coaching Alliance: <http://www.positivecoach.org>

ETHICS AND EDUCATION

Ethical questions are about right and wrong, good and bad, just and unjust. They matter because what people do affects them individually, affects their community, and can even affect those they do not know or see. Unfortunately, students often do not know how to reason about an ethical decision. This is due to the fact that they, like many adults, do not recognize when ethical reasoning is the best option for making a decision or dealing with conflict. This entry briefly describes ethics, looks at the current forms of character education, and contrasts them with ethics-based approaches.

What Is Ethics?

More often than not, ethics is erroneously constructed in and by all areas of American culture as a prescriptive set of rules that answer whether an action in a given situation is universally perceived as correct or incorrect. Such a universal dichotomy rarely exists. Rather, making ethical decisions is a complex and nuanced process requiring critical examination, reflection, and explanation.

One should not rely on ethics to argue that one’s behavior is beyond reproach or scrutiny. There is rarely a single correct answer that will be appropriate for all individuals. Rather, ethics must be constructed broadly, as centuries of philosophers have done, as a branch of moral philosophy that is concerned with the study of how individuals and groups go through the process and analysis of deciding what they believe in dealing with issues of determining what is right or

wrong, just or unjust. Though ethics does involve answering complicated and often nuanced questions about issues including good and evil, and the limitations of personal responsibilities and behaviors, these answers are not universal.

There are many factors that are involved in making a decision about right or wrong when it comes to ethics. These include, but are not limited to, culture, values, norms, and theology—themselves all concepts that reasonable people do not always agree on. Though these concepts may be complicated and difficult to navigate, particularly in the current political and social climate, they are of vital importance. Students need to be able to identify situations that require ethical reasoning and then be able to act accordingly. What they currently get as an alternative is not acceptable.

Character Education

American educators across the country are currently engaged, often through governmental regulatory mandates, in the delivery of character education. Though there are several different approaches and curricula, all touted by companies seeking to profit from the need to instill character in our students, there are basic tenets that bind them together. Among these is the belief that students can be told, through edicts and dictums, how to be persons of character.

The prescriptive approach embedded in these various curricula and lessons explicitly sends students the message that if they simply follow the appropriate instructions, they will possess the qualities of character. These qualities include such admirable traits as fairness, honesty, respect, citizenship, and trustworthiness. The problem is not the promotion of these traits, but the manner in which they are promoted.

Students are simply told to be fair, honest, respectful, trustworthy, and good citizens. But they are rarely given the space to question what it means to be a person who reflects these traits. Students are told what these traits mean and how they manifest, without any examination of the ambiguous nature these words often take when in the context of real situations that individuals are forced to navigate. Students are presented with a binary of a person either “being” or “not being” the human embodiment of these characteristics

as a litmus test of whether or not they are persons of character.

An Ethics Approach

Ethics differs significantly from character education in that it seeks to develop critical thinking skills that result in habits of reason, rather than of compliance. Ethical reasoning presupposes no set of rules or principles; rather, it seeks to have students consider conflicting points of view.

Engaging students in activities that include ethical reasoning promotes the idea that critically analyzed and constructed arguments and rationales for making a decision are much more valuable than a simple regurgitation of established norms. Ethical reasoning results in shared insights about the agreements people need to have to live well together. Reasonable people disagree all the time, and that is not to be discouraged. Students need to learn that when they encounter situations in which people disagree, they need to be able to sort out what they believe and why. They must focus on the different processes that lead to these varying conclusions, not demonize each other for their disagreements.

Though this is an age that often seems to determine who is right by who can scream the loudest and for the longest, ethics differentiates itself from such outbursts by promoting civil discourse. Through a mutually respectful process that embraces the value inherent in multiple points of view, students come to understand that a deviation from the values espoused by a set of rules, as in the example of character education, does not make one a deviant. Instead of promoting the answers to the question of what is simply right or wrong in a given situation, schools could work to improve the critical thinking skills necessary for engaging in rigorous intellectual endeavors such as ethical reasoning. Students need to be able to articulate what they believe, but more importantly, they need to have the skills to articulate why they believe it.

Though there is not a great deal of this type of pedagogy currently practiced, a brief overview of one of the major methods used in the practice of engaging students in ethical reasoning and critical thinking will illuminate the differences between this method and the currently

more utilized character education. By examining the differences it will be clear why inclusion of activities rooted in the encouragement of the development of critical thinking skills is more appropriate for participating in activities that may legitimately be placed in the category of education concerned with ethics. As noted previously, ethics is about the exchange of ideas and does not assume that there is one right answer that will eventually be reached by all who seek the truth. It is not simply a statement of right and wrong.

Tools for Teaching Ethics

One of the primary means of including ethics in the curriculum is by using vignettes, or case studies, as examples of situations where ethical reasoning must take place. The case studies are accompanied by a generic protocol that asks students to answer some basic questions about the situation they have been presented. These questions are:

1. What do you know about this situation? What do you believe to be true? Why do you believe it and not something else?
2. What don't you know? What hasn't been asked? Is this the whole truth? What questions have not been answered?
3. Who is responsible? For what? What could be done? What are the possible (not necessarily desirable) alternatives?
4. What should be done? By whom? Why is this the best ethical decision?

Before beginning this activity, teachers should participate in training that prepares them to look at situations through the lenses of veracity, transparency, responsibility, and justice. In learning how to guide students through answering the questions posed above, teachers should be able to tease apart these questions and see how they promote civil discourse and critical thinking, resulting in students gaining confidence in their abilities to participate in ethical decision making. This process of using critical thinking skills to engage in discourse about ethical issues with the goal of improving decision making is applied ethics.

Ethical reasoning tools like those allow students to openly and honestly discuss complex issues where it

is perceived as acceptable for reasonable people to disagree. But this is not without its own predictable problems. There are two general problems that students experience when attempting to investigate such issues. First, like adults, students are quick to jump to opinions and hold to them dearly even when presented with evidence to the contrary. Second, after choosing sides on an issue, students often attack their peers who hold different views, rather than spending their energy on enhancing and strengthening the rationale for their positions.

Therefore, this protocol incorporates civil discourse with a required tone of decency that expects students to use critical thinking skills to arrive at the answer to the question, "Why do you believe what you believe and not something else?" Once students can successfully articulate an answer to this question by providing a rationale that is comprised of well-developed ideas, and not merely attacks on others who disagree, this is when they demonstrate that they possess the ability to call themselves ethical members of society.

The ability to participate in such activities is paramount to becoming a civically engaged member of a democratic system. By being able to comprehend the concepts of ethical reasoning through critical thinking, students feel empowered and demonstrate personal responsibility, integrity, and other values that are impossible to instill through just the more limiting didactic methods of character education.

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See also Moral Education; Values Education

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ETHICS CODES FOR TEACHERS

Unlike other professions such as medicine and law, the teaching profession has not developed a consistent and universal code of ethics—a prerequisite for being a profession in the minds of many theorists. Figures such as Myron Lieberman, an expert on education policy and teacher bargaining, have argued that such a code cannot emerge as long as collective bargaining drives teacher–school district negotiations. The development and enforcement of ethical standards, according to Lieberman, is left to administrators and school boards. This is not to suggest that teachers, as a group, are devoid of ethical principles, only that as a professional group, they have not adopted, nor do they enforce on their peers, an ethical code of behavior.

In this context, if a teacher observes other teachers conducting themselves in what may be perceived as an unethical manner, it is not considered his or her duty to enforce a code of professional ethics. This does not mean that teachers do not have an obligation ethically, and possibly legally, to report inappropriate behavior by fellow professionals. But it is not their job to enforce such codes or rules. Instead, this is the responsibility of school administrators and local school boards. Such a model is unlike that of the legal profession, in which peers judge peers based on their conduct and are subject to deliberations by the Bar. Likewise, doctors are subject to peer review by medical boards made up of fellow practitioners.

Ethical codes for teachers are occasionally promulgated at the state and local level, and there is an ethical code that has been developed by the National Education Association (NEA), something which does not exist for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). According to Lieberman, if teacher unions

played a more active role in defining and policing the ethical behavior of their members, they would find themselves faced with two insolvable problems: (1) they could not represent the interests of the teachers who had membership in the union, since there would be a conflict of interest; and (2) there would be an unavoidable problem of accountability—the union leadership, by definition, being an organization that is not legally accountable to the school district or the local community where the ethical misconduct may have occurred.

The educational philosopher Karl Hostetler maintains that Lieberman's interpretation is based on a "conceptually inadequate notion of moral and political negotiation." Instead, he argues that the union can take an intermediary role by establishing standards for ethical behavior and seeing that they are enforced, while at the same time advocating for the rights and protecting the interests of its members. In such a scenario, it becomes reasonable for a union to put in place a code of ethical conduct.

In the case of the National Education Association's code, its basic principles are brief and to the point. According to the NEA, educators (in terms of dealing with students) should seek to help each student realize his or her potential, while at the same time stimulating the process of inquiry, acquisition of knowledge and understanding, and the formulation of worthwhile goals. The teacher shall not deny students access to different points of view; shall not suppress or distort knowledge; shall make reasonable efforts to protect the safety of students; shall not intentionally embarrass the student; shall not discriminate against the student based on race, color, creed, sex, national origin, marital status, political or religious beliefs, family, social or cultural background, or sexual orientation; shall not use his or her professional relationship with students for private advantage; and shall not disclose private or confidential information about students unless compelled to do so by a clear professional reason or by the law.

In terms of commitment to the profession, the NEA Code of Ethics maintains that teachers are public servants, and therefore expected to maintain the highest possible standard of professional conduct. In this context, teachers should not make false statements;

should not overstate their professional qualifications; should not assist the entry of unqualified individuals into the profession; should not knowingly make a false statement concerning the qualifications of a candidate for a position; should not assist noneducators in participating in unauthorized teaching; should not unnecessarily discuss information about colleagues unless professionally compelled to do so or as required by the law; should not make false or malicious comments about a colleague; and should not take gifts that will influence their behavior or professional judgment.

In conclusion, ethical issues faced by teachers are particularly complex: Teachers are public servants, they serve highly complex and diverse populations, and they work with minors. While issues of regulation and authority may be debated, reasonable principles do exist, which ultimately provide guidelines on appropriate ethical conduct and behavior.

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See also National Education Association; Teachers, Professional Status of

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Web Sites

National Education Association, Code of Ethics of the Education Profession:
<http://www.nea.org/aboutnea/code.html>

racial and genetic makeup. Its political dimension, which was widespread in the early twentieth century, used this basis to recommend selective breeding of superior people and policies of restricted immigration, sterilization, and segregation of those deemed inferior. Traces of this ideology remain in behavioral determinism. This entry looks at the history of the movement, especially in the United States.

Historical Background

The American eugenics movement can be traced to Great Britain and to the work of Sir Francis Galton, who coined the term *eugenics* in 1882 to mean “well born.” A member of the British upper classes, Galton thought that the social positions achieved by England’s ruling elite were determined by their superior biological inheritance; nature was far more important than nurture in human development. Believing in the determinism of biology and “positive” eugenics, he recommended that society’s best marry their superior counterparts and have many offspring.

By contrast, American mainline eugenics added a “negative” dimension to its policy options. By 1906 the American Breeders Association investigated and reported on just the issues that would have interested Francis Galton. Building on a rigid interpretation of the recently rediscovered research by the Moravian monk Gregor Mendel, and presuming hereditary differences between human races, the association popularized the themes of selective breeding, the biological threat of “inferior types,” and the need for recording and controlling human heredity. By 1910, and under the leadership of Charles Davenport, the Eugenics Record Office served to propagandize eugenics nationally.

By 1918, the Galton Society, reflecting its namesake’s interests, was formed in New York City. Concerned with policies of differential breeding and presumed human racial differences, it brought together eugenicists such as Charles Benedict Davenport, racist authors such as Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, and leaders from the academy, museums, and philanthropic organizations. Consistent with its popularization mission, the society was organized into committees focused on cooperation with

EUGENICS

Eugenics is a movement, supposedly based on scientific evidence, that holds that people are naturally superior and inferior to each other based on their

clergy, religious sermon contests, crime prevention, formal education, and selective immigration.

Transformed in the 1920s into the American Eugenics Society, it sponsored Fitter Families Contests and exhibits at state fairs in locations as varied as Kansas and Massachusetts. Exemplifying the tone of these exhibits, the 1926 display “The Triangle of Life,” which referred to environment, education, and heritage, warned of the threat of inherited “unfit human traits,” including feeble-mindedness, criminality, and pauperism. “Selected parents will have better children,” poster exhibits claimed. “This is the great aim of eugenics.”

Impact on Education

Mainline eugenics also found support from leaders in educational statistics and education for gifted children. For example, E. L. Thorndike and Leta Stetter Hollingworth popularized eugenics in their classes at Columbia University’s Teachers College throughout their careers. Using flawed racial interpretations of the World War I Army alpha and beta test data, Carl Brigham added to eugenics’ temporary luster in *A Study of American Intelligence* (1923). At the same time, authors such as Edward A. Wiggam were recommending policies of controlled breeding for America’s citizenry. Traveling across the country with lantern-slide presentations that linked eugenics with the rise of civilization, he proposed a new ten commandments based upon eugenic principles.

Popular eugenics was also part of the fabric of American popular culture during the twentieth century’s second and third decades. For example, on a given Saturday night, high school students might go to the movies to see *The Black Stork* or *Tomorrow’s Children*, films that supported eugenics-based sterilizations. On Sunday, they might join their families in church, where they could listen to sermons selected for awards by the American Eugenics Society, learning that human improvement required marriages of society’s “best” with “best.” Monday’s newspaper might discuss the threat posed to America by a “rising tide of feeble-mindedness,” a tide which required restrictions on southern and eastern European immigration. And

Tuesday’s paper might carry the “good” news that thousands of Americans were being sterilized for eugenic purposes. On Wednesday and Thursday, while visiting a state fair with their hygiene class, these students might sign up for a eugenic evaluation at a Fitter Families Exhibit.

By week’s end, and back in the classroom, these same students would learn from their biology textbook’s chapters on eugenics about the beneficial policies of immigration restriction, sterilization, and segregation. One analysis of high school textbooks determined that between 1914 and 1948, over 60 percent supported Galton’s original policies of differential birth rates.

Eugenics also found its place in the college classroom; many of America’s leading universities, including Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, and Brown offered courses on the topic. In fact, by 1928, 376 separate college courses included the subject, with approximately 20,000 students and the potential to influence the social attitudes of America’s future leaders.

Eugenics’ Decline

Mainline eugenics became a mainstay of racism in the United States, and it was used as a rationalization for the Nazi Holocaust, but by the early 1930s, its popularity in the United States had diminished. The reasons were many. By the late 1920s, it had succeeded in its policy initiatives; anti-immigration laws had been passed, the Supreme Court had legalized state-sponsored sterilization, and many states had passed antimiscegenation laws. In addition, legitimate advances in biology revealed eugenics to be a suspect science. Further, the worldwide economic depression that began in 1929 made it clear that the unemployment of millions could not simply be explained by their heredity.

While the early twentieth-century eugenics had lost its legitimacy by the 1930s, biological determinism did not, and today’s public continues to read of the links between complex human behavior and genetics. There are claims that people are what their genes make them, that the basis for a market economy is genetic, that faith is inherited, and that playing fair is hereditary.

While these are reports of pioneering work, the findings are far from robust enough to serve as the basis for significant education policy and practice. Rather, schools and teachers frame a series of environments—learning, social, physical, and moral—that also shape the students entrusted to them.

Steven Selden

See also Intelligence Testing; “Scientific” Racism

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FAMILY, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

The social context in which children learn and develop—their families, schools, and communities—has rapidly changed in only a few decades. Today's images of the postmodern family differ greatly from the traditional images of the modern family of the 1950s. Correspondingly, as these contextual blueprints have shifted, so have partnerships within the family and between each of these environmental settings. These relational changes bring with them perceptions of self and experiences with others. This entry examines the possible impact of cultural transitions on family, school, and community partnerships.

Schools have a vested interest in children's families since families serve as the primary agents of socialization. Likewise, schools are adapting to societal change by providing more supportive, familylike atmospheres and collaborating with community partners to form learning communities. As the demographics of schools shift, the need for multistranded partnerships is underscored by issues of poverty, transience, an aging population, and cultural diversity. All of these aspects point toward ways that schools mirror the larger culture.

Effects of Cultural Transitions on Family Partnerships

Television content in popular culture lends insight into modern and postmodern assumptions on the nature of

family and the impact of cultural transitions on family partnerships. During the 1950s, family sitcoms such as the *Donna Reed Show*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and *Ozzie and Harriet* created images of self-perceptions and experiences with others. For example, with regularity each of these families was cast with father as breadwinner, mother as homemaker, two children, and a dog. Families were all Caucasian and lived in middle-class, suburban neighborhoods. Togetherness was valued and, many times, romanticized by scenes of family meals around the dining room table, parents reading bedtime stories to children, and families playing games on a well-groomed lawn. In general, even though this portrayal of a modern family was accurate, it was uncharacteristic of the many ethnically diverse families and even some nuclear families during this same time period.

Cultural shifts from the assumptions of the modern family to the assumptions of the postmodern family are ambiguous. There are no specific timelines between these two Western phenomena. However, the belief that scientific theory can yield absolute truths, the underestimation of technology's ability to create powerful weapons of mass destruction, and the perpetual destruction of the environment served as the impetus for questioning the given structures and the turn toward postmodern thought.

Family sitcoms such as the *George Lopez Show*, the *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, and *Roseanne* represent the diverse nature of postmodern family partnerships. Overnight, culturally diverse families appeared, with relatives moving in and out to form new family ties.

Issues of race, class, and gender projected families as uniquely different from families in earlier versions of modern family life. For example, in the *George Lopez Show*, a Hispanic man becomes employed in a job that gives him newfound power. His family includes his acerbic mother, working wife, dyslexic son, adolescent daughter, and newly divorced father-in-law. The modern role of “father knows best” has now transitioned to a freewheeling approach to parenthood. Family sitcoms, couched in the framework of modern and postmodern worldviews, convey the impact of cultural transitions on the nature of family life and the renewed interest in strengthening family partnerships.

The Nature of School and Family Partnership

Schools have a vested interest in children’s families because the initial socialization of the child begins in the home. Schools continue the socializing process begun in the home by means of curricula. In her work on child, family, school, and community, Roberta Berns found that the school’s ability to socialize the child depends greatly upon the nature of the families the schools serve and the ability of the school to develop mutual partnerships. Other longitudinal studies find close-knit partnerships between home and school result in a significant difference in children’s learning and development. As schools reflect society and continue to function as society’s medium for change, relations with family partners have become a critical focus.

However, public schools do not operate in a vacuum, and how to effectively preserve a diverse cultural heritage and yet prepare individuals for the future is a challenge that educators confront daily. Two major underlying societal factors that influence the decision-making process in American public schools are a political ideology that supports the democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all school-age children to gain a free public school education and an economic system that operates on the principle of cost effectiveness and accountability. Both of these factors help shape the partnerships of school, family, and community.

Currently, most public school funding comes from local property taxes and from state revenues from sales tax and income tax. In comparison, direct federal

funding to public schools is limited. Most federal resources to public schools are in the form of grants to local educational agencies and entitlements such as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provides support for qualifying low-income families. Nonetheless, the process by which public schools are funded means that families living in lower socioeconomic school districts may have less school funding available to prepare children for the future. Many times these children are members of minority groups, their family’s income is below the poverty line, and they need additional intervention programs with more individualized accommodations in order to meet national testing requirements legislated by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB).

One determinant of educational revenue distribution is the change in size and distribution of the population. As an increasing population competes for resources, more people need supportive services to live. One reason for the increase in population is the fact that people now live longer. In only a few years, the baby boomers will be eligible for Social Security and Medicare health benefits. The question for schools will be whether or not this sizable group will still be interested in voting for school bond issues in support of other people’s children.

Population distribution is another critical issue influencing partnerships. U.S. Census reports reveal that transience is a form of diversity that can measurably affect school funding and the ability of a school to properly nurture the school-to-family relationship. Harold Hodgkinson, Director for the Center for Demographic Policy, Institute for Educational Leadership, reported that 40 million Americans move each year, while only 3 million babies are born. These facts indicate that a teacher might get to know one group of students in the fall only to find his or her classroom filled with newcomers in the spring. Therefore, mobility becomes a larger issue than birth rate not only in funding but also in the ability of schools to create multistranded partnerships with families.

Another expanding population is homeless families. The U.S. Census has reported that families with children make up more than one third of the nation’s homeless populations. Poverty continues to outpace all other issues as the dividing line in achievement. If

a child is a minority but middle class, that child's chances for success are much greater than those of any other child who is stricken by poverty. The concept of creating caring communities to support the success of low-income children highlights the need for bridging the multiple worlds of families, schools, and communities. "It will take a village" to make a difference in the life of a child who lives in poverty.

The demographic shift in the size of culturally diverse populations is another critical issue influencing the development of partnerships. North Carolina alone has experienced a 394 percent increase in its Hispanic population over the past ten years, making it the nation's leader in Hispanic population growth. Even so, the percentage of Hispanics in North Carolina's population is only 4.7 percent, compared to New York at 15.1 percent, Florida at 16.8 percent, Texas at 32 percent, and California at 32.4 percent. Consequently, federal initiatives along with state and local public schools are collaborating with community colleges and four-year colleges to develop licensure programs for in-service and pre-service ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers to accommodate the needs of these culturally diverse learners.

School and Family Involvement

Typically, traditional parent-involvement programs have been composed of family resources flowing into a school for the main purpose of supporting the school's curriculum, programs, and activities. This unidirectional approach to parent involvement is, by itself, an ineffective way to connect and involve families, as far too many families are missing from this mutual endeavor. Presently, the goal of partnerships is to create learning communities where families, communities, and schools collaborate to provide the best possible educational opportunities and learning environments for children.

Cultural transitions have called our attention to the need for "outreach models" for developing family, school, and community partnerships. In *Preparing Educators to Involve Families*, Heather Weiss and others suggest that schools and communities use a combination of multiple approaches and strategies adapted to the particular needs of the learning community.

Some of these approaches and strategies developed by educators are (a) creating a familylike atmosphere at school initiated on the premise that family involvement at school is an outgrowth of family involvement at home; (b) using a school improvement model based on family outreach programs with a focus on creating caring communities of mutual trust; (c) collaborating with the "funds of knowledge" model developed by Louis Moll, which focuses on knowledge and skills found in family households as a resource for developing culturally relevant pedagogy; and (d) empowering approaches that serve low-income families, which focus on supporting parents' development of self-confidence so that they can advocate for better schools and higher expectations for children. Research from these models hypothesizes that if families value education, create home environments that foster learning, maintain positive and reasonable expectations for children, and become involved with schools, then achievement gaps tend to narrow.

Collaborating With Community

When schools function as learning communities, they form networks with various community partners in planning activities that connect school program goals to student opportunities and experiences that would not otherwise be feasible. These partners include volunteers from all sectors of the community. For example, martial arts classes and popular dance are taught by community instructors to help develop student self-esteem and interest in community programs. Community business partners defray costs for field trips, sponsor apprenticeships, serve as guest speakers, and donate computer technology to schools for career training. Health care volunteers provide students and families with wellness information and medical testing. These are only a few of many linkages between the school and the community that support children and families.

Cultural transitions within families and between the environmental settings of family, school, and community influence the nature of partnerships. Some suggestions to help strengthen these important relationships include organizing more inclusive networks for those whose voices previously have been excluded and

establishing local neighborhood centers that provide a safe haven and convenient meeting place. Schools of higher education might develop tutoring and mentoring programs, or community service projects that focus on the care of others and the environment. Builders of community could begin to restructure and restore neighborhoods, with families and schools at the center of the planning process. Each of these recommendations points to the influence of cultural transitions on family, school, and community partnerships.

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See also Cultural Studies; Popular Culture; Sociology of Education

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FAMILY LITERACY

Family literacy is commonly examined in larger discussions of literacy and language and in relationship to PreK through 12 schooling, adult learning, or child-parent learning in home and school settings. As a formal area of inquiry in language and literacy research, family literacy has a relatively short history. Definitions of family literacy vary. A common definition used in the United States and the United Kingdom describes family literacy as encompassing a wide variety of programs that promote parents and children in literacy-enhancing

practices and activities. This definition is often accompanied by a more purposeful and controversial goal, described later in this entry: to improve the literacy of “educationally disadvantaged parents and children,” based on the assumption that parents are their child’s first and most influential teachers. However, family literacy in its broad sense includes a focus on the social practices that exist within families and the ways that individual family members and the family as a unit access and use fundamental reading, writing, and problem-solving abilities to engage with each other and the world and to achieve their personal, academic, and work goals.

Historical Background

The origins of family literacy can be traced to different and equally compelling points in the larger discussion of literacy, particularly reading research in the 1960s. Delores Durkin’s work on young children in low-income homes in Chicago pointed to the significant role that parents assume and play in engaging their children in reading and supporting their literacy development. Studies such as Durkin’s emerged during a time when there was increasing attention to children’s achievement in diverse cultural, ethnic, and language families and communities. Although they were not borne entirely from the national focus on civil rights, the studies were often intertwined with controversial discussions that coincided with the civil rights movement and questions about equality, equity, and justice for minority children and their families.

Prior to the 1960s, family literacy had long been the site of inquiry on reading and literacy—as far back as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, family literacy studies centered on the lives of children and families of European ancestry who were from upper-income homes, were literate, and were exposed to high levels of literacy within the home. Because these families shared a common social status and land of origin, there was little examination of intragroup differences and the relationship between these differences and the cultural histories that divided or connected the families. Not until the 1960s and 1970s did these studies directly address the cultural dimensions of literacy within families or the importance of

exploring culture in designing and implementing instructional approaches.

The historical progression of family literacy mirrors the shifts in reading and literacy research more generally. By the 1980s, traditional foci on reading had expanded to literacy, taking into consideration social processes, sociocognitive development, and sociocultural contexts for learning. Increased attention to children's literacy within these contexts as well as increasing emphasis on adult literacy translated into a life-course perspective in which children's early literacy or emergent literacy was examined. William Teale and Elizabeth Sulzby's research on emergent literacy opened up discussions of parents' understanding of children's early expressions of reading and writing. At the same time, adult literacy was shifting its focus to consider the diversity of purposes for which adults seek to improve their literacy, the diversity of learners themselves, and the places (e.g., programs) where such literacy learning was taking place.

Despite the focus on families in family literacy, few studies at this point provided a picture of the nature of family interactions, experiences, and processes or examined in depth how the social, cultural, and societal issues associated with different levels of literacy influenced learning in families. Denny Taylor's 1983 book, *Family Literacy*, served as a catalyst for examining the ways in which families use informal and formal literacy knowledge to support themselves, their children, and their communities. Taylor's ethnographic approach to studying families and literacy also deviated from past approaches and offered observers—researchers, practitioners, and policy makers alike—a new lens into the everyday literate experiences, negotiations, and goals of families.

A range of studies was conducted subsequently, with foci that traveled between and within different methodological and conceptual frameworks. One conceptual strand included studies that were primarily interested in the ways in which families take up roles and responsibilities that require differing levels of literacy. Another examined children's literacy learning in school and the role parents play in supporting children's literacy development in and out of schools. A third focused primarily on parent-child literacy interactions. A fourth addressed family literacy within diverse

language groups. A fifth examined intergenerational learning in families and the reciprocity between and among different social systems that constitute families.

The primary focus of work in family literacy today is still largely on parent-child learning, although several studies of intergenerational learning exist. Much of the public attention has focused on family literacy programs themselves. Such programs and associated projects number in the hundreds and are based in settings ranging from Head Start to other public-funded and private-funded early-childhood efforts designed to enhance reading, writing, and other literate acts in the home and school. A common mission of these programs is to address the needs of parents with low literacy, to "eradicate low literacy," and increase the literacy options and opportunities for these parents' children. Programs vary by focus and location and differ in the primary adult populations they serve. In addition to getting parents involved, some programs recruit grandparents as a way both to engage children in literacy learning and to help children learn more about their heritage. Other programs are located in schools, while still others are administered through outreach efforts and are operated by churches and faith communities. There are also programs offered in community centers or in prisons that may encourage the use of computers or may prepare parents to reconnect with their children.

Current Issues and Tensions

Several issues have been identified as areas of tension in family literacy. For example, unlike reading research, family literacy is still being defined, though there continues to be relatively limited focus on families as institutions and cultures guiding the instruction. The single focus on improving literacy is associated by many researchers with a deficit perspective that assumes that low-income and low-income minority families come to literacy learning with few resources or are empty vessels to be filled. Thus, a mismatch may exist between the findings of research on reading and literacy within families and the emphasis of family literacy programs.

At the same time, researchers and practitioners alike have focused on the social processes in literacy

learning and highlighted the significance of culture and context in understanding and supporting children's literacy development. On the one hand, the field of family literacy has struggled to situate itself in broad conceptualizations and critical discourses of literacy. For example, a series of rich ethnographic studies from the 1980s to the present have pointed to multifaceted and complex relationships within home, school, and community contexts. These contexts were thought to influence how children and adults engage in formal literacy instruction, draw upon diverse linguistic and cultural practices to communicate within and across different settings, and make meaning of literacy.

On the other hand, theorists such as Brian Street and David Barton and Mary Hamilton would argue that the field has not moved far enough outside of autonomous models, in which literacy as a technique is applied across all social and cultural contexts with uniformity, to embrace more expansive models (e.g., critical literacy or new literacy studies).

Two seminal works in literacy and family literacy, Shirley Brice Heath's 1983 *Ways With Words* and Denny Taylor and Catherine Dorsey-Gaines's 1988 *Growing Up Literate*, both argue that the study of family literacy is more than the study of individual learners within a family or within programs alone. Learners typically do not leave family influences or cultural markers at home upon entering literacy instruction. Similarly, in the 1990s, Victoria Purcell-Gates and Vivian Gadsden referred to the increasing significance of studying culture in family literacy, stating that research into family literacy practices is research into cultural practice.

To organize assumptions, goals, and practices in the field, Elsa Auerbach identified three models—intervention/prevention, multiple literacies, and social change—that still hold currency. The intervention/prevention approach is consistent with historical efforts to eradicate low literacy among poor, undereducated parents, through a series of programs and approaches designed to replace home practices with school-like approaches. The multiple-literacies approach takes up this sociocultural perspective in a particular way by examining the much-discussed mismatch between the expectations and practices of school-based literacy learning and the home practices

of children who are not achieving in school. Social change is focused on multiple literacies but also highlights the role of power hierarchies in sustaining political and social structures that alienate rather than engage learners and their cultural histories. From this perspective, failure to attend to these imbalances of power reinscribes inequity and inequality. For example, in a series of texts during the 1990s (*From the Child's Point of View*, *Learning Denied*, *Toxic Literacies*, and *Many Families, Many Literacies*), Taylor discusses the need for structural change in the social and political hierarchies that govern institutions and work against the inclusion of historically marginalized groups.

Possibilities and Considerations

More is known about family literacy today than a decade ago. However, challenges remain in terms of how much more there is to learn and how to disentangle the complexities that arise from problems that interfere with learning (e.g., poverty, poor schools). Although there are several issues that persist, two are highlighted here. The first is a conceptual question that ultimately contributes to methodological options: What are the ways that family literacy might be examined in the context of new models of research, including critical literacy and new literacy studies? Moreover, how do we study, understand, and serve learners as members of a family units, which they are as likely to distance themselves from as embrace? The second follows from the first: How are the issues of father involvement addressed in family literacy programs? As Gadsden and her coresearchers have observed, there are few fathers who participate in family literacy programs, and there is little information about those who do attend. Some of the problems associated with engaging fathers stem from the unavailability of some fathers who serve as the family's primary breadwinners; in other cases, fathers live outside of the home and are not considered as important by program staff, are difficult to reach, or are not accessible. The issue of father involvement raises questions about how gender is discussed and approached in programs.

As the field of family literacy grows, several questions persist, a few of which are: What are the outcomes

of children and adults participating in family literacy programs, and how do we examine these outcomes to capture the range of learning that occurs? What actually occurs in programs that promote reading, writing, and problem solving? What are the activities involving reading, writing, and problem solving that are integrated within the larger life issues of parenting, parent-child interactions, and family functioning? And finally, how are issues around cultural difference, race, and poverty examined and addressed in research and practice?

Vivian L. Gadsden

See also Adult Education and Literacy; Literacy in American Culture; Reading, History of

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FEDERAL AND STATE EDUCATIONAL JURISDICTION

Common or public education has traditionally been a state and local concern. In the landmark 1954 desegregation case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court recognized that education is “perhaps the most important function of state and local governments.” While all fifty state constitutions contain variously worded provisions recognizing their responsibility to provide public education, the U.S. Constitution does not refer to schools or include any article pertaining to education. In *San Antonio v. Rodriguez*, the nation’s highest court concluded that public education is not a federal fundamental right, but rather a function of the state, reserved for the states by the Tenth Amendment.

Even after the Court’s decision in *Rodriguez*, debate over whether education is a fundamental right persisted. *Plyler v. Doe* revisited the issue when deciding whether the state of Texas violated the equal protection rights of undocumented children by denying them admittance into public school. The Court in *Plyler* held that education, while not a fundamental right, is an important state interest and that no rational basis exists to provide it to some children and deny it to others solely based on their immigration status.

Lack of any constitutionally expressed federal jurisdiction over education has not prevented the federal government from intervention in educational issues. It has always had sole responsibility for the

Bureau of Indian Affairs–funded school system established on or near Indian reservations and trust lands throughout the nation. In mandating other educational concerns, Congress has utilized the authority of both the Spending and the Commerce Clauses. Under the Spending Clause, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) was enacted, requiring significant state action to equalize educational opportunities, but only for the disabled.

Other examples of federal involvement in state public education include the desegregation requirements in *Brown* and the antidiscrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibit discrimination based upon race, color, or national origin in any program receiving federal financial assistance. Subsequently, the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 forbade states from denying “equal educational opportunity” to individuals based on “race, color, sex, or national origin.” Court cases relying on the federal constitutional rights of free speech, as well as free exercise and nonestablishment of religion, have had a significant impact on the day-to-day functioning of public schools.

In 2001, the federal government made a significant foray into the educational policy sphere when the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was signed by President Bush. NCLB reauthorized and amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), requiring all schools to set high standards, assess students for attainment of those standards, and make adequate yearly progress at the risk of losing federal funding. With more and more federal legislative incursions into public education, the question of whether a federal fundamental right to public education exists may continue to fall under court scrutiny.

Teresa Anne Rendon

See also School Governance; School Law; State Role in Education

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FEMINIST THEORY IN EDUCATION

Feminist theory contributes significantly to the social and cultural foundations of education. This entry traces the history of the feminist movement in the United States, explores various meanings of feminist theory, and considers what feminist theory contributes to education.

In the United States the feminist movement is associated with three waves, or periods of time, with the “first wave” feminist movement (1848–1920s) representing women’s efforts to get the right to vote, to own property, to divorce and receive alimony and child support, and to manage their own bodies (e.g., sexual reproductive rights). First wave feminism is associated with Seneca Falls, New York, and the sustained agitation for concrete social change of suffragettes such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Sojourner Truth.

The “second wave” of the feminist movement corresponds to the 1960s to ’70s and to women’s efforts to obtain equal access to higher education in all fields of study and to be free from discrimination in the workplace due to their gender. While second wave feminists sought equal treatment in the classroom and on the job, they continued the fight for the right to manage their own bodies (e.g., sexual reproductive rights). Second wave feminism is associated with *Ms.* magazine and with Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Mary Daly, to name a few. It was during

this time that women's studies programs opened on college campuses across the country and feminist theory began to develop in earnest.

Starting in the early 1990s, a "third wave" of the feminist movement began to develop. This third wave represents an explosion of multiple, diverse perspectives as Third World, lesbian, Chicana, indigenous, and Black feminists and others add their voices to the movement. They critique the essentializing of "woman" as a category, one which has privileged heterosexuality, First World, middle-class, and White norms. Third wave feminism is associated with Audrey Lorde, Adrienne Rich, María Lugones, Gloria Anzaldúa, Judith Butler, Luce Irigaray, Donna Haraway, Gayatri Spivak, and Trinh Minh-ha, to name a few.

Beyond a general agreement that women have been oppressed and unjustly treated, and that discrimination on the basis of gender is wrong, there is much upon which various feminists do not agree. It is dangerous to assume there is a "female point of view" or that women have special resources available to them due to their experiences as females. It is also problematic to think that only women can be feminists. In fact, some postmodern feminist scholars, such as Judith Butler and Luce Irigaray, recommend that we get rid of "gender" as a general category, because of the false binary it establishes (man/woman) and the androcentric and/or heterosexual norms and standards it imposes of people's shifting sexual identities. The feminist movement, in all its waves, has helped us understand that the personal is political, that what goes on in the home is very much related to how the larger society defines individuals' gendered roles, and that those roles need to be critiqued. Feminists have demonstrated that language is not gender neutral, but in fact affects our consciousness, and that social institutions are not natural or given, and therefore settled for all time. Feminist theory reveals how gender roles are socially constructed, by showing how they have varied across time and cultures, and how they continue to adapt and change. Feminism is concerned with the forms and functions of power and how power is wielded, in particular against girls and women.

Second Wave Feminism

During the second wave of feminist research, much focus was placed on discrimination issues within educational settings. Researchers looked at tracking issues, and why it is that girls were tracked into "traditionally feminine" classes such as child care, education, home economics, and nursing, and not honors classes and higher-level math and science classes. Attention was placed on studying what teachers do in schools to discourage girls, such as not calling on them as often as boys or not giving them the opportunity to correct their mistakes before moving on to someone else (usually a boy). Attention was also placed on the curricula, and how girls were presented in pictures and stories in comparison to boys. Researchers looked at ways students were assessed and began to consider the possibility that what were taken to be gender neutral and unbiased methods of assessment might actually favor boys over girls, given that boys consistently score higher on field independent, analytically focused material and multiple-choice exams, while girls tend to do better on essay-type exams. During this time, all classes became open to both genders, and efforts began to be made to actively encourage girls to achieve at the same levels as boys.

In university settings, with the opening of women's studies programs during the second wave, faculty began to explore gender issues and to consider whether there was gender discrimination at the higher education level involving students, faculty, and/or administrators. Faculty began to critically examine their philosophies of teaching to discover if the way they taught, how they assessed students, their expectations, and their curricula, for example, were gender biased. They turned a critical eye on their curricula and discovered that women's contributions as scholars and artists were missing. It was hard to find their work included in texts, and if they were included they were relegated to the margins, as the final chapter in the book that no one seemed to get to, or in boxes on the margins and at the end of chapters. More girls were admitted to college than ever before during the second wave, but it was still not in equal proportion or under the same standards.

During the second wave of the feminist movement, much effort was placed on trying to recover women's work from earlier periods of time, and to protect that earlier work that was rescued from biased male presentations of it, to allow the women to speak for themselves. This work continues today. See, for example, Jane Roland Martin's *Reclaiming a Conversation* and Charlene Haddock Seigfried's *Pragmatism and Feminism*. Another example of the gender problem is Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, which was translated into English by a male editor without her permission and with her disapproval in regards to the translation. Also during this period of time, scholars began to realize that most studies that were used to shape the development of fields of study, such as psychology, were based on studies of males with the theories developed assumed to be general and applicable to all human beings, regardless of gender. Research began focusing on women and girls, such as that reported in Carol Gilligan's work, *In a Different Voice*, and Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger, and Jill Tarules's study, *Women's Ways of Knowing*, which drew attention specifically to women and girls and developed theories based on interviews and observations of them. Feminist scholars began arguing for the qualities and experiences of women that are specific to their gender and have been devalued and marginalized but need to be recognized and valued in society. Care theories are examples of gender-based theories, such as those in Nel Noddings's *Caring* and Sara Ruddick's *Maternal Thinking*, as well as in Sandra Harding's feminist standpoint epistemology.

In women's studies courses during the second wave, feminist professors began to explore alternative methods of instruction and to critically examine their role as teachers as well as their students' roles. Critique was developed for the standard lecture style of teaching and the passive role in which it positioned students. It became more common to see chairs organized in circles instead of rows in college classrooms, and to have teachers encouraging their students to share about their personal lives in the public classroom space, as well as for teachers to break down the public/private split and to soften their role as authority by sharing with students about their personal lives as well in the classroom space. Questions concerning

the teacher's role as authority and students' roles as active learners and co-constructors of knowledge were openly discussed in classrooms and written about in feminist theory. Small group discussions and collaborative approaches to teaching were developed, in contrast to competitive models. Performance and portfolio forms of assessment were developed, as well as group grades.

Third Wave Feminism

Third wave feminism has contributed to feminist theory in education by critiquing second wave feminist theory for its lack of attention to other power issues that influence varied gendered experiences and expressions. Attention is currently being placed on the assumed positions of power with first and second wave feminism. Earlier feminist theory is being critiqued for its lack of awareness or attention to norms of Whiteness, property-owning classes, heterosexuality, and able-bodiedness, for example. Third World women who have received higher levels of education in First World universities are now able to contribute to the conversation as scholars and have their voices heard. They are offering critiques of First World colonization and the arrogance of its assuming to know Third World women and their needs. Third wave feminists offer sharp criticisms of their earlier sisters' work, which is unfortunately causing that earlier work to disappear from conversations and classrooms, setting up again what will become the need for future recovery work of women's contributions to scholarship.

In the classroom, third wave feminists have questioned the idea that a classroom can ever be a safe environment, as second wave feminists tried to make it, for there are too many power issues involved. Not only is safety an impossibility, it is questionable whether it is even a worthy ideal, as it is through risk and discomfort that we learn to trouble the basic categories we take as a given and begin to experience the cracks and fissures and see the faults and weaknesses in our worldviews. In this space of discomfort and unease is where education as growth can take place. Third wave feminists emphasize our plurality and differences as they uncover the hidden colonization of the 1960s melting-pot metaphor, which argued for

others, strangers, to become assimilated to the norms of White, property-owning, Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual Christians. For women and girls this assimilation process meant that they would be treated equally as long as they could adapt and be like the men and boys. Feminists refer to this assimilation approach as “add women and stir.”

Feminist theory in education today refers to models for education that emphasize diversity and encourage us to maintain and value plurality. Metaphors such as salads and Chinese hot pots abound to describe students’ unique, distinctive qualities, as well as their commonality. Feminist scholars emphasize our shifting, changing identities (Judith Butler’s drag, Donna Haraway’s cyborg, and Gloria Anzaldúa’s *mestiza* metaphors come to mind) and our coming together in cohorts to address particular social/political problems, and then disbanding as those problems are addressed (for example, Iris Young’s unoppressive city metaphor). Feminist theory in education offers some of the most exciting, cutting edge, politically and culturally aware work that contributes to our thinking about education in new ways today.

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See also Cultural Studies; Education, History of; Philosophy of Education

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FEMINIZATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Beginning with the common school movement in the late 1830s, teachers increasingly began to be recruited from the female population. This was in contrast to the colonial period and the postrevolutionary period when men dominated the profession. Women were teachers during this earlier period, but only at the lowest levels, as indicated by the titles given to teachers, including masters, tutors, governesses, and school dames.

Rationale for Bias

Women were recruited into the teaching profession—particularly very young women (often at the age of thirteen or fourteen)—because they were an inexpensive and malleable labor group who readily met the

demands of a burgeoning school system. In many instances, teaching became a brief interlude in the lives of young women, one which took place prior to marriage and the bearing of children.

While young female teachers were clearly exploited by the society as a source of inexpensive and readily available labor, teaching, like nursing, provided access to education and respect from the community at a time when few professions were open to women. It was also a profession that was relatively easy to enter, typically requiring only a year or two of training at the high school level.

Women were often encouraged to enter the profession, since it was perceived by the larger society that teachers had a nurturing role. This point of view, which is largely taken for granted today, was not necessarily held by many people prior to the common school movement, when teachers were seen in a more authoritarian and dictatorial light.

Female teachers were significantly discriminated against compared to their male counterparts, a reality that has continued to some extent even into the present. Rarely was a woman made a school superintendent until well into the twentieth century. Salary discrimination based on gender was the norm. In 1880, the beginning salary for a female high school teacher in the United States was \$850 a year; a male teacher received \$2,000. Just as White male teachers made more money than White female teachers, White teachers made more money than Black teachers. Thus Black female teachers were particularly discriminated against.

Ebb and Flow of Men

During the Civil War, women teachers naturally outnumbered men, sixteen to one, as men went off to war and war-related industries. Since most women taught in elementary schools, these schools were not as disrupted by the war as were the high schools. By 1870, there were 123,000 women and 78,000 men teaching in the United States. Most of the men taught at the secondary level. It was perceived that women were more suited to teach in the primary grades, especially if a school was graded.

In the first survey of teachers, conducted in 1910, it was determined that the majority of teachers were

White women, and most of the women were the daughters of farmers and small businessmen. The female teacher was often one of the few role models of a “working woman” available for many young girls, who often followed their mothers, sisters, or other female relatives into the profession. Teaching was an “acceptable” job for many young women, until they got married. In fact, in St. Louis, Missouri, and other cities, as late as the mid-1940s, a female teacher had to resign if she got married. Teaching also provided economic independence and status to the women who chose not to get married or to be “dependent old maids,” living with their relatives.

By 1930 there were five times as many female teachers as male teachers in the United States. As women came to dominate the profession, its status fell in comparison with other professions that were dominated by men, such as law and medicine. During the Great Depression, men were often given preference over women when teaching jobs were being filled, so that the number of male teachers increased to 25 percent of the total number of teachers in the United States. That percentage fell again during World War II, and then picked up again after the war as men were recruited into the profession (the same phenomenon had occurred after World War I). One of reasons given for recruiting men was to give boys, especially adolescent boys, strong role models in the classroom.

Rather than returning to teaching following the war, many men who had been teachers took advantage of the GI Bill. As a result, many married women who had been “allowed” to teach during the war were kept on; the “spinster teachers” were aging, and there simply weren’t enough young single women to fill the need. By the end of the 1940s, restrictions on women being married and teaching were dropped across the country. For the first time, middle-class, married women with children began filling the ranks of teachers. By 1960, married women made up 71 percent of the female teaching force. Their presence created a new twist on the disparity between salaries for male versus female teachers: It was felt that since a married woman’s salary was a second income for her family, the male teacher should still be paid more money.

Recent History

By the 1980s, one third of the teachers in the United States were men, two thirds women. Perhaps of more importance is the fact that there were almost an equal number of men and women teaching at the high school level; salary equality was at last being fully achieved. As salary levels across professions increased, many talented women dropped out of the profession, bypassing traditional nurturing jobs such as nursing, teaching, and social work for the status and increased income found in the business world and the professions of law and medicine.

Because teaching is a feminized profession, male teachers suffer the lesser status afforded women in American culture. This issue is deeply rooted in historical traditions, one which is only beginning to be overcome through legislation and changes in social attitudes as women continue to achieve greater equality in American society. At some time in the not-too-distant future, it is hoped that the status of teachers—male or female—will increase along with the general status of women in the culture. At that point, the feminization of the teaching profession may remain relevant only as an interesting historical artifact.

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See also Education, History of; Teachers, Professional Status of

See Visual History Chapter 2, Early Textbooks; Chapter 3, Teachers in the Early and Middle Nineteenth Century

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FIRST-PERSON ACCOUNTS OF TEACHING

First-person accounts of teaching can be defined as any written recollections of personal teaching experiences left by current or former teachers. The form in which these accounts are made available to the public and the purposes they serve depend primarily on the intent of the authors, the situations in which the accounts were written, and the diligence of those who study the lives of teachers. In considering the role or value of first-person accounts it is helpful to first identify the format or type of writing in which the accounts can be found, as this entry does. That, in turn, will help us discern the authors' intentions in sharing the accounts. Knowing the authors' purposes can then help the reader get the most out of the writing.

Private Correspondence

Many first-person accounts available today were probably not intended to be read by the general public. Instead, they were written in the form of personal journals, diaries, or letters. These types of recollections date as far back as the colonial period in the United States—and further back to ancient Greece and beyond if considering the world arena.

Given the personal and sometimes anonymous nature of the accounts, it can be difficult to determine the original intentions of the authors. They commonly focus on the day-to-day work of the teacher, along with classroom anecdotes detailing encounters with unruly students, a less-than-pleasant work environment, and personal living conditions. Few teachers tried to offer profound insight into the profession or children. The most obvious value of these first-person accounts is the glimpse they provide into the daily life and thinking of the time and place in which they were written and into the personal and emotional lives of the persons who chose teaching.

Formal Autobiography

Many teachers have documented their experiences by writing a narrative deliberately crafted for a public

audience. Autobiographical accounts often reflect not only the authors' points of view but broader cultural perspectives as well. Accounts like Edward Eggelston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* from 1871 or William Alcott's *Confessions of a Schoolmaster* from 1856 focus on the brave but frustrating efforts of individual frontier schoolteachers to keep reluctant students in school.

A similar theme can be found in autobiographical accounts from the 1980s and early 1990s but with a variation that reflects the criticism of public schools voiced by numerous national reports of the time. *My Posse Don't Do Homework* by LouAnne Johnson and Marva Collins's *Marva Collins' Way* sent the message that brave individual teachers were fighting against the low expectations of apathetic schools. Those accounts, and others of the era, portrayed the teacher as a folk hero who recognizes that students simply need teachers who have high expectations for both the students and themselves.

Autobiographical accounts of teaching were plentiful in the 1960s and 1970s. They, too, represented the struggle of individual teachers against significant odds, but unlike the later accounts, authors such as Herbert Kohl, Vivian Paley, Jonathon Kozol, Robert Kendell, and Sunny Decker were self-deprecating in their portrayals, emphasizing their positions as White outsiders in all-Black schools. Mirroring the social upheaval of the era, the authors emphasized what they had to learn about and from their students, the crippling nature of poverty and discrimination, and the emotional toll exacted on everyone involved.

In every era there were exceptions to these categories that ran counter to the prevailing cultural perceptions and portrayed hope in difficult situations and the promise of empowering students with compassion and student-centered teaching. J. K. Stableton's *Diary of a Western School-master* in 1900 portrayed a great love and respect for the nature and potential of adolescent boys struggling for an education. In 1936, Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Mayhew described the experience-based model of education at John Dewey's laboratory school in Chicago. Eliot Wigginton's 1985 *Sometimes a Shining Moment* recounted his efforts to motivate his poor, rural students by having them explore their own cultural heritage. And in the 1970s, '80s, and

'90s, authors like Ira Shor, Paulo Freire, and Peter McLaren wrote of their experiences in using education as a means of empowerment and liberation.

Personal Inquiry or Self-Study

A type or use of first-person accounts that is relatively new to the genre is the writing and study of first-person accounts for the distinct and direct purpose of personal insight and professional development. These accounts are often much shorter than autobiography and more intentionally and narrowly focused than daily diary entries, although they can take the form of a teacher's life history as it shaped his or her teaching and dissertation-length studies of a teacher's practice.

Teacher educators and others who work with teacher professional development are increasingly turning to the type of first-person accounts referred to variously as teacher narratives, autobiography, life history research, teacher lore, and by other such terms. It is believed that writing about and studying their own experiences can help teachers develop a more systematic and critically reflective nature and begin to explore the various family, cultural, professional, and psychological influences that have shaped their teaching and professional identity. Similarly, by reading the stories in other teachers' first-person accounts, future teachers can learn what it means to grow as a profession and to become a teacher. This approach has gained in acceptance as the teacher's work, workplace, and experience have become a legitimate source of knowledge about teaching and learning.

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See also Archives and Library Collections on Education; Popular Culture; Teachers, Literary Portrayals of

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FOLKLORE

Folklore refers to a dimension of culture comprised of traditional forms—including verbal art, material culture, belief, music, dance, and visual art—expressed by individuals in performance. Though definitions vary according to purpose and use, U.S. folklorist Dan Ben-Amos's 1972 definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups" is basic to the discipline as it has developed in the United States since the 1950s.

Folklore is passed from person to person (whether directly or mediated), with artistic communication encompassing both aesthetic and ethical, relational dimensions. Grandparents tell histories to grandchildren that they will not read in textbooks. Aunts teach jump-rope rhymes as well as taunts to nieces. Children exchange jokes and street knowledge. Experienced teachers transmit both time-tested advice and well-honed biases to new colleagues. Parents exhort children about "the way we do things." Community experts share techniques ranging from gardening to grassroots political action. And politicians call forth popular responses by fitting contemporary persons and events into traditional generic forms. All of this involves folklore. This entry looks at general folklore concepts; the ways folklore is used in education, including a historical review; and the contemporary scene.

Definitions

Folklore consists of the concrete, verbal, auditory, kinetic, and behavioral artifacts that can be described as instantiations of any group's culture. People use folklore to connect to their past, but also as resources

to accomplish particular goals through performance and communication in present social settings.

For those seeking to apply folklore and folkloristic research to fields of education, particularly salient and prevalent definitions of folklore describe it as "people's knowledge" and "noninstitutional"—though it is recognized that folklore can also be co-opted and used to promote antidemocratic, politically institutionalized goals.

In 1938, the Progressive scholar-activist Benjamin Botkin, who was national folklore editor of the Depression era Federal Writers Project, usefully defined folklore as a body of traditional belief, custom, and expression passed down by word of mouth outside of commercial and academic communications. This definition serves to highlight the expression and authority of folklore as existing independent of both popular and elite dominant culture as it is perpetuated through the mass media and schools.

At the same time, however, folklore can be used and spread through the media and schools in order to bolster the authority of officials and to lend credibility to their claims. The nature of folklore as separate from both popular culture and elite culture, as well as the way folklore has been used in popular and elite versions in order to create a sense of national identity, makes the discipline of folklore a useful complement to the disciplinary approaches more widely used in the study of the social and cultural foundations of education.

Folklore in Education

The work of folklorists in education can be grouped into five approaches, four of which focus on how individuals communicate within, around, and despite dominating cultural institutions, with the fifth focusing on helping students identify the use of folk belief by officials in the dominant culture in order to garner public approval.

One approach has been to study folklore in schools, that is, how students and teachers form folk groups and create culture independent of or despite official culture. A second approach, developed initially as part of a broader response to the misrepresentations of cultural

deprivation theory, has been to use folklore of students and their communities as texts within the curriculum. A third approach has been exemplified by the Folk Arts in Education (FAIE) and Folk Arts in Schools (FAIS) programs, which involve both bringing traditional artists into schools as authoritative teachers and training students as competent fieldworkers and researchers. A fourth approach has been analyzing folk genres as critiques of, or alternative models to, institutionalized elite and popular genres.

Finally, the fifth approach involves students in analyzing politicians' and other leaders' rhetoric to identify legends and other expressions of belief presented as truth. This approach problematizes the idea of "folk" as being marginal and highlights the fact that all groups, including those with institutional power, rely on shared beliefs and communicative resources in order to create a sense of shared identity among their members.

Useful Elements of Folkloristic Theory

Folklore's original author is "anonymous," and even if thought to be known, the identity of an individual supposed to have originated a particular form is inconsequential, as folkloristic knowledge is powerful because it is both collectively known and dynamically transformed. Folklore is often performed by specialists within the group: The key is that it always changes and exists in variations, and people learn to use it in variable and changeable ways, in daily interaction as well as in specialized settings. Tradition—usually defined as continuous existence through time or across space—has been important in describing folklore, although in the last fifty years theorists have also emphasized the creativity exercised by individuals in using traditional forms for new purposes as well as the dubious project of "inventing traditions" to justify social entitlements and political projects.

Essential to its nature, folklore has no prototypical, authoritative, or "right" version and cannot be codified. Furthermore, true folklore cannot be reproduced exactly; rather, each reiteration involves re-creation and therefore creative change on the part of the individual producing it. U.S. folklorist Barre Toelken coined the "twin laws" of folklore as *tradition* and

dynamic innovation, with tradition being preexisting, culture-specific, but not static materials, and dynamic innovation being the inevitable and energizing changes resulting in each performance of the tradition by each individual. As a result, all folklore exists in "multiple nonstandard variations."

Consider the game hide-and-seek. The traditional aspect of this piece of folklore is that people hide and are found. The dynamic, nonstandard variation, however, includes much more: Who is "it," or are there multiple "its"? Is the goal to race to a "home" to be "home free," or is the goal to be the last one found? How high does "it" count to allow the others to hide, and what does "it" say when "it" is about to begin searching? Are there boundaries within which hiders must stay? While the game is traditional around the world, the essence of the game resides in the variations, which arise from individual creativity, collective compromise, and adaptation of the basic form to be appropriate for the setting and participants involved.

"Folk culture" stands in contrast to "elite culture" (those behaviors and forms having capital in dominant culture institutions) and to "popular culture" (behaviors learned and forms promulgated through corporations and mass marketing), though culture is fluid and moves between these categories as folk culture is co-opted and commoditized (e.g., graffiti becomes fine art and ingredients in willow bark become aspirin), or popular or elite culture is used in traditional, creative ways (e.g., soft drink cans are recycled into toy airplanes, or high art is spoofed in burlesques).

Emerging in the 1970s, "performance theory" centers attention on how individuals draw on communicative resources (i.e., traditional texts of the community) to perform them in particular social settings for particular purposes. Important analytic questions include which members of the community are recognized as having the authority to "take" texts from their traditional, authoritative settings and to re-create them in different social settings in order to meet their own particular social goals. Key questions relevant to folklore in schools are: Who has the authority, in a given social setting, to decontextualize and recontextualize (i.e., to perform) a given text? Who decides if the performance is legitimate, authoritative, or "good"?

Historical Review

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Roots

Though now international in scope, the discipline of folklore has its roots in antiquarian and nationalistic movements of eighteenth-century Europe. As avocational scholars of the privileged classes, in reaction to the rise of Rationalism, joined in romanticizing primitive society across Europe, Johann Gottfried Herder gathered *Volkslieder* (folksongs) as the spiritual voice of *das Volk*, in the hope of codifying “the cultural heart and soul of a nation,” and thus elevating the idea of “peoplehood” to the basis for political movements, a philosophy and method that influenced nation builders across Europe as well as to the new United States.

N. F. S. Grundtvig, a nineteenth-century Dane, seems to have been the first to argue explicitly that folk-life, as essential to the nation’s welfare, should be promoted by teachers in formal schooling. Grundtvig led an educational reform that resulted in the folk high school movement, as well as revitalization of trade schools and adult education including handicraft. At the end of the nineteenth century, the folk arts movement took hold in some elite schools in the United States.

Professionalization and the Progressive Era

At turn of the twentieth century in the United States, Progressive reformers idealized folk culture as a challenge to emerging industrial capitalist society, and following the Arts and Crafts movement begun by William Morris and his followers, held that preindustrial work processes and handicrafts could effect social and cultural change. A cultural nationalism drawing upon work of ballad collectors in the Appalachian region developed, based largely on romanticizing the colonial past and downplaying diversity and the impact of immigration. This move, however, was not uncontested: Though epitomized in such institutions as Henry Ford’s new Greenfield Village, it was challenged by a plethora of “Homelands Exhibits” and international festivals highlighting the richness of immigrant culture.

Within the Progressive education movement, proponents of social efficiency worked to divide control of schools from their communities, with reformers

attacking this “rural school problem,” while at the same time expressing nostalgia for disappearing ways of life. Social efficiency proponents erased individual and community traditions in their desire to standardize, and in this way equalize, educational opportunity. As African Americans and immigrants learned through schooling to be ashamed of their differences, some Progressive reformers began to examine the lack of fit between groups and schools, to question how schools damaged family and community culture.

Such views were actualized in folkloristic projects including Jane Addams’s Hull House, where art shows included both elite art borrowed from museums; workers’ art documenting their homelands as well as their current predicament; Lucy Sprague Mitchell’s work at the Bureau for Educational Experiments (later, Bank Street), taking New York students out into the city to explore the folk culture of their neighborhoods; and Dorothy Howard’s and others’ work making folklore accessible to schoolteachers.

Cultural Deprivation Theory and the Rise of Folk Arts in Education

From the 1950s through the 1970s, explicit critiques of cultural deprivation theory as well as complementary work in education contributed to a continuing Progressive strain of schooling. As psychologists and sociologists promoted “cultural deprivation theory” as an improvement on biologically based theories explaining why some groups of people tended to be less successful in dominant culture schooling than did others, folklorists argued the flaws of such theory, drawing upon empirical studies of the folklore of marginalized groups, and explaining the dynamic between these noninstitutionalized, marginalized cultures and dominant, school culture.

Also at this time, prototypes to Folk Arts in Education (FAIE) emerged, as scholars promoted including lives of “undistinguished Americans” in curricula as essential to American culture. Officially Folk Artists in the Schools (FAIS) programs were established with funding from the National Endowment for the Arts in 1976, with the purpose of including a wider range of artists than those generally included in the more widely known Artists in Schools programs.

Contemporary Folklore and Education Efforts

Currently, FAIE programs are housed not only in schools, but also in libraries, museums, and community agencies, with the shared aim of humanistic understanding of individuals and social groups, through engaging students in close documentation and analysis of local culture. Folklorists have also recognized the inevitability of the standards movement and have produced comprehensive frameworks for folklore standards and integrated curricula.

Analysis of FAIE publications reveals five prevalent goals. First, FAIE programs help students and teachers learn to value their own and familiar individuals and groups and their vernacular, everyday artistic expressions: Typically, this is described as helping young people see that people can be creative artists outside of dominant culture institutions like museums and concert halls.

Second, this recognition plus the folklorist's outsider perspective helps students see the value and importance of familiar heroes and local events, especially due to many programs' focus on students' families and neighbors in the context of history, politics, and economics. Common activities include visits to local workplaces, including mills and factories, with students prompted to examine how the dominant culture threatens local cultures.

Third, FAIE programs engage teachers and students in critically observing differences between elite and popular culture, and the folk culture of their own communities, thus helping students recognize their own "cultural capital" as equally authoritative to that sponsored by schools and the media.

Fourth, FAIE recenters authority outside of institutions. A central, though usually unstated, purpose of all FAIE curricula is challenging the exclusive legitimacy of official knowledge and thus challenging institutions to include truly heterogeneous authorities, bringing community knowledge into the classroom as authoritative, and community people in as teachers.

Finally, because FAIE projects are based on students' participation in real learning situations outside the classroom, the work is inherently collaborative, connecting students in classrooms with people and organizations in larger community settings.

Folklorists working in education have created rich resources for use in schools; however, since these are often published through museums and government agencies, they are often difficult to find. Thus, folklorists continue to work to build relationships with those working primarily in schools in order to increase the impact of their work. Important resources for locating and obtaining both materials and the theoretical discussions that frame them include the online newsletter of the Folklore and Education Section of the American Folklore Society; the American Folklife Center's online *A Teacher's Guide to Folklife Resources*; and Paddy Bowman's 2006 article, "Standing at the Crossroads of Folklore and Education," which provides an excellent listing of online resources. In addition, C. A. Bowers's work in ecojustice pedagogy provides an excellent framework and rationale for integrating folkloristic studies into social foundations curricula.

Lynne Hamer

See also Cultural Capital; Multicultural Education; Progressive Education

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

According to Old Testament accounts, the building of the Tower of Babel was the first instance of multilingualism. If this is indeed the occasion when humans began using more than one language, then this must also be the beginning point for the need for foreign language instruction.

There are three terms used for language instruction. It is important to clarify the differences between bilingual education, second language instruction, and foreign language instruction. *Bilingual education* takes place in schools and requires that children be taught all subjects in two target languages, in order to allow each child to reach equal fluency in the languages. Although bilingual education is currently the focus of educators, it is not a new concept, as subjects other than language were taught in the student's second language as early as the Middle Ages.

Second language instruction occurs when the learner must reach a high degree of fluency in a second language in order to be able to live for an extended period of time and conduct business in a region where

that language is spoken. The goal of *foreign language instruction* is to allow basic communication in the target language and usually occurs outside the area where the target language is spoken, where there is neither direct daily contact nor imminent necessity to communicate in that language. Thus, foreign language instruction is mostly classroom based, while classroom-based second language instruction and bilingual education are often supplemented by daily activities and organizations outside the school setting, such as the home, community, and church.

Historical Trends

Throughout the centuries, there have been multiple methods of foreign language instruction, but all methods can be categorized under two headings. Methods are labeled *inductive* where there is no formal grammar instruction and students must figure out the grammar rules as they learn. Methods are labeled *deductive* where language rules are presented before practice and learning of the language takes place.

The popularity of inductive and deductive methodologies has shifted across centuries. The classical era focused on inductive instruction. In the fourth century, St. Augustine encouraged a focus on meaningful content. Medieval methods were generally deductive. With the introduction of grammatical theories by Erasmus and Comenius in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, classroom-based instruction, without the availability of access to authentic language situations, revolved primarily around grammar-based approaches to instruction using artificial contexts. Inductive methods were again popular during the Renaissance era, while methods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were mostly deductive. The twentieth century began with an emphasis on deductive methods and ended with a shift to inductive instruction.

Foreign language instruction in the United States has generally followed methods used in other parts of the Western world. In the late eighteenth century, François Gouin introduced the *natural method*, so named because of its emphasis on learning the way a child learns his or her native language from family and environment, making use of mime and demonstration. The *direct method* added scientific rationale

such as psychology, phonetics, dictionaries, and structural analysis to the natural method. Its purpose was to immerse students in the language with little to no explanation of grammar. There were many variations of the natural and direct methods: “the dramatization method,” “the object method,” “the indirect method,” “the direct constructive method,” “the theme method,” “the observation method,” “the pictorial method,” “the development method,” “the conversation method,” “the phonic method,” “the textbook method,” and “the laboratory method.”

The first half of the twentieth century saw the introduction of the *grammar translation method* in the United States. Using this method, students translated sentences from their first language to the target language or vice versa. These sentences reflected the particular grammar rule to be learned during that class period, often with no evident contextual purpose. The teacher taught in the student’s native language and communication in the target language was rarely practiced. In the 1950s, the *audio lingual method* (ALM) came into vogue. Using this method, students memorized dialogues and practiced substitution drills, all based on a particular grammatical element, often in language laboratories. Decontextualized speaking and listening was common.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the shift continued from a deductive approach to an inductive approach. Perhaps the greatest impetus to this shift came in 1965 when Noam Chomsky presented his theory of transformational-generative grammar. His theory distinguished between the *competence* of a native speaker and the *performance* of a nonnative speaker, thus, differentiating forms of language used by a native speaker from those used by a nonnative speaker. He concluded that language is not merely structures to be learned through habit, but is formed by creative and abstract principles, which are more complex than the mere learning of formulas and structures.

Current Practice

In 1980, Michael Canale and Merrill Swain developed a conceptual framework that formulated a theoretical design for communicative competence. This design breaks linguistic competence into four distinct components: grammatical competence (mastery of

grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation), sociolinguistic competence (mastery of communicative genre such as narration, description, and persuasion), discourse competence (mastery of coherent discourse), and strategic competence (mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication).

This framework was further refined by Lyle Bachman, who divided language competence into two distinct components: organizational competence, which includes the structures of language (i.e., grammar, phonology, semantics) and pragmatic competence, which refers to the ability of the speaker to use organizational structures in contextual or culture-specific situations. Based on this framework, pragmatic competence is considered equal to organizational competence in determining overall language competence.

With the new emphasis on competence versus performance, foreign language instruction in the early twenty-first century has shifted away from a deductive, grammar-based instruction to an inductive, communicative-based approach, which focuses on real-life situations and active language skills (i.e., speaking and listening), as opposed to decontextualized, passive skills (i.e., reading and writing). Formulaic instruction in grammar is reserved for situations where further communication is impossible without formal clarification. Most modern textbooks make use of a variation on communicative-based instruction, and foreign language teachers are encouraged to use grammar-based instruction only when necessary.

Annis N. Shaver

See also Bilingual Education, History of

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FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

During the short-lived Reconstruction period after the Civil War, the task of rebuilding the economic and social infrastructure of the South was assigned to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Its official responsibility was to assist former slaves, provide relief to war refugees, and dispose of confiscated Confederate property. Education, however, became an important and perhaps the most successful part of its agenda, as it built thousands of schools including several important historically Black colleges. This entry reviews the historical context of the Freedmen's Bureau, its larger role, and its contributions to education.

After the Civil War

The destruction of crops, farmlands, and infrastructure throughout the South displaced thousands of workers of all races. The war had removed primary wage earners from many homes, increasing the ranks of the poor. Literally thousands of people both Black and White found themselves landless, jobless, and homeless. Whites and Blacks experienced nearly a complete breakdown of everyday life. In the face of mounting need, it became increasingly clear that local resources would not be sufficient to meet the needs of the South. The sources of relief for African Americans were almost nonexistent. Most private aid societies in the South either had little interest in providing assistance to Black persons or simply were unable to do so because resources were so scarce. As the size and intensity of the relief crisis grew, new private aid societies in the North demanded that the federal

government create a formal support system for the former slaves. Among the aid societies were the American Missionary Association, the National Freedmen's Relief Association, the American Freedmen's Union, and the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, which sent clothes, money, school books, and teachers. These groups, however, soon concluded that their meager resources were no match for the enormity of the problem. Rather, a government office seemed necessary to ensure that freedom actually changed the lives of African Americans.

Creation of the Bureau

On March 3, 1865, a bill to create the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established and signed into law on the same day by President Abraham Lincoln. The most noteworthy characteristic of the Freedmen's Bureau bill was negative: its funding. The Bureau was established as a temporary federal division of the War Department and slated to operate for only one year after the Civil War. The U.S. Congress appropriated no funds to support the Bureau's work, and during its first year of operation, it depended upon donations from benevolent societies and rents collected from tenants working abandoned lands. Once President Andrew Johnson, a White supremacist, restored lands to former land owners, rents declined significantly. Despite these limitations, the Bureau undertook the monumental task of providing welfare services to freed persons and White refugees. It provided food, clothing, and fuel to the destitute, aged, ill, and insane among both White refugees and freedmen; established schools for freedmen; supplied medical services; implemented a workable system of free labor in the South through the supervision of contracts between the freedmen and their employers; managed confiscated or abandoned lands, leasing and selling some of them to freedmen; and attempted to secure for Blacks equal justice before the law.

The Bureau also helped locate jobs, supervised labor contracts to ensure fairness, established hospitals, and worked to protect the civil liberties of Blacks in hostile towns. Each local Bureau agent was expected not only to accomplish these tasks in the

post–Civil War environment but also to win the confidence of Blacks and Whites alike in an atmosphere poisoned by centuries of mutual distrust and conflicting interests.

How successful the Bureau was in accomplishing its tasks—land, labor policy, education, and relief—hinged on the ability of individual agents to make their case before Blacks and Whites and to inculcate respect for law. The Bureau lacked the institutional and financial resources to fully effect relief, recovery, and reform, and local differences in culture and conditions meant constantly having to adapt broad Bureau philosophy and interests to very particular conditions. As a result, outcomes across the South were far from uniform. What was uniform was that the Bureau agents were overworked in the field, for there were never enough agents; caseloads were staggering; agents lived and operated alone; and diminishing military support bolstered White opposition.

Educational Role

Given general supervision over the education of freed slaves after its creation in 1865 by the reconstructionist Congress, the Bureau was not given authority to fund and run schools, but it assumed the leadership for this responsibility. The funds needed for its programs were obtained by selling confiscated Confederate lands. The Bureau initiated 4,239 schools, hired 9,307 teachers, and provided instruction for almost one quarter of a million children. The Bureau advocated normal schools to train Black teachers to educate former slaves in elementary schools as early as 1866.

The philosophy of the Bureau stressed the values of obedience to the law, respect for property rights, racial harmony, patience, and moderation. The Bureau also protected Black schools and their personnel from White violence and intimidation. It encouraged the establishment of teacher-training institutions to train Black teachers, and by 1869, a majority of teachers in the Bureau's schools were Black.

The Bureau clearly achieved its greatest success in education. It established or supervised all kinds of schools: day, night, Sunday, and industrial as well as colleges. Many of the nation's best known Black colleges

and universities were founded with aid from the Bureau: Howard University, Hampton Institute, St. Augustine's College, Atlanta University, Fisk University, and Biddle Memorial Institute (now Johnson C. Smith University). When the Bureau's education work stopped in 1879, there were 247, 222 students in 4,239 schools.

These statistics in some ways overestimate the Bureau's success in education. In fact, most schools were in or near towns while many Blacks lived in rural areas; most Black children did not attend school and those who did attended for only a few months; every school was segregated by race, for Whites refused to attend freedmen's schools and the Bureau did not require racial desegregation; and the Bureau could not take credit for the many schools staffed by Blacks and Southern Whites.

Clearly, Black education in the postemancipation South was a joint venture combining the efforts and philosophy of the Bureau, benevolent associations, and Black themselves. Yet to discount the Bureau's achievements is to miss the dynamic of the Bureau's role in Reconstruction. Without the Bureau's resources and resolve, the freed people's education and social opportunity would have been even more sporadic and limited than it was. The Bureau laid a foundation and set a course of social action for others to follow.

Paul E. Green

See also African American Education: From Slave to Free

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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FREE SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The period of cultural and political upheaval during the 1960s included a passionate critique of schooling expressed in writings such as *Summerhill* (1960) by A. S. Neill, *How Children Fail* (1964) by John Holt, *Death at an Early Age* (1967) by Jonathan Kozol, *The Lives of Children* (1969) by George Dennison, and *Deschooling Society* (1970) by Ivan Illich, among others, and work by social critics like Paul Goodman and Edgar Z. Friedenberg. These critics argued that schools had become authoritarian institutions that repressed individuality, freedom, and the joy of learning, making education sterile and irrelevant both to students' lives and the serious issues affecting society. While some educators sought to introduce progressive reforms (such as "open education") into public schools (as described in Charles Silberman's 1970 *Crisis in the Classroom*), thousands of students, young teachers, and parents withdrew from public education to launch independent alternatives that were commonly known as "free schools."

While the exact number of such schools is difficult to determine, research suggests that between 400 and 800 of them were founded in the decade after 1962. They were small (forty students or fewer), often disorganized, and usually short lived. Yet by the late 1960s participants in these schools identified themselves as a coherent countercultural movement; they published various periodicals (such as *This Magazine Is About Schools* and *The New Schools Exchange Newsletter*), held regional and national conferences, and gave radical educators and students venues for putting their ideals of participatory democracy, opposition to hierarchy and commercialism, personal authenticity, and political activism into practice in intimate community settings.

Free school activists shared a core ideology. They emphasized the child's "natural" or "organic" desire to learn and argued that school structures and routines (such as tests and grades, timed lessons contained by classroom walls, segregation by age) inhibit genuine learning. They believed that personal

relationships, emotional expression, and active participation in community were as important to education as academic work. They gave students extensive choice in their learning, such as what to study and when; they generally made class attendance optional. They valued spontaneity and argued that curricula and teaching should be immediately responsive to the lived situation of a given place and time. They saw their schools as refuges from a materialistic, militaristic culture, as seedbeds of the new society that was then being described by the New Left and the counterculture.

Yet there were ideological fissures within the movement as well. Some activists, following Neill, primarily emphasized personal freedom and happiness, while others argued that in a society they considered racist, violent, and corrupt, simple withdrawal from society was morally inadequate and free schoolers needed to address society's suffering directly. In *Free Schools* (1972), Kozol famously referred to the "romantic" free school, serving privileged White families, as being equivalent to "a sandbox for children of the SS Guards at Auschwitz."

The movement declined rapidly after 1972, but approximately twenty to forty such schools have remained intact or have been started in recent years. The more progressive elements of the homeschooling movement (e.g., "unschoolers") retain much of the free school ideology.

Ron Miller

See also Activist Teachers; Homeschooling; Summerhill

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FUNDRAISING IN SCHOOLS

Perhaps more than ever, America's schools need additional funds. Increasingly, primary and secondary schools are faced with demands for accountability with regard to their teaching. They are also adapting curricula to be more in line with the nation's increasing plurality, diverse learning styles, and ever-changing technology. However, traditional school budgets, provided by public funds, are often not able to meet these demands. As a result, public and private schools throughout the nation are starting separate education foundations to raise, handle, and redirect supplemental funds toward these vital tasks. Fundraising can also be seen from the perspective of student giving rather than receiving, through programs that encourage student philanthropy. This entry looks at both phenomena.

Local Education Foundations

Local education foundations are different from parent-teacher associations (PTAs) in the sense that the foundations do not have any oversight responsibility within the school system. Typically these foundations raise about 0.3 percent of their district's budget. Some suggest that the money raised by these foundations is relatively small and therefore these nonprofits should be seen more as public relations tools than fundraisers for the schools that they serve.

While the amount raised by the foundations is small in comparison to the district budgets, its impact is not insignificant. A 1995 longitudinal study found that foundations with an annual fundraising income of less than \$10,000 provide mini-grants and scholarships, while those in the \$20,000 to \$50,000 range provide training, enrichment programs, and other teacher resources. And, those foundations able to raise more than \$100,000 in a year often provide support for additional teaching positions.

This further differentiates local education foundations from PTAs. Parent-teacher associations, while often engaged in fundraising, raise considerably less. These small amounts support particular "extras" such as costumes and scenery for plays or extra funding for field trips. As with other nonprofits, education foundations

are required to report their activity to the Internal Revenue Service but are not told how to specifically spend what they have raised.

Researchers and critics, such as Faith Crampton and Paul Bauman, are concerned about the potential inequities that could further expand the divide between poorly funded and wealthy districts. However, Ron Zimmer and others at the Rand Corporation believe that the proliferation of foundations has helped close this funding gap. Notably, the number of foundations does not differ significantly across communities of different economic status.

Educational philosophers, such as Emily Cuatto, are worried about the effects and unintended consequences of local education foundations. Stipulating that education is a public good that gives students the necessary skills to be productive members of society, Cuatto suggests that it is the government's responsibility not only to provide education to its citizens but to fully support it. By having education foundations raise supplemental funds, Cuatto believes that local, state, and federal governments are relieved of their responsibility to fully support education, thereby relinquishing their duty to provide this public good.

Youth Empowerment and Philanthropy

Other than fundraising for schools, teaching about philanthropy and primary and secondary student involvement in giving back to society through monetary means and volunteerism increased substantially at the close of the twentieth century. Youth engagement in philanthropy is the focus of many nonprofit organizations and foundations. Between 1988 and 2003, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation gave over \$100 million in grants to fund and engage students in social, civic, and community building through volunteerism and philanthropy.

In addition to foundations supplementing district budgets, some nonprofits, such as the Youth Leadership Institute (San Francisco), Michigan Community Foundations' Youth Project, and the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation (Kansas City, Missouri), have begun teaching K-12 students about the importance of philanthropy by empowering the students in the grant-writing and -making process.

An estimated 500 foundations across the country are giving secondary school students the opportunity to create requests for proposals (RFPs) and then evaluate them and decide, along with adults, which programs meet their goals and are deserving of funding. By involving youth in this process, these foundations teach students how to incorporate their ideas and needs assessments in making funding allocation decisions and expose the students to the idea of giving, all while helping solve the foundation's pressing issues.

Casting philanthropy wider than just monetary giving, schools are learning from these youth empowerment foundations to include actions of community service and philanthropy in their curricula. Richard Bentley and Luana Nissan have explored how primary school students learn philanthropy and altruistic behavior. Their study found that witnessing an influential adult, such as a parent or guardian, teacher, or a religious or youth organization leader, engage in acts of philanthropy is most effective in passing along the importance of helping others. This teachable moment is intensified when it is coupled with a discussion about the importance of such actions.

Finally, the most effective tool is for the child to participate in giving and serving activities to help reinforce the positive feeling associated with helping others. Research by Laurent Daloz found that providing opportunities for community service helped children learn the importance of philanthropy. According to the U.S. Department of Education, more than half of the high schools in the country require community service

as a condition to graduate, up from 9 percent in 1984. Between 1984 and 1997, student volunteers increased from 900,000 to 6 million—a growth of 686 percent.

Further, according to the Higher Education Research Institute, nearly 83 percent of incoming college students in 2001 indicated they had volunteered prior to graduating high school, up from 66 percent in 1989. In theory, through these new policies of requiring community service and engaging students in opportunities to partake in other civic engagement and service learning projects, schools will produce a more philanthropic generation.

Noah D. Drezner

See also Philanthropy, Educational; School Funding

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G

GALLUP POLLS

In 1935, educator and researcher George Gallup (1901–1984) founded the precursor to the Gallup Organization with his creation of the American Institute of Public Opinion. Although the Gallup Organization serves multiple functions in business, management, and consulting, it is best known for its international reputation as a trusted source for measuring public opinion through its numerous and varied Gallup Polls. In addition to its national and global surveys related to multiple social and political matters, the Gallup Organization has also made significant contributions to the field of education through its annual survey of public attitudes related to public schools in conjunction with Phi Delta Kappa (PDK). This entry looks at the organization and its educational role.

The Gallup Organization

When Dr. Gallup founded the Gallup Organization, he set out with a personal dedication to gathering and reporting the “public will” through independent and objective polling. The Gallup Organization has kept its founder’s personal vision in focus. To this day, the Gallup Organization refuses requests for sponsored or paid polls and will not undertake polling that represents any particular agenda or special interest group. Similar to its historic dedication to objectivity and independence, the Gallup Organization also remains

firmly committed to discovering public attitudes along a wide array of current issue areas.

“Gallup” became a household name in 1936, when the first Gallup Poll contradicted the most popular pollster of the time to successfully predict that Franklin Delano Roosevelt would win the U.S. presidency. With its genesis as a barometer for predominantly political issues, the Gallup Poll has expanded its focus over the years and now covers a diverse and comprehensive list of topics related to political, social, and economic subjects. The Gallup Organization has also grown beyond its original location in Princeton, New Jersey, and now conducts business from offices across the world. Likewise, the subjects of Gallup’s public opinion polls have extended well beyond U.S. borders. The first global polls were conducted in the late 1930s to gather and report public opinion across almost fifty countries prior to the start of World War II.

With the addition of its landmark global quality of life survey in 1976, the Gallup Poll has become an internationally recognized and respected source for public opinion data. Today, the Gallup Poll continues to provide thorough and in-depth examinations of public attitudes across an expansive range of matters such as politics, elections, crime, education, civil liberties, moral and controversial issues, economics, business, the environment, religion, war, personal concerns, and so on. Overall, the Gallup Poll provides a useful service to many different arenas, including, but not limited to, the field of education.

Contributions to Education

For educators, “Gallup Poll” is synonymous with the annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public’s Attitudes Toward the Public Schools that began in the late 1960s and was originally envisioned by James Kettering and Edward Brainard of the Kettering Foundation. George Gallup became involved as the first director of this well-known educational public opinion poll in 1969. The PDK/Gallup Poll, published annually in the *Phi Delta Kappan* education journal, collects and reports America’s thoughts on a series of contemporary issues in public education. George Gallup was involved in the yearly generation of each PDK/Gallup Poll until his son and cochair of the Gallup Organization took his place upon his death.

Today, a team of coauthors oversees the creation and production of the annual education poll. Although a variety of funders have provided financial support for the poll since its inception in the late 1960s, the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation has been the sole funder of the annual education poll since 2004.

The annual PDK/Gallup Poll was originally intended to reach an audience consisting primarily of educators to inform their understanding and practice. Although the poll certainly continues to meet this original requirement, it has achieved greater significance over the years. Today, the PDK/Gallup Poll is largely seen as a meaningful source of information for educators, policy makers, political leaders, and the general public. Each Gallup Poll, including the annual education poll, is focused on significant and timely issues of the day. Poll readers will find information relevant to contemporary issues in education, as well as lines of questioning intended to track public attitudes through polling trends over time.

Another fundamental aspect of the annual PDK/Gallup Poll that often gets widespread attention in the general press relates to poll respondents’ “grades” of the public schools both overall and in their communities. Because public schools are inherently accountable to the public, the annual PDK/Gallup Poll of the Public’s Attitudes Toward the Public Schools serves a noteworthy function to the field.

In addition to its contributions to the field of education through the annual Gallup Education Poll, the

Gallup Organization also provides consulting and research services to public and private educational organizations through its education branch. Overall, the Gallup Organization provides important services to the field of education and successfully illustrates how an outside organization can inform, support, and influence the field.

Carri Anne Schneider

See also Corporate Involvement in Education

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- Gallup Organization: <http://www.gallup.com>
- PDK/Gallup Poll Resources:
<http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kpollpdf.htm>

GANGS IN SCHOOLS

An estimated 26,000 youth gangs with more than 840,500 members exist in the United States. Although the term *gang* may have different meanings in different contexts, for the purposes of this entry, *gang* is defined as a neighborhood group that is identified by others, and whose members recognize themselves, as a distinct group; its members are involved in activities that are illegal or considered inappropriate by neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement groups. Delinquency generally distinguishes gangs from other youth organizations. Youth gangs participate in some illegal activities and regularly violate school policies. This entry describes the scope of gang activity in the United States and then reviews reasons why youth join gangs.

The mid-1990s witnessed a decrease in gang activity in many schools and communities due to the development of federal, state, and local gang task forces. However, there was a dramatic increase in gang activity in 2003–2004, and current trends show a steady increase in youth gang activity in many communities and school districts. This poses a potential threat to the safety of others and a danger to the future of the young people who are drawn into gangs. Schools have become a place of recruitment and sources of territorial wars, or fights among rival gangs over geographic territory. Youth gang activity is anticipated for the foreseeable future.

Some scholarship suggests that urbanization and urbanism are influencing factors on youth gang activity and provide models that stimulate gang activity, even in small towns and rural areas. Gangs have been glamorized within the popular culture. Since the mid-1980s, youth gangs have grown in suburban and rural areas of the nation, increasing by 27 percent in suburban areas and by 29 percent in rural areas between 1998 and 1999. Overall, gang membership across the country increased from 731,500 in 2002 to 800,000 in 2007. Larger cities and suburban areas report more gang membership than smaller cities and rural areas, accounting for 80 percent of gang membership in 2005.

In most cases, gangs consist of members who share some common traits, such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, and race or ethnicity. Although once the domain for adults, gang activity today is viewed primarily as a teenage phenomenon. Juveniles have become the dominant members of gang culture, and their members mature out of the gang before adulthood through a process of gradual disaffiliation. The traditional age range of gang members in most cities is eight to twenty-one years of age. Gangs in local communities are found in high schools, middle schools, and elementary schools.

Gender is also a relevant factor that influences youth gang activity. Youth gangs have always been seen as a mostly male phenomenon. However, females constitute as much as 25 percent of gang membership, and they account for more behaviors that are associated with gangs than commonly thought. They commit acts that are just as violent as those of their male counterparts.

Some research indicates that the greater the socioeconomic deprivation, the more likely gangs will exist. Although youth from culturally, racially, and ethnically diverse backgrounds are more likely to form gangs, the fundamental reason is not their culture, race, or ethnicity, but rather the low socioeconomic status that they often experience in this view. Subsequently, a large percentage of youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds join “drug gangs,” which primarily sell and distribute drugs for profit. Many join because participation is a way to change their economic status and provide financial supports in the home.

In contrast to this perspective is research showing that economically affluent youth also belong to gangs. Proponents of this view say that it is a misconception that poor youth are more delinquent than affluent youth. Rather, they say, society is more lenient and forgiving with affluent youth, and therefore, the same behavior perceived to be “gang behavior” among poorer youngsters is appraised differently. They assert that youth gangs are unfairly labeled as the result of socioeconomic deprivation when there are actually other salient factors in the evaluation of delinquency.

Why Youth Join Gangs

There is a misconception that juveniles who join gangs are “bad.” Similar reasons why students join school organizations apply to why youth join gangs. Gang affiliation may be the student’s way of making friends and gaining a sense of acceptance and worth. Similarly, many youth join gangs to feel like they have a voice and control where they may normally feel out of control and a sense of helplessness. Some youth join gangs to fulfill needs of power and leadership that are seen as otherwise unattainable in society because of their race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. When a system denies privilege (e.g., institutional racism that is prevalent in schools), this often results in deprivation of power, privileges, and resources, which may cause many youth to develop their own institutionalized organizations.

Additionally, many youth gangs are a form of family for its members and serve as supports. Some youth join gangs for security and self-protection in response to threatening school and community environments. Acquiring economic gain may serve as a form of

incentive for gang affiliation. After all, achieving wealth is an incentive in the case of members in society. Youth who may have difficulty meeting basic financial needs may join drug gangs for employment opportunities to earn money.

In understanding why youth join gangs, we also need to ask what factors are lacking in family, school, and community systems that draw students into a culture, and what is missing in the lives and experience of gang members that draws them to join. Schools have the potential to play a critical role in offering youth alternatives to gang membership.

Satasha L. Green

See also Gender and School Violence; Violence in Schools

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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<http://www.focusas.com/Gangs.html>
- National School Safety and Security Services:
<http://www.schoolsecurity.org>

grew into a famous example of progressive education. Born in eastern Indiana, Wirt attended nearby Bluffton High School, graduated from DePauw University, and returned to Bluffton as school superintendent in 1899. His school innovations, particularly a diversified elementary curriculum, led to his move to Gary in 1907. Founded by U.S. Steel Corporation the previous year, Gary grew quickly and attracted a heterogeneous population, many from eastern and southern Europe.

The Work-Study-Play system, or Platoon School Plan, as it was later known, focused on two central features, but only in the elementary grades. Wirt believed in maximizing school facilities by constant use of all classrooms. He also expanded the curriculum to include manual training (e.g., shops for the boys and cooking for the girls), recreation, nature study, and daily auditorium activities. Organized into two platoons, during the morning, Platoon A students occupied the specialized academic classrooms (math, science, English, history), whereas Platoon B students were in the auditorium, shops, gardens, swimming pools, gym, or playground. They switched during the afternoon. Gary's large schools were unique because they were unit schools, including all grades, K–12. By the late 1920s, about half of the system's 22,000 students were attending such schools, with the remainder in the smaller elementary buildings.

The Work-Study-Play plan attracted national publicity, and by 1929, 202 cities had more than 1000 platoon schools. Although the Gary schools captured the positive spirit of progressive education, they also incorporated some troubling aspects. There was the perception that the inclusion of manual training classes was designed to channel the working classes (the majority of Gary's students) into vocational trades. The schools were also racially segregated. The 2,759 Black children in 1930 mostly attended all-Black elementary schools. The situation worsened as the Black enrollment increased to 6,700 by 1949 (34 percent of the student population), despite the school board's decision in 1946 to promote building integration. By 1960, 97 percent of the 23,055 Black pupils (more than half of the 41,000 students) were in eighteen, mostly Black schools. The trend would continue as the Black population increased and the White population decreased over the following decades.

GARY (INDIANA) MODEL

The Gary, Indiana, public schools, developed by Superintendent William A. Wirt (1874–1938), quickly

The Gary schools barely survived the Depression years, when budgets were severely cut. Wirt's death in 1938, and a critical study in 1940, led to the slow process, not completed until the 1960s, of abandoning the platoon system and diversified curriculum, instituting the contained classroom in the elementary grades. The student population had exploded by the 1960s, but soon began to decline. There were 20,000 African American students (and few others) by 2000. Endemic social and economic problems, compounded by mandated state testing and the federal No Child Left Behind Act, put additional stress on the students and their schools.

Ronald D. Cohen

See also Progressive Education

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GENDER AND SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Although school violence may refer to any form of violence within schools, including a broad range of bullying, fights, and even murder, more recently, the notion of school violence has become increasingly associated with school shootings. Male gender has been a common factor in the most lethal forms of school violence; thus, scholars and researchers interested in understanding and preventing violence in schools have begun to consider the link between masculinity and violence. Researchers have also noted and searched for answers to account for the seeming increase of girls' violence in the 1990s and early twentieth century. This entry looks at school violence and its relationship to gender.

Increasing Violence

During the mid- to late 1990s, a series of highly publicized school shootings by young suburban White males brought school violence into the national spotlight. The 1997 Heath High School shooting in Paducah, Kentucky, and the 1998 shooting in Jonesboro, Arkansas, both were featured heavily in national news. The shootings were notable particularly because of the young ages of the shooters—fourteen years old in Paducah, and thirteen and fourteen years old in Jonesboro.

The notorious shooting of the late 1990s was the 1999 killing of twelve students and a teacher at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. The murders became the most deadly high school shooting in the history of the United States, thereafter serving as an inevitable reference point for any subsequent discussion of school violence. The Columbine shooting has also served as a reference point for young men fascinated with school violence, including those interested in perpetuating similar crimes. In 2006 alone, at least three different incidents of teenagers specifically mimicking Columbine were reported in North America, including the shooting of more than twenty people at Dawson College in Montreal. In April 2007, the deadliest school shooting in the United States occurred when one gunman killed thirty-two people and wounded twenty-five with two semi-automatic handguns at Virginia Tech University.

In the wake of Columbine, schools enacted stricter policies for violence prevention, including zero-tolerance policies requiring expulsion for any act or threat of violence. Metal detectors and video cameras also became more frequent within schools. While schools attempted to push for student safety, scholars and journalists searched for both causes of and solutions to the violence. In the national media, family problems, lax discipline, video games, violent films and music, access to guns, and bullying have been prominent factors discussed and debated as possible contributing factors to the crimes.

Boys Who Bully

One factor that was common to the shootings, but rarely discussed initially, was the gender of the perpetrators. In almost all of the school shootings of the late 1990s,

the shooters were boys. In addition, all of the murder victims were girls in both the Paducah and Jonesboro school shootings. Despite the common factor of male gender among perpetrators, masculinity was not a prominent consideration in the popular media. Some scholars have pointed to a similar trend in studies of bullying, wherein masculinity often has been ignored as a factor in school violence despite the fact that boys are perpetrators in most cases of school bullying. Many school shootings have been related to a perceived failure at masculinity and the desire to establish masculinity through dominance and violence. Bullying is a common factor in boys' concerns at failed manliness, and bullying often has a distinctly homophobic aspect.

Particularly in instances of bullying, boys have seen retaliatory violence as the most effective way to confirm their masculinity. Studies indicate that many violent boys are depressed, yet they often shut themselves off from their feelings, repressing their sadness and turning it outward into rage and aggression. If boys have low self-esteem and buy into traditional notions of masculinity, they may be more at risk. Research shows that boys who adhere to traditional masculinity are more likely to get in trouble at school and become involved in illegal activities. This may be because within the limits of traditional masculinity, fighting back can seem like the only viable choice to a boy.

Hegemonic masculinity celebrates toughness and the capacity for violence more than the ability to express emotions effectively; thus, boys may view aggressive emotions and actions as their only possible outlet for expression. Media images of emotionally expressive and nonviolent men are limited, and instances of male violence are often normalized in media representations of men and in the sports culture that exists nationally and locally. In public schools, an example of this normalization of aggression may be seen in the popularity of high school football.

Aggressive Girls

Although the effects of hegemonic masculinity and sports culture have begun to garner more attention in the post-Columbine era, a parallel trend in the 1990s and early twenty-first century has been an increased

focus on aggressive behavior in girls and young women. In the last decade of the twentieth century, overall arrest rates for girls increased while arrest rates for boys declined. In particular, girls' arrests for assault increased at a rate that was ten times the increase for boys.

Yet some scholars have been skeptical of the notion that girls are becoming more violent, pointing to the decreased arrest rates for more violent crimes and the decreased reports of girls' violence in self-reported data. Some researchers have discussed escalated awareness rather than increased incidence of girls' crime and increasingly severe zero-tolerance policies as explanations for the rising arrest rates of girls.

Robert Pleasants

See also Bullying; Gangs in Schools; Hate Crimes in Schools; Homophobia

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GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD (1901–1964)

The General Education Board (GEB) was a philanthropy started by John D. Rockefeller and a small cadre of friends, in large part to remedy the

deplorable state of education for southern rural African Americans. The GEB, over its more than six decades of life, supported a wide variety of educational programs and research, both in the United States and abroad. Abraham Flexnor's many educational surveys represent the most famous of these efforts. However, the board's support of African American education, despite representing a small percentage of its overall allocations throughout its history, remains remarkable. Arguably, despite its support of segregation, no other organization, save the NAACP and its success with *Brown v. Board of Education*, has done more to improve African American schooling.

The GEB's support of Black schooling started slowly. Indeed, in concert with the Southern Education Board, an older group that it backed financially for a number of years, the GEB espoused a curious ideology that direct aid to White schools was the best course to improve Black education. The GEB, in its early years, funded the work of rural school supervisors and professors of secondary education, all with a focus on White children and youth. However, its 1910 placement of Jackson Davis as the first State Agent of Negro Education, in Virginia's state department of education, signaled a policy turn toward direct assistance of Black schooling. GEB's efforts over the next half-century would radically alter the educational landscape for Southern African Americans.

GEB support and supervision of the State Agents of Negro Education, fundamentally assistant state superintendents, was foundational to all of its actions in support of Black schooling. To be sure, GEB's monetary support for Southern African American education remained significant throughout its life. However, using its supported State Agents as a regional network of educational policy actors, the GEB impressively reworked the Southern public school systems to include African Americans. Indeed, the GEB significantly moved away from its earlier focus on industrial education; it formulated and implemented policies that brought robust academic work to Black schools.

Beginning in the early 1940s, the GEB began to wind down its philanthropic efforts. Over the next two decades, it divested its funds and organizational

obligations to other groups, principally the Southern Education Foundation. The GEB ceased operations in 1964.

Matthew D. Davis

See also African American Education; Phelps Stokes Fund; Philanthropy, Educational; Rosenwald Schools

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GI BILL OF RIGHTS (SERVICEMEN'S READJUSTMENT ACT)

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (P.L. 346, 78th Congress), referred to as the "GI Bill of Rights," offered a variety of supports to returning veterans, including money to pursue higher education and purchase homes. Members of the American Legion had drafted the bill, and President Franklin Roosevelt and many persons in Congress embraced it. The supporters of this legislation wished to demonstrate their gratitude to the 16 million servicemen and servicewomen who were making wartime sacrifices.

However, they also hoped to prevent domestic and economic problems similar to those that had followed World War I. During that earlier war, the departure of young males from the homeland labor force had created employment opportunities for women, African Americans, older citizens, and persons with disabilities. Later, some returning veterans were unable to regain employment. Understandably, they were disgruntled. Those postwar civilian employees who had

secured jobs but who were forced to relinquish them were equally disgruntled. President Wilson, who was preoccupied with efforts to persuade Americans to enter the League of Nations, seemed to pay little attention to these problems.

The severity of the postwar problems became evident after racial and labor riots disturbed the summer of 1919. Because of the destruction, bloodshed, and death associated with this period, journalists referred to it as "the red summer." The national insecurity and suffering were accentuated by a flu pandemic that infected one out of every four Americans. The American fatalities from the pandemic were ten times greater than the 115,000 soldiers who had died in World War I battles. The state of the nation deteriorated further during the Great Depression. In 1932, more than 30,000 former servicemen journeyed to Washington and lobbied the federal government for financial help. They requested the early award of the bonuses that they had been promised. The march of this "bonus army" culminated in violent clashes with the police and the militia. The American public was horrified as it read about the burning of the makeshift village in which the marchers had set up camp. Even more dismaying, they viewed reports and photos of veterans who had been beaten and killed.

Wishing to reduce the conditions that could lead to domestic unrest after World War II, the advocates of the GI Bill of Rights ensured that it would help discharged soldiers secure unemployment stipends, medical care, and loans with which to purchase homes or businesses. They also offered financial support for the veterans to attend vocational schools or colleges. Some people had questioned whether this bill's budget could support the services that it promised. Their skepticism was appropriate. Before subsequent GI Bills were enacted in 1952 and 1966, critics underscored the fiscal miscalculations of the early sponsors. For example, the proponents of the original 1944 bill had estimated that several hundred thousand people would take advantage of the educational benefits. However, more than one million veterans used the GI Bill to pay for higher education during the three-year period that followed the war. By 1952, more than two million veterans had drawn stipends to attend colleges or universities. Another six million veterans had used

their stipends for various types of vocational training. Within seven years of the war's conclusion, the total federal expenses for the GI Bill of Rights had amounted to more than \$10 billion.

The unprecedented influx of students swelled postwar enrollments at colleges and universities. In response to the surge, college administrators erected classroom buildings, laboratories, and dormitories. To keep costs down, they frequently employed the prefabricated structures that the wartime army had developed. As additional cost-saving measures, they began to offer classes during evenings and summers. They placed special emphasis on classes in engineering, mathematics, technology, and the sciences. These fields, which had risen in importance during World War II, continued to be national priorities during the politically tense postwar years.

College administrators recognized that their student bodies had not only increased but become more diverse. Those students who were using the GI Bill of Rights to attend college included older students, mid-career students, female students, students from the economically lower classes, and students from racial minorities. Although many of the 1.2 million African Americans who had served in the war took advantage of the GI Bill of Rights, most of those who attended college lived in the North rather than the less-prosperous and racially segregated South. Many of these students were the first persons in their families ever to attend an institution of higher education. Their eventual successes changed the prevailing assumptions about the type of students who could benefit from college.

The cost of the GI Bill of Rights greatly exceeded the preliminary estimates of its sponsors. Nonetheless, this legislation was lauded because it enabled the discharged servicemen who attended college to fuel the nation's robust postwar economic progress. By 1950, the nation's gross national product had increased by 50 percent from the level at which it had been a decade earlier. The gross national product increased by more than 100 percent during the subsequent decade. Although multiple conditions contributed to this economic growth, the preparation of university-educated workers was a critical factor. Without the financial support of the GI Bill, significantly fewer workers would have been able to enroll in the universities. After they

had graduated, university-educated veterans had a decisive influence on the economy. They had an equally profound impact on culture and politics.

Gerard Giordano

See also Higher Education, History of; Politics of Education

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GIFTED EDUCATION, DIVERSITY ISSUES AND

Special educational programs for highly able students are not federally mandated in the United States, so public support for these programs rises and falls over a cycle that historically has peaked every two to three decades. During periods of low support, particularly since the 1970s, criticism of such programs has focused on their alleged elitist nature. Diversity issues have formed the foundation of these critiques, probably because a cursory inspection reveals relatively few students of color participating in programs for the gifted. African American and Latino students, in particular, are underrepresented in gifted education programs in comparison to their presence in the overall school population. In recent years, attention to diversity has broadened to include students from low-socioeconomic-status households and students who are English language learners. These students also are generally underrepresented in gifted education settings, in comparison to their prevalence in the overall school population.

Historical Development

Early research concerning academically advanced learners, such as Lewis Terman's well-known longitudinal study begun in the 1920s, devoted little attention to diversity. By the late 1950s, a small handful of published works considered Black students who had high IQ scores, but this work had little impact. It was not

until the late 1960s and early 1970s that diversity issues began to receive widespread attention in gifted education circles.

Beginning in the early 1970s, following the formal implementation of school desegregation, identifying the academically gifted Black student became a primary focus of diversity-related research in gifted education. Scholars of color such as Mary M. Frasier and Alexinia Y. Baldwin played pivotal roles in these efforts. Scholars during the 1970s also began to devote attention to gifted learners among Native American and Latino populations. Here, too, early efforts focused primarily on identification. More recently, such scholarship has broadened to include recruitment and retention of diverse learners in programs for the gifted, as well as studies seeking to develop appropriate curricula for use with gifted learners.

Since the 1990s, gifted identification procedures have gradually moved away from emphasizing a single-score representation of ability such as IQ. Although IQ scores are still widely used, newer operational definitions of giftedness allow additional information to be used for making placement decisions. These definitions may include criteria that address academic achievement and motivation, as well as related characteristics that are less strongly correlated with IQ, such as creativity and leadership ability.

The use of multiple criteria for identification appears to be having the desired outcome of narrowing the discrepancy in gifted program participation across diverse groups of learners. Because gifted identification policies vary widely from one state to the next, state-level data can offer a promising source of information to investigate the effects of policy on equity and diversity in gifted education.

Legal actions have played a prominent role in recent years. Actual or threatened lawsuits, often based in civil rights law, have driven changes in gifted education policy in some states. Other states have developed policies designed to increase diversity as a proactive measure, in advance of any specific legal challenge.

Emerging Directions

Existing trends seem likely to continue. These include devoting greater attention to equitable representation,

movement toward a construct of giftedness that permits identification via multiple criteria, and incorporation of issues of student retention in gifted programs and appropriateness of the curriculum and instruction that such programs provide.

Examination of recent publications in gifted education suggests that researchers' conceptualizations of diversity are becoming more nuanced. Although early publications may have lumped together all students living in poverty, or all Asian learners, recent scholarship increasingly has emphasized diversity within these broad categories. Narrower descriptions, such as "of [Asian] Indian descent," are increasingly evident in the literature.

Research designs are becoming more sophisticated as well. Researchers are beginning to apply advanced quantitative methods such as hierarchical linear modeling, and they are increasingly likely to report effect sizes when appropriate. Qualitative and mixed-methods research designs add rich detail to the literature. Such scholarship emphasizes the social context of diversity, including peer factors, the school climate, and family and community characteristics that influence achievement among diverse learners.

Michael S. Matthews

See also Achievement Gap; Educational Equity;

Race/Ethnicity; Immigrant Education: Contemporary

Issues; Intelligence, Theories of; Tracking and Detracking

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provisions for gifted students has been counterbalanced by a persistent belief that they need no unusual educational measures. This entry reviews that history.

Early Public Education

During the early years of the American public school system, gifted education programs were notably absent. Through the early 1800s, philosophical and behaviorist theories that one could be molded entirely based on controlled experiences were supported by the democratic ideal that all men are created equal and provided a strong basis upon which gifted education was deemed unwarranted.

Around 1850, scholars began to talk about the gifted or academically talented child. It was then thought that a very thin line separated genius and insanity, and the psychology of the gifted child provided the impetus for further study. Sir Francis Galton performed the first scientific study of giftedness in the late 1800s, ranking subjects based on their percentile intelligence score compared to the general population, thus furnishing the first comprehensive description of the gifted.

In 1861, William Torrey Harris, then Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, Missouri, established the first acceleration program for gifted students based on the concept of flexible promotions wherein students could be promoted to the next grade level after either a year, semester, quarter, or five-week time period. However, this program did not give any consideration to a gifted child's social needs.

From 1880 to 1900, the first homogeneously grouped gifted programs began. These programs provided advanced academic studies and social interaction between gifted students; however, such programs for the gifted were limited. The general belief among educators was that the gifted child should remain in the heterogeneous classroom, with the teacher making appropriate modifications for the student in the regular curriculum.

GIFTED EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

Gifted education in America has waxed and waned in its presence and prominence over the past two hundred years. The need to identify and make special

Specific Programs Begin

Gifted programs expanded to include special schools for the gifted with accelerated academic programs in the early 1900s. Whether grouped in a special class or

school, homogeneous grouping of gifted students was proposed as a major step toward making education of the gifted (and all students) more efficient; this same rationale continues to be used today in justifying homogeneous grouping of gifted students.

During the 1920s, the Binet-Simon intelligence test was first used to study large groups of gifted children. At Stanford University, Lewis M. Terman supervised the modification of the original Binet-Simon test into the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, used the test to identify more than 1,500 gifted children, and performed extensive field studies on these children throughout their lives.

The advent of a quantifiable measuring device for identifying gifted children was crucial to the continuation and refinement of gifted education programs. Gifted education programs in the 1920s were generally enrichment programs where the traditional curriculum was expanded upon in various ways. The influence of William H. Kilpatrick's project method, which was developed during this time period, likely aided in influencing this shift from acceleration to enrichment orientation.

Although a few gifted education programs continued and flourished during the 1930s and 1940s, in general, neither gifted nor mentally retarded programs received widespread attention during this time. A 1931 White House conference report stated that although 1.5 million children with IQs greater than 120 had been identified in the United States, less than 1 percent of those children were enrolled in special classes. Of the students who were enrolled in special classes, the primary method of instruction used was still homogeneous grouping with less emphasis on acceleration than in the early 1900s.

Technology Focus

With the end of World War II and the rise of technological careers in the United States, gifted education gained attention. In 1950, the National Education Association Educational Policies Commission produced a report titled "Education of the Gifted," in which a conservative increase in attention to the needs of and opportunities for gifted children was suggested, but special classes and homogeneous grouping of gifted children was not recommended.

In the early 1950s, the concept of giftedness was expanded to include talented youth. Talent could be expressed artistically and musically, with spatial relationships, mental reasoning, and other facets of intelligence not normally measured in IQ evaluations. Established in 1953, the Talented Youth Project at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation in New York City was one of the first programs to study the various aspects of talented youth.

The gifted education movement came to the forefront of American public schooling with the launching of the Russian rocket *Sputnik* in 1957; better education of the gifted was seen as a means to protect national security. The American government responded to what was viewed as a national educational crisis with the establishment of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958. Through NDEA, funding was allocated for counselors to work with gifted children and for educational experiments on gifted children to be performed. In addition to the funding of gifted programs, individual students now were able to receive funding for postsecondary education, particularly in technological areas. The National Merit Scholarship program was begun; the National Science Foundation provided numerous scholarships to students studying science in college; and the Advanced Placement program was established.

In the early 1960s, concentrated study into creativity in education and the creative abilities of students began. E. Paul Torrance's research showed that gifted children in special classes had more confidence in their ability to be creative than did gifted children of comparable ability in regular classes. Torrance's Test of Creativity would later be used to identify children for gifted education programs. The emphasis in gifted teacher education classes at the time was on how to develop powers of creative thinking in gifted students.

Federal Interventions

The civil rights movement and President Johnson's war on poverty in the 1960s shifted the nation's attention to the economically and socially disadvantaged and precipitated efforts to identify gifted students from minority and low socioeconomic populations. The gifted curriculum programs of the 1960s had four categories of curriculum differentiation: (1) acceleration,

or the presentation of older age material; (2) enrichment, characterized by extra work and extra resources; (3) sophistication, or learning more from the same curriculum; and (4) novelty, interdisciplinary, or unique classes.

In 1970, "Provisions Related to Gifted and Talented Children" (Section 806) was added to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1969, enabling federal funds to be used on gifted education. The provisions also directed the U.S. Commissioner of Education to study the extent to which special education provisions are necessary for the gifted and talented, whether federal programs currently established are meeting their needs, and how federal programs could be more effective.

Public Law 94-142's passage in 1975 required that every American child be provided with a "free and appropriate public education." Since then, gifted education has been recognized as a part of special (or exceptional) education. As such, students who display characteristics of giftedness are often referred for psychological evaluation and intelligence testing under the identification procedures used for special education students.

The first Gifted and Talented Children's Education Act in 1978 authorized between \$25 million and \$50 million to be spent on gifted education programs. Repealed by President Reagan as a part of his platform of "new federalism," gifted education spending policies were returned to the states, where they continue to reside today with states implementing a wide variety of funding formulae for gifted education programs.

The Current Situation

The gifted curriculum programs of the 1970s emphasized mastery of thinking skills underlying productive and creative thinking. The previously described methods of curriculum differentiation were also used throughout the decade and into the 1980s, with novelty and enrichment overshadowing the other methods.

In 1983, the publication of *A Nation at Risk* caused gifted education to receive attention once again because of a perceived threat to the superior status of the United States over other countries. Gifted education programs resumed their emphasis on academic acceleration and sophistication, with renewed attention

to math and science. Although teaching of creative thinking continued, the use of creativity in problem solving was emphasized.

In 1989, President George H. W. Bush and the governors of the United States signed Education 2000, a reform effort to increase the cognitive abilities of American students. In 1993, the U.S. Department of Education released its first study on the gifted in two decades, in which differential education for gifted was favored and greater efforts to identify the gifted and talented from minority groups urged. However, since the enactment of No Child Left Behind under President George W. Bush, students who are underperforming receive the majority of resources, and gifted funding and existence of programs have been reduced significantly, helping to reestablish the previously held belief that education of the gifted is unnecessary.

In those states and districts that continue to provide gifted programs, all of the categories of curriculum differentiation can be found. Not only do gifted education programs and funding vary widely from state to state, but they frequently vary within states as well. Programs are provided in a variety of school settings: part-time pullout programs, full-time gifted education centers, special summer academies, magnet schools, regular schools that provide gifted classes, and even the traditional heterogeneous classroom.

Roxanne Greitz Miller

See also Gifted Education, Policy Issues

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GIFTED EDUCATION, POLICY ISSUES

Gifted education programs are often the subject of criticism based on claims that they are elitist and educationally unnecessary, consume funding and resources

that would be better spent on more needy students, and cater to types of intelligence more readily identified in students from dominant cultural and socioeconomic groups. Because of these criticisms and the limitations of adequate federal and state funding to support all educational programs in a comprehensive manner, gifted education programs often are the targets of budget cuts and/or elimination.

Supporters of gifted education maintain that children who are gifted have an equal and intense need for specialized education programs as children who are underperforming their peers. The numerous studies of gifted underachievers and of the psychological and social benefits experienced by students enrolled in gifted programs provide evidence to counter the claims that the programs are elitist and unnecessary.

With regard to the underrepresentation of students from minority groups and lower socioeconomic backgrounds in gifted education programs, these discrepancies may be attributable to multiple explanations, including test bias; cultural values that may tend to limit learning in certain situations (such as attitudes against competition, sex-role stereotyping, emphasis on family over individual achievement, and disregard for education after high school); parents' lack of knowledge of available programs and of educational rights under law; the unavailability of intelligence tests and proctors in languages other than English; the inability of teachers who do not speak the student's language or hail from the student's cultural background to recognize giftedness in the minority student; or teacher bias.

To aid in raising the numbers of students from underrepresented groups participating in gifted programs, some school districts and states have expanded the qualification criteria by which students are evaluated for eligibility for gifted programs. For example, rather than relying solely on an individual IQ score in the top 3 percent of the population as traditionally required for program eligibility, students may qualify based on achievement test scores, scores on tests of creativity, teacher recommendations, or a combination of these criteria. However, in states that have implemented a two-tier eligibility system (traditional eligibility criteria for majority students and alternative criteria for minority), these efforts have sustained

criticisms as being unfair to majority students who are denied access to gifted programs when they have equal scores to those minority children who gain admittance under alternative criteria, and such systems have been subsequently challenged by parents and/or repealed by the courts.

Roxanne Greitz Miller

See also Gifted Education, Diversity Issues and; Gifted Education, History of

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GIRL SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Most famous for their fundraising cookie sales, the Girl Scouts of America counts 50 million American women as alumnae and boasts a current membership of 2.7 million girls. Nearly 1 million women volunteer as leaders and mentors within the organization. Troop Capitol Hill is an honorary Scout troop comprised of members of the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate who are former members. Important leaders of this group include Senators Kay Bailey Hutchinson and Barbara Mikulski.

The history of the Girl Scouts mirrors the social, economic, and political progress women have made in America since the beginning of the twentieth century. Inspired by the founder of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Juliette "Daisy" Gordon Low (1860–1927) organized the first Girl Scout troop on March 12, 1912, in Savannah, Georgia. In 1915, the organization was formally incorporated. As early as the 1920s, members could earn badges in areas such as Economist and Motorist. Also during this time, troops for Native Americans and Mexican Americans were founded.

The 1930s saw the division of the group into three age divisions: the now widely recognized Brownie group as well as Intermediate and Senior ranks. Also

during this time, the first cookie sales took place. During World War II, Girl Scouts volunteered to assist with war efforts on the home front. During the 1950s, the Scouts continued to grow in membership and formed racially integrated troops.

In the 1960s, the Girl Scouts advocated civil rights and passed resolutions banning discrimination. In the 1970s, feminist leader Betty Friedan served on the Girl Scouts' national board of directors, and in 1975, Dr. Gloria Randall Scott became the Girl Scouts' first African American president. The 1980s saw the introduction of the Daisy Scout age rank, which serves girls of kindergarten age. Moving into the present, such badges as Global Awareness, Adventure Sports, Stress Less, and Environmental Health were established to reflect current concerns.

In 2000, the Girl Scouts Research Institute was formed with the goal of producing research and programs focusing on the developmental and social needs of girls. The Girl Scouts have avoided the controversies regarding sexual orientation of its members and leaders that plagued the Boy Scouts organization.

John P. Renaud

See also Mentoring, Youth

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GLOBAL AWARENESS EXCHANGE

Global awareness exchange refers to programs and projects that aim to increase understanding and contact among peoples of different countries through the exchange of information, people, and ideas. Global awareness exchanges are based on the philosophy that better understanding among citizens of different countries will promote such altruistic goals as world peace, cultural sensitivity, human rights, and global teamwork. This entry examines types of global awareness

exchange and the benefits and risks associated with such exchanges.

Global awareness exchange activities can take many forms, such as reciprocal exchanges of students, researchers, businesspeople, activists, and others, in which participants from one country travel to the other; internationalized grassroots campaigns on issues pertinent to the global economy, such as workers' rights, fair trade, and immigration; and Internet and videoconferences among peoples from different countries. Common types of programs that focus on or include a component of global awareness exchange are study abroad programs sponsored by an educational institution such as a college or high school; fellowship programs for research and study abroad funded by foundations such as Fulbright; fellowship and exchange programs sponsored by private, altruistic organizations such as the Rotarians; international exchanges of people belonging to a given religious denomination or church; and grassroots advocacy campaigns such as those carried out by the nonprofit "Global Exchange." A global awareness exchange can last from a few days to several months.

Global awareness exchange programs are directly related to the constantly evolving movement to internationalize educational systems and to the growing importance of cross-national contacts in fields such as business, law, education, and medicine. The main benefits of global awareness exchanges are a better understanding and empathy for foreign cultures, increased international contacts, and increased knowledge on how to solve common problems.

Yet the benefits of such exchanges for countries in development are often considered within the context of the risks. Such risks include the "brain drain," whereby educated citizens depart but never return to their country of origin; growing inequality between those with and those without access to the Internet and other technological advances; and the adoption of inapplicable models discovered in a foreign country but impractical or unavailable in the country of origin. Furthermore, yet to be resolved are the ethical implications of spending scarce educational funds on projects and programs focusing on global awareness while millions of people worldwide do not have access to even minimal formal education. Despite

these possible risks and ethical dilemmas, however, most governments, educational institutions, activists, and businesspeople worldwide consider global awareness exchange necessary and beneficial.

Moirra Murphy

See also Activism and the Social Foundations of Education; Comparative and International Education; Globalization and Education; Internet, Social Impact of

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GLOBAL CHILD ADVOCACY

Global child advocacy emphasizes the protection of children's rights, including the right to be treated fairly, to be protected from violence, to have the opportunity to develop fully, and to be free from abuse and exploitation. The violation of rights can adversely affect children's well-being as well as their growth and development. Children are particularly vulnerable to violence, exploitation, and abuse because they lack the social mechanisms or power to protect themselves. In an effort to promote stronger action on behalf of children, alliances of people who share these ideals champion children's causes and collectively work to bring about positive social change. An associated goal is the empowerment of youth to actively participate in decision making and community life as a means to demonstrate respect for their views and their inherent value as human beings. By valuing children's contributions and incorporating their voices into family, cultural, and social life, a protective environment can be fostered that promotes the fundamental rights of children to be treated with dignity and to remain free from harm.

Positive Directions

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is the landmark UN covenant that sets forth principles to support the creation of protective and nurturing environments for children to grow and develop. By mobilizing collaborations between the government, national child service partners, social agencies, individuals within the community, families, and youth, social movements can be fostered that ensure that the special legal protections assigned to young people are safeguarded and upheld with dignity and fairness.

Universal success in meeting goals for children's well-being has remained elusive, but the current conditions of young people are not absolute. Positive change for many young lives has resulted from progress in the education of greater numbers of children, initiatives to protect children from abuse and exploitation, and national commitments to children's issues. Social movements that promote the rights of children and advance humanity have made tremendous strides in the past decade. Continued mobilization of resources for a global movement to prevent the suffering of children is of paramount importance to secure the dignity and worth of children worldwide.

Challenges

Exposure to traumatic experiences has both short-term and long-term consequences in a child's life and can contribute to physical and mental health problems as well as educational impairments. Investments in children's present and future functioning necessitate allocation of resources to address education, physical health, socioemotional well-being, and economic security. Children are injured and killed in armed conflicts and exploited in the commercial sex industry. The goal is not only to reduce child fatalities that stem from abuse, exploitation, disease, conflicts, malnourishment, and other areas of vulnerability, but also to improve the quality of children's lives.

There is now more common acceptance of the critical periods of childhood and of the cumulative effects of missed opportunities for physical, emotional, and educational development. Regardless of age, children need secure and supportive environments where caring adults advocate for their safety and optimal functioning.

Whereas young children require family and community-based supports that enhance the skills of caregivers to build a strong foundation for their development, adolescents require opportunities to help shape their future through active participation. Advocacy initiatives can provide the impetus for accessing the energy and ingenuity of youth who can be partners in improving the future status of their peers. Moreover, global efforts are an asset to children's issues by strengthening international collaboration and the sharing of information that can foster children's investment in the rights of the young.

Awareness of the deficits and gaps in children's opportunities to achieve their optimum capabilities across all realms of functioning highlights strides that have been made and emphasizes continuing areas of vulnerability. These areas in need of attention include public policies and legal actions that perpetuate responses that fail to recognize children's needs and rights. Educators and education are critical to the process of intervention by providing safe and supportive environments where professionals and families have the opportunity to learn about abuses against children and their complex risk factors.

Advocacy Efforts

Global child advocacy highlights global efforts to recognize deficits and facilitate protection of children from threats to their healthy functioning. These initiatives optimize human capabilities and inform us of the conditions that contribute to the social, physical, and emotional development of children and those that deprive children of their chance for success and happiness. Child advocates diligently work toward crafting a framework for action that is integrated across disciplines. Despite divergent perspectives and problems that are addressed, a shared commitment to explore the issues and challenges of children creates a common vision and goal to recognize and promote the rights and well-being of children worldwide.

Global child advocacy seeds ongoing efforts that foster future action for children. These initiatives are needed to not only mobilize the involvement of professionals as advocates, but also foster the inclusion of children and families. These collaborations can help advance a partnership for exploring and developing

solutions that support protective and nurturing environments in which children can grow and develop.

Success in promoting children's issues not only advances the future of children but also represents a commitment to safeguarding the dignity and worth of all members of our society. Global child advocacy comprises more than the expression of a value statement. Child advocates voice the concerns and interests of children who may be too young, vulnerable, or marginalized to be heard. They work to create safe and protected environments for children at risk for harm, and for those children who already have suffered adversity, child advocates foster the enhancement of service capacity and delivery, pursue policy changes to create mechanisms that are child-centered, and seek out justice for rights violations. Global child advocacy entails the combination of social will with political forces and the allocation of resources as part of an international response. Tasks include the development of resources that contribute to the emerging knowledge of children's issues, the creation of forums to focus on the progress that is possible and the interventions that are still needed, and the infusion of policies that foster new insights and seed opportunities for greater strides to be realized.

Advocacy for children offers a mechanism to prioritize children's issues and amplify their voice so that no child goes unheard. Who are these children in need of a voice? They are the young who reside in communities throughout the world. Our failure to act to protect and support children exacerbates the suffering and tragedy of each new generation. By directing our passion and commitment to informing others, evolving solutions, and implementing action, we can embrace and safeguard children's right to grow and develop. Even the most disadvantaged and marginalized children can be represented in these efforts, have an opportunity to progress in their development, and have their needs and rights heard. The combination of innovation and expertise can give shape and form to the dreams, vision, and voice of the children around us.

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See also Child Abuse: Issues for Teachers; Child Labor; Gender and School Violence; Human Rights Education; Social Justice, Education for; Social Studies Education; Violence in Schools

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Web Sites

- UNICEF, Convention on the Rights of the Child:
<http://www.unicef.org/crc>
- UNICEF, The State of the World's Children:
<http://www.unicef.org/sowc>

GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATION

Globalization involves the integration of economic markets around the world and the increased movement of people, ideas, goods, services, and information across national borders. It has been marked by a rise in the power of corporations vis-à-vis nation-states. The influence of globalization is growing in education spheres as well. For example, the standardization of education under the No Child Left Behind Act is certainly connected to a desire for global competitiveness, particularly in educating citizens to participate in the global economy. So, too, is expanded corporate involvement in schools. This entry provides a brief overview of globalization and then looks more closely at its impact on schools.

This entry first defines globalization and explores its technological, political, cultural, and economic dimensions. It then describes concerns about the downsides of globalization, in particular, how many see it as synonymous with global capitalism, and thus the cause of various forms of social misery, such as a widening gap between the wealthy and poor, ecological destruction, homogenization of cultures, and excessive consumption and greed among

the privileged. Next, it examines the ways in which globalization has led to significant shifts in educational priorities. For example, in the United States, there has been increased competitive standardization of teaching and learning, growing commodification of education, and a move toward seeing schooling as primarily a private good. Finally, the entry considers some ways of harnessing the democratic potential of globalization through creating an expanded notion of global citizenship, using new forms of technology in the service of social change activism, and reinvigorating discussions of democracy and social justice.

Globalization may be the word that best characterizes the twenty-first-century world. It is a term talked about across academic disciplines, in the media, in advertising, and by politicians and world leaders. Yet despite the fact that this word is talked about in so many different contexts, both popular and scholarly, there is no clear and/or agreed-upon definition of globalization. It is an idea that is elusive, complicated, and contentious. People often seem to use the term in contradictory ways depending on their social position, cultural perspective, and level of investment in current political and economic systems. Some herald globalization as the path toward a future of growing prosperity, intercultural cooperation, and technological advancement. For others, it is simply the most current manifestation of the forces of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalist greed, with the inevitable outcome being increased impoverishment and marginalization of many of the world's people, as well as wide-scale environmental and cultural destruction.

The term *globalization* is increasingly used in education spheres as well, though perhaps not as quickly as in other academic disciplines. For example, the standardization of education under the No Child Left Behind Act is certainly connected to a desire for global competitiveness, particularly in educating citizens to participate in the global economy. So, too, is expanded corporate involvement in schools. The fact that so many people are talking about the phenomenon of globalization, and in so many different ways, indicates that important issues are at stake in how people come to understand what many call the defining reality of the contemporary era.

What Is Globalization?

It is difficult to describe concisely the phenomenon of globalization. It is referred to variously as an ideology, a practice, a trend, or simply the best way to characterize the contemporary world. Some of the confusion surrounding globalization is surely due to the fact that the concept is used in so many different places and in multiple ways. Although the word itself is relatively new, the processes to which it refers—especially movements and interactions between cultures, countries, and regions—have been around seemingly forever. John Coatsworth claims that there have been several cycles of globalization, beginning with the period of global exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, running through the creation of conquest colonies in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, and leading to more contemporary efforts by major superpowers to develop an international system of trade rules and regulations, and to remove artificial barriers to the spread of free-market capitalism. Although there were surely some noble goals in these initial phases of exploration, there is no doubt that, viewed from this perspective, there are also distinct parallels between globalization and colonialism, as even in its initial phases, globalization involved a desire to obtain wealth and power.

Jan Scholte usefully offers five different conceptual usages of the term *globalization*: internationalization, liberalization, universalization, modernization, and deterritorialization. *Internationalization* simply refers to international relationship, exchange, and interdependency. Often, this is facilitated by *liberalization*, that is, the removal of government barriers in order to create a more fluid and open world economy. Similarly, neoliberalism, or the deregulation of economic markets and the growth of a competitive private sector, is also frequently used in connection to globalization. When people, goods, and ideas are spread throughout the world, a kind of *universalization* takes place, where the same products, beliefs, and worldviews become seemingly pervasive everywhere.

What tend to get universalized are the values and social structures of modernity: capitalist economic arrangements, rational forms of understanding, bureaucratic organizational structures, industrial processes,

and media forms. Such *modernization* contributes to the destruction of indigenous cultures and the diminishment of self-determination. Finally, globalization involves changes in the integrity of countries, or *detrterritorialization*, such that geographic places, distances, and borders no longer solely mark social spaces. As part of these geographic changes, different regions of the world are now much more closely linked, and actions in one part of the world can affect, and be affected by, people in other places both near and far.

In the current climate, the integration of people and places across national borders seems to have happened almost overnight, and in ways faster than most people's ability to comprehend or control it. In part, this is due to technological advances such as the Internet, which have allowed people in one country easy access to others around the world, facilitating the sharing of knowledge, the trading of products, and the diffusion of ideas. Moreover, the economies of countries throughout the world have become increasingly intertwined. More people than ever before have access to means of communication (computers, cell phones, cable systems); they can buy, sell, trade, and otherwise invest money right from their home computers; and through Internet and satellite technology, they can quickly learn what is going on around the world.

Paralleling the various definitions of the term *globalization*, there are multiple arenas in which this idea takes shape: political, technological, cultural, and economic. Politically, it involves the lessening of the strength of nation-states as large corporations, through transnational capitalist processes, dominate spheres of decision making and influence. These transnational corporations tend to have more power than many countries. Arguably, by locating businesses and investing in developing countries, these corporations create economic growth and job opportunities, and contribute to an increased standard of living for many people. Technologically, there is a dramatic increase in electronically mediated forms of communication to the degree that people begin to see the world, and their place in it, differently. Older, industrial-type factories have increasingly been replaced by high-tech, computerized companies.

Culturally, interconnection among citizens throughout the globe is becoming commonplace. One can enter

an online discussion group about this topic of globalization and, in real time, talk to people from Albania to Zimbabwe. This increase in global communication can lead to new forms of collaboration, problem solving, and creativity. At the same time, it can also result in the homogenization and Americanization of cultures, as people everywhere come to desire the same consumer products and watch the same mass media news and entertainment.

Although the political, cultural, and technological dimensions of globalization are certainly important, it is the economic dimension of globalization that most advocates and critics address, most particularly, the ways in which globalization has amounted to a seeming celebration of unfettered, free-market capitalism. Here, the integration of the world's people is largely about creating more potential consumers and markets; about greater access by the privileged elite to both human and natural resources throughout the globe. Critics charge that, ultimately, globalization is about greed, profits, and the desire for private gain.

The increased contact among peoples from different cultures can stimulate creativity and innovation, and, concurrently, economic development and productivity. Moreover, global sensitivity can enhance collaborative international efforts for ameliorative social change. For example, social justice activists can now work together more easily to expose, and bring attention to, violations of human rights, and consequently pressure governments to ensure basic protections for their citizens. Although international relationships have existed for hundreds of years, what seems new in this current era is the pace of change and the degree to which the lives and livelihoods of all people in the world are now so closely intertwined, even though people may not be fully aware of the depth of those connections.

The Dark Side of Globalization

Despite the promises of worldwide economic growth and the creation of a more harmonious global community, there are also dark sides to globalization. These are linked to uneven and inequitable relationships between countries and geographic regions, such as between the “developed” and the “developing” world,

and to the uncontrolled growth of free-market capitalism. It sometimes appears that the desire for cross-cultural exchange by wealthy countries is really a desire for economic gain through access to cheap raw materials, low-paid labor, and new export markets.

Capitalists in wealthy countries claim that their activities are a necessary part of the growth process for developing countries, and that the fruits of these efforts trickle down to even the poorest of citizens. The problem is that many people in poorer countries may not see these fruits and may feel that they have been exploited and that the quality of their lives has actually gotten worse. Poor citizens in wealthy countries feel the effects of this system too, as their places of employment are downsized and jobs are sent overseas. Thus, many see globalization as tantamount to capitalism without any barriers, limitations, or protections and fear that what results is a world of growing inequity, of the haves and the have-nots.

In addition to contributing to mounting economic inequities, this expansion of capitalism significantly complicates the democratic promises of public education. Arguably one of the central goals of education in U.S. society is to cultivate the habits and dispositions of democratic citizenship. These include commitments to diversity, equity, cooperation, reflective thinking, social reform, and a concern for the common good. Yet the market-driven imperatives that largely underlie most manifestations of globalization often run counter to these goals.

For many years, scholars in the foundations of education have been troubled by the tenuous relationship between capitalism and democracy. Implicitly and explicitly, they have been arguing against the processes that are currently so much a part of globalization. They have called for schools to nurture democratic habits, teach compassion, and foster equality of opportunity and social responsibility. Similarly, critical pedagogues have called for educators to foreground the social justice issues related to the effects of a capitalist economic structure on the quality of people's lives. In the current context of globalization, rethinking the relationships among education, democracy, and capitalism is increasingly crucial.

In mass movements around the world, people have protested contemporary manifestations of globalization,

most notably whenever the World Trade Organization meets. These antiglobalization activists represent a diverse range of concerns. They include labor organizers, environmentalists, human rights workers, students, indigenous peoples, and citizens from developing countries who see their ways of life being irreparably altered when the driving motivation for global interaction seems to be profit. What loosely unites these activists is a shared fear about the consequences of uncontrolled expansion of global capitalism.

Global capitalism and globalization are routinely treated as synonymous in the literature and by critics, as the economic dimension of globalization dominates much of the thought about this phenomenon. Proponents of capitalism claim that the internationalization of this system will raise the standard of living for people throughout the world. The logic is simple. Competition is stimulated by a free-market system in which barriers to trade are eliminated, foreign investment is encouraged, and public goods are privatized. This in turn necessitates more efficient use of resources, creates innovation, enhances productivity, and ultimately lowers prices.

By opening up markets, companies can manufacture products in the most advantageous locations, such as where they are close to natural resources or cheap labor. This makes consumers happy, because they can then buy products more cheaply, and purchase more, which leads to a desire for more, which stimulates growth. The ultimate assumption is that efficiency and competition invariably lead to economic growth, the benefits of which will trickle down to the poorest members of all societies.

There are multiple problems with this logic, however. Primarily, many argue that this system has made the wealthy richer, but it has not had the same effects for the poor, and that the extremes of wealth and poverty have grown rather than shrunk in the era of globalization. This is largely due to the fact that the playing field for economic competition has historically been quite uneven. Given multiple different ways of measuring growth, as well as determining inequality, supporters and critics of globalization argue back and forth about whether free trade has raised the global standard of living. Yet even when some indications of economic growth can be shown to

be the result of trade liberalization policies in one country, they are often at the expense of those in other places.

There is also a danger of conflating quality of life simply with economic measures such as the gross domestic product. In other ways, the quality of people's lives is compromised when they are motivated by the quest for personal profit and gain. For example, many Americans consume excessively and wastefully, are burdened by huge debts, and are stressed out and overworked. In response to concerns about the quality of people's lives under a system driven by capitalist motivations, antiglobalization activists maintain that at its most basic level, the problem with globalization is that it is a system that puts profits before people. It encourages competition, greed, exploitation, and a winner-take-all mentality that divides rather than unites citizens of the world. For many, the reality of globalization is simply that it elevates economic gain above all else, including the quality of people's lives. Here, the intimate connection between globalization and global capitalism is a significant cause for concern.

For many critics, one of the biggest problems with capitalism as the guiding international system is that it is amoral. The goal of this system is for money to make money; the bottom line for capitalists is profit. Allan Johnson argues that the system does not require ethical or moral reflection; what matters is not what people produce (e.g., healthy food, affordable housing, health care, drugs, weapons, pollution, slavery), but whether there is a market where they can sell their products for a profit. At the same time, capitalism contributes to the commodification of our lives, as workers who do not own the means of production are forced to sell their labor for wages. Where profit is the bottom line, other dimensions of human relationships are ignored and other social considerations are overshadowed. This is a particular challenge to education for democracy because there are more important considerations in assessing the quality of people's lives than simply how much they can acquire and consume.

Despite the claims that economic globalization makes life better for everyone, the realities and consequences of this movement are well documented by critics: a widening gap between the wealthy and poor,

loss of job security as mobile companies race to find the cheapest labor, ecological destruction resulting in part from corporations moving to countries with few environmental protections, sweatshop work conditions in developing nations eager for capital influx, excessive greed and consumption by those driven by a profit motive, homogenization of world cultures, insurmountable debt crises, diminishment of biodiversity, cultivation of dependency where there was once self-sufficiency, massive pollution, threatened national sovereignty, and widespread poverty in the Third World.

Impact on Education

When the measure of worth is profit, and material gain is the criterion by which social growth and progress are judged, it becomes increasingly difficult for educators to argue for schooling as a public good, to decouple individualistic consumption from democratic citizenship, and to work toward a world of peace and harmony as opposed to one of exploitation. Yet just as globalization can mean many different things, the relationship between globalization and education is equally contested. Certainly, expanded international relationships and interconnections can inspire challenges to parochialism and ethnocentrism in schools, especially so students can better work with, and learn from, those who are different from themselves. New modes of technology can lead to novel forms of research, inquiry, and pedagogy. As teachers and students attempt to develop global networks for collaboration and cooperation, the fact that they can communicate more easily with people throughout the world is surely advantageous. In this sense, globalization can be truly democratizing, as expanded access to information and people can result in more equality of opportunity, greater intercultural awareness, and new avenues for social justice activism.

However, just as the neoliberal economic policies of global capitalism tend to be the defining feature of globalization, neoliberal ideology also tends to be the dominant force currently influencing educational reform, eclipsing the potential of more democratic goals. Rather than educational changes that are aimed at helping marginalized citizens become part of a larger global community marked by more just social

arrangements, typical reforms are overwhelmingly consistent with a neoliberal, corporate agenda of standardization, competition, and privatization. Corporations have infiltrated schools and policy makers have increasingly sought market solutions (such as vouchers, private schools, and choice programs) for educational problems. Corporate influence over schooling is manifested in more standardized approaches to teaching and learning, and, concurrently, what some may find as excessive testing and competition; the use of supposedly more efficient forms of pedagogy, such as distance learning and online courses; and calls for the privatization of education and a diminishment in the belief that education is a public good.

Beyond such obvious forms as subtle and overt advertising in schools and the use of corporate-constructed curriculum materials, business management ideas encapsulated in such words as *efficiency*, *accountability*, *competitiveness*, *world-class standards*, *calculability*, and *control* have grown in popularity among educational leaders. The No Child Left Behind Act, one of the most sweeping pieces of educational legislation in recent history, emphasizes mastery of content standards, regular measurement of student performance through frequent testing, and accountability schemes that punish students and teachers in already struggling schools.

Critics argue that schools increasingly teach toward tests; creativity is suppressed in favor of a narrow vision of performance; teaching is increasingly tantamount to transmission; and competition among students, schools, districts, and states is exacerbated and seemingly celebrated. Yet, at the same time, there is the illusion of fairness and equality of opportunity when everyone takes the same tests, and thus a belief that the winners in this system deserve the rewards heaped upon them. The logic behind such a corporate vision of schooling is that education should prepare students to succeed in the global marketplace. The way to do this is to condition them to engage in the competitive behaviors that are supposedly necessary to economic flourishing, in particular, the elevation of individual, self-interested achievement above all else.

The idea that education is fundamentally a means for personal growth and a path to individual gain is

especially pervasive on college campuses, where corporate funding streams, student demands, and the prevalence of new technologies have significantly shifted educational priorities. Students increasingly enter higher education with the mindset of consumers. They seek degree programs with guaranteed job placement and think of education instrumentally: as a means to more earning power. They demand greater convenience, flexibility, and immediate relevance, and thus online courses and occupational, as opposed to liberal arts, programs have grown in popularity.

At the same time, colleges operate as big businesses, restructuring programs and priorities to meet the needs of the market. From a business perspective, online classes and programs are popular because of their cost efficiency; if students learn to desire them, even better. They require minimal human resources, yet generate large income streams. So, too, do large, lecture-based classes, also increasingly prevalent on campuses. Learning is commodified when faculty are pressured to seek external funds for their research, often from corporate sources, and marketability is the primary criterion for determining course offerings.

Perhaps the most significant way in which the forces of globalization have influenced education is the trend toward the privatization of schooling. This is not surprising, as the privatization of public goods is a defining political and economic feature of neoliberalism and, concurrently, globalization. To succeed in a globalized world, Thomas Friedman maintains that countries must don a “golden straitjacket.” Among other things, this entails making the private sector the central engine for economic growth, shrinking state bureaucracies, privatizing public institutions and industries, and encouraging domestic competition.

As conservative critics have argued that public school systems are top-heavy and cumbersome bureaucracies, and that absent competition, they are not pressured to improve performance, the calls for privatization have gained increasing popularity. The push toward privatization begins with the rhetoric that schools are now failing, despite the existence of evidence that would refute this claim. When people are convinced that schools lack rigor, that students are failing to master even basic skills, and that students in

other countries outperform Americans in many measures of academic achievement, it becomes easy to also convince them that the United States needs to drastically overhaul education. Here, the logic of privatization becomes persuasive, especially when it can be linked to abstract democratic ideas such as freedom, choice, and individual rights, as well as to the mythologies that support capitalism, such as meritocracy and social Darwinism.

The practices put into place under the No Child Left Behind Act seem to greatly support the path toward privatization, particularly in the form of vouchers, school choice programs, and the eventual development of even more for-profit schools. This is because the Act mandates that students meet performance standards but does not ensure that they have the necessary resources and support to do so. When schools fail to meet these standards, they must provide options for students to transfer to other schools, although there is no provision that other schools must accept them, nor is there any guarantee that space will be available at these other schools. This mandate thus seems implicitly designed to create a market for alternative educational programs, and thus opens spaces for privatization, especially as the Act allows for failing schools to reconstitute as charter schools and/or to solicit private management firms to run daily operations.

The assumption behind privatization is that the competitive climate of free-market schooling will force all schools to get better. At the same time, a privatized system rewards individual initiative and conceptualizes education as a private good. This echoes the logic of global capitalism in suggesting that competition stimulates growth and innovation, the benefits of which supposedly trickle down to all citizens. Yet a belief in schooling as a public good, critical to the development of more than simply self-centered consumers, is missing from this corporate vision of schooling, and from many of the educational manifestations of globalization. This corporate vision is seen to conflict with the goal of cultivating democratic citizens committed to equity, justice, ethics, compassion, human flourishing, and ultimately, to the common good.

Democratic Visions in an Era of Globalization

The democratic promise of education is significantly complicated in the current phase of globalization. Educators have been asked to narrowly prepare students to participate in the economic market, students have developed an even more instrumental rationality in the face of schooling, and corporate influences have permeated every sphere of academic life. Yet there are forces within the globalization movement itself that can help to challenge these trends and to reassert the importance of critical democratic citizenship, which fundamentally involves responsibility to others and to social betterment. As part of uncovering these forces, Douglas Kellner calls for the development of a critical pedagogy of globalization, or a globalization from below, in which people resist the negative consequences of a free-market-fueled capitalist globalization and use the forces of globalization for more socially just ends. In particular, he argues that the new technologies that are so much a part of globalization can be used in more utopian ways: to circulate information, provide avenues for creative expression, offer a vehicle for the development of collaborative social change strategies, and link networks of resistance. For example, the Internet can allow activists to band together, expose corporate abuses, market socially and environmentally conscious products, and rally citizens to hold corporations accountable for more ethical behavior.

There are a number of ways for educators to respond to the realities of globalization and to use the tools and technology that it has unleashed in order to foster more democratic ends. These include developing an expanded conception of democratic community and global citizenship, encouraging the use of new media and technology in the service of activist work, and responding to the dark sides of globalization with renewed critical discussion on the meaning of democracy and justice in the contemporary era. As globalization has created deep interconnections among people and places around the world, there are glimmerings of a new, potentially more powerful conception of democratic citizenship developing as well. In this vision,

global citizens would recognize their interdependence; see their happiness as linked to the happiness of others; and believe it important and valuable to learn to work amid differences and across such artificial boundaries as race, class, religion, ethnicity, and nation.

Living in a globalized world compels people to think more deeply about their responsibilities to others both locally and globally. To be good global citizens, people ought to learn to understand and value cultural diversity, work collaboratively with others both near and far, communicate better with those who don't necessarily share their language or values, and look at the consequences of their choices in much more nuanced ways. All of these represent new priorities for contemporary education as well as important democratic values.

Taking the idea of a global community more seriously could compel students and teachers alike to rethink their responsibilities to others as citizens of the world, not just citizens of a particular geographical location. This would help all people to realize, for example, exploitation anywhere in the world, especially for the sake of the private gains of a few, hurts all of people in the long run.

The technological tools of globalization have certainly provided people the ability to develop a more global outlook in relation to the world's problems. The Internet has created a climate of increasing transparency and enhanced access to information. For example, no longer can human rights abuses in remote regions of the world be hidden from broader public view and critique. Through satellite, television, and Internet technology, barriers to information are more porous than ever. These technological advances offer powerful tools for activists around the world, who can and do use electronically mediated forms of communication to circulate information, galvanize support, organize protests, and pressure corporations and governments to be more socially and ecologically responsible.

Educators could certainly help students use these new forms of technology to express themselves, become active citizens, and take action against the oppressive elements of the world around them. In this sense, increased access to information, along with newly developed avenues for freedom of expression, can contribute to empowering citizens to imagine and

create more democratic social, economic, and political relationships.

Ultimately, globalization has both dark sides and spaces for possibility. When conceptualized narrowly as a celebration of the uncontrolled growth of capitalism, the deleterious effects of globalization are most evident. Yet exposing the dark side of globalization can also shed light on new possibilities. That is, the more educators talk about problems, as well as imagine more sustainable alternatives, the more they can help to reinvigorate discussion on matters of democracy, social justice, and civic responsibility. This discussion is central to keeping alive the promise of democracy in the face of increasingly undemocratic international practices and relationships. Arguably, many educators believe that democracy is the ideal form of social life, or at least the best form of living that citizens have yet come up with. This is because it is a way of life that most consciously strives for social justice by aiming for the fulfillment of individuals and the growth of communities, and by balancing individual rights with commitment and responsibility toward others. Free-market-fueled globalization presents a significant challenge to both the idea of democracy, broadly conceived, and educating for democratic citizenship.

Educators need to invest much more energy into understanding the dynamics of globalization, challenging its problematic effects, and harnessing its democratic potential. One place to start is by helping to revive the public discourse around education for democracy by asking and exploring critical questions about the global realities of our contemporary world. What are the ethical and social responsibilities of global citizenship? What are the most socially just economic arrangements? What is the relationship between democracy and capitalism, and can they coexist? What are the conditions that make democracy possible? What protections must be put into place to ensure environmental justice and ecological sustainability? How do, and should, actions in the global sphere reflect the values that should be passed on to children? What constitutes the good life? The current context of globalization, although obviously troubling in many ways, could also provide the impetus educators need to take issues of democracy, justice, and citizenship much more seriously in our public and educational discourse. In this way, educators might

begin to harness the democratic potential of living in a truly globally interconnected world.

Kathy Hytten

See also Citizenship Education; Corporate Involvement in Education; Economic Inequality; No Child Left Behind Act; Privatization; Technologies in Education

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GREAT BOOKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD

In 1952, Encyclopedia Britannica published a fifty-four-volume set titled *Great Books of the Western*

World. The *Great Books* were intended by Dr. Mortimer Adler and Dr. Robert Hutchins to establish a standard curriculum for American schools, but the public response to the first edition was tepid. Sales of the volume set rendered the multimillion-dollar project a financial failure. Nevertheless, a second edition was published in 1990 with few alterations. Many critics deplored it for failing to reflect the changing cultural landscape of the twentieth century.

Hutchins and Adler conceived the project as a means of delimiting and promoting a distinctly Western literary canon. There were 443 works representing seventy-six authors in the first edition, and selection criteria were based on the work's relevance to 102 Great Ideas. Both the selection criteria and the notion of a list of Great Ideas met with immediate controversy. For one thing, a number of

celebrated French authors are conspicuously absent: Molière, Racine, Balzac, and Flaubert. No works are represented for several important continental authors, including Friedrich Nietzsche, Søren Kierkegaard, John Calvin, and Martin Luther. Among the missing works of English authors are Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, any poems by John Donne, and John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*. Four volumes are devoted to Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas without either a rationale or an introduction to their highly specialized use of philosophical terms. The same is true of the six volumes apportioned to scientific works. The lack of explanatory material has given occasion for critics to dismiss the project for lacking relevance to any but the privileged.

The following authors do appear in *Great Books of the Western World*:

First Edition

Homer
Aeschylus
Sophocles
Euripides
Aristophanes
Herodotus
Thucydides
Plato
Aristotle
Hippocrates
Galen
Euclid
Archimedes
Apollonius of Perga
Nicomachus of Gerasa
Lucretius
Epictetus
Marcus Aurelius
Virgil
Plutarch
Tacitus
Ptolemy
Copernicus
Kepler
Plotinus
Augustine

Thomas Aquinas
Dante Alighieri
Geoffrey Chaucer
Nicolò Machiavelli
Thomas Hobbes
François Rabelais
Michel de Montaigne
William Shakespeare
William Gilbert
Galileo Galilei
William Harvey
Miguel de Cervantes
Francis Bacon
René Descartes
Baruch Spinoza
John Milton
Blaise Pascal
Isaac Newton
Christiaan Huygens
John Locke
George Berkeley
David Hume
Jonathan Swift
Laurence Sterne
Henry Fielding

Charles de Secondat, baron
de Montesquieu
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Adam Smith
Edward Gibbon
Immanuel Kant
Alexander Hamilton
James Madison
John Jay
John Stuart Mill
James Boswell
Antoine Lavoisier
Jean Baptiste
Joseph Fourier
Michael Faraday
Georg Wilhelm
Friedrich Hegel
Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe
Herman Melville
Charles Darwin
Karl Marx
Friedrich Engels
Leo Tolstoy
Fyodor Dostoevsky
William James
Sigmund Freud

Added to the Second Edition

Added to the Original Volumes

John Calvin
Erasmus
Molière
Jean Racine
Voltaire
Denis Diderot
Søren Kierkegaard
Friedrich Nietzsche
Alexis De Tocqueville
Honoré De Balzac
Jane Austen
George Eliot
Charles Dickens
Mark Twain
Henrik Ibsen

Removed From the Original Volumes

Apollonius of Perga
Laurence Sterne
Henry Fielding
Jean Baptiste Joseph Fourier

New Volumes on 20th-Century Material

20th-Century Philosophy and Religion:

William James
Henri Bergson

John Dewey
Alfred North Whitehead
Bertrand Russell
Martin Heidegger
Ludwig Wittgenstein
Karl Barth
20th-Century Natural Science:

Henri Poincaré
Max Planck
Alfred North Whitehead
Albert Einstein
Arthur Eddington
Niels Bohr
Albert Einstein
G. H. Hardy
Werner Heisenberg
Erwin Schrödinger
Theodosius Dobzhansky
C. H. Waddington

20th-Century Social Science (I):

Thorstein Veblen
R.H. Tawney
John Maynard Keynes

20th-Century Social Science (II):

James George Frazer
Max Weber

Johan Huizinga
Claude Lévi-Strauss
20th-Century Imaginative Literature (I):

Henry James
George Bernard Shaw
Joseph Conrad
Anton Chekhov
Luigi Pirandello
Marcel Proust
Willa Cather
Thomas Mann
James Joyce

20th-Century Imaginative Literature (II):

Virginia Woolf
Franz Kafka
D. H. Lawrence
T. S. Eliot
Eugene O'Neill
F. Scott Fitzgerald
William Faulkner
Bertolt Brecht
Ernest Hemingway
George Orwell
Samuel Beckett

Among the most interesting innovations involving the *Great Books* was the creation of a multivolume *Synopticon* written by Adler in which articles on subjects as diverse as "Love," "Politics," and "War" were linked to appropriate sections where these topics were discussed in the *Great Books*.

Perhaps a testament to the enduring attractiveness of the project for some, *Great Books* programs at St. John's College, the University of Chicago, and Biola University continue with steady enrollment numbers.

Shawn Pendley

See also Classical Curriculum; Trivium and Quadrivium

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GREAT DEPRESSION

In January 1933, the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, in remarks to the Conference on the Crisis in Education, made the following statement: “There is no safety for your Republic without the education of our youth. That is the first charge upon all citizens and local governments.” One year later, addressing a similarly themed Citizens Conference on the Crisis in Education, the new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, offered an equally grave warning: “Although the effects of the present lack of adequate educational opportunities on our national life may not be noticeable today, the time may soon come when dire effects will be apparent.” Assessing both the changes and continued problems since he assumed office, Roosevelt repeated this statement in late 1935 when he stated,

The biggest stride we have made in the past two and half years has been in interesting the American people in their own Government . . . their social problems and their educational problems. . . . The depression hit education in the United States more than anything else. . . . It is hard to bring back the facilities in education as quickly or as easily as it is to raise farm prices or open banks.

These presidential statements demonstrate how the economic crisis of the Great Depression exerted a direct impact on elementary and secondary schooling. Initially in the United States, but quickly around the world, the Depression was felt in schools as businesses and banks failed, tax revenue decreased, and public funding was cut. In 1932, George Strayer, Professor of Educational Administration at Teachers College, Columbia University, described how city and rural schools had been closed, terms shortened, teacher salaries reduced, class sizes increased, major offerings in the curriculum dropped, classroom supplies and materials denied, health services and physical education dropped, standards for entry into teaching dropped, building programs discontinued,

and night programs and continuation schools closed—“in short, the whole program of education is being curtailed, if not indeed placed in jeopardy.”

These warnings were echoed by the National Education Association, whose 1931 report urged American citizens “to choose carefully the public enterprises which they support during the crisis with a view to averting the sacrifice of children.” The Committee on the Emergency in Education formed by the Progressive Education Association warned that schools in many states “would continue in their downward plunge to educational disaster.” Amplifying the pressure educators felt to curtail their services, Ward G. Reeder declared, “The battle lines are drawn; in fact, the conflict has already begun and daily becomes more tense.”

Worldwide Impact

Similar processes occurred in other countries, as the economic crisis forced governments to make significant cuts in educational budgets. The Great Depression provides evidence of an early phase of globalization, as economic conditions, such as rising unemployment, bank failures, and decreasing trade, produced social effects, such as community dislocation, decreasing living standards, and loss of confidence, which in turn shaped political responses, such as loss of trust in economic institutions, growing support for political extremes, and demands for public solutions.

The Great Depression thus needs to be understood through this integration of national and international perspectives that illustrate the connections between levels of experience and the complex shaping of collective and individual responses. Educators across the world described the same processes outlined by Strayer: delaying construction or repair of buildings, reducing supplies, restricting course offerings, shortening the school day or curtailing the school year, and especially reducing the money spent on employing teachers. Salary cuts, hiring bans, dismissals, and requiring teachers to work without pay all made sense

economically, as teachers' salaries made up the largest single item in most school budgets, but these short-term solutions threatened to have long-term consequences in terms of both student learning and teachers' professional development.

And yet it was precisely the optimistic, progressive, and constructive role assigned to schools in the midst of crisis that makes the relationship between the Depression and education historically significant. How could educators, facing the realities of this economic crisis, assign such great expectations to their schools, the ideas and practices of pedagogy, and the future of this young generation? The economic crisis exerted a direct impact on educational institutions, inspiring educators to seek new approaches to improving, expanding, and valuing public schools. As Roosevelt's 1935 statement suggests, one of the most important legacies of the Depression was to change attitudes toward the government's responsibility to address social and educational problems.

A Positive Outcome

Responding to, and indeed pioneering, this shift in attitudes, many progressive educators looked at the Depression as an opportunity to prove that their ideas and institutions not only could survive the immediate conditions of the crisis, but would, in fact, emerge stronger and more influential than in the past. Experiments with progressive schools in even the most conservative political contexts, the attractions of a system of rationally planned education, the appeals for more government investment in schools and children, visions of teachers' professional autonomy, and innovative pedagogies and practices—all of which flourished in the 1930s—demonstrated how the crisis of education provoked critical but also creative thinking about educational opportunities and possibilities.

These ideals were significant not just in the context of the Depression; they also had a contemporary resonance

as legacies of this earlier era when crisis conditions provoked a search for alternatives and the pursuit of new opportunities. It is easy from a later vantage point to dismiss these views as naive, politically opportunistic, or simply misguided, yet at the time, these views represented a broad current in both American and world educational perspectives that assigned a constructive role to the ideals and the institutions of schools.

Schools always have some element of the future embedded in them because of the youth of their constituents, but in the Depression, the schools were assigned even greater significance as the public institutions that could preserve, enhance, and project that hope most effectively into the future. It is this combination of economic conditions, educational ideals, government policies, and institutional practices that make the relationship between education and the Great Depression significant not only as a means to enhance historical understanding, but also as illustrations of the possibilities of schools even in times of economic and political crisis.

E. Thomas Ewing

See also Educational Policy and the American Presidency; Politics of Education; Progressive Education

See Visual History Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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H

HAMPTON MODEL

Founded in 1868 by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton Institute established the model for education among Southern Blacks. Born in Hawai'i to American missionaries, Armstrong grew up in a family immersed in the islands' religious, social, and educational life. His father had served as the islands' Superintendent of Public Instruction, helping to found the islands' Hilo Boarding and Manual Labor School. In Armstrong's opinion, this type of school would also best meet the needs of Southern Blacks by addressing the problems of emancipation, enfranchisement, and the Christian civilizing of dark-skinned people like the Hawaiians of his youth. This entry examines the Hampton model of industrial education, which was born out of Armstrong's early life experiences and reflected his worldview, his social class, and his values.

Armstrong intended that the Hampton Institute's concentration on industrial education, along with its focus on character building, morality, and religion, would serve as the model to help solve the South's "Negro problem." Freed slaves and their children would be transformed into responsible, self-reliant citizens who were to be trained as efficient laborers for the region's new industries. The school's pedagogy was designed to teach Blacks to concentrate on economic development through agriculture and to reject political power as an avenue to prosperity and equality.

Armstrong expected to spread this view throughout the Black community in the churches and schools. So

his chief aim at Hampton was to train conservative teachers who would socialize or civilize the Black population. The teachers' primary role was to adjust their Black students to a subservient role in Southern society. To that end, Armstrong established a normal school, which offered, in addition to its academic curriculum, manual labor training as a method to building character.

Armstrong established a farm and other industries where the students learned a manual skill while earning money for their school expenses—both with the primary aim of character building through manual labor. Twenty years after its founding, the financially unprofitable manual labor training gave way to technical instruction in certain trades. With Armstrong's death in 1893, the emphasis shifted from head, heart, and hand to hand, heart, and head. This revision of the school's curriculum was instigated by Armstrong's successor Howard Frissell, one of his closest associates and the school's chaplain.

Within two years of Armstrong's death, Frissell began awarding trade certificates, opened a trade school, and developed an entrance examination based on taking a trade. Frissell reported in 1904 that students who put shop work first and their academic work second made greater gains in developing their character and initiative. He became one of America's leading experts on the Hampton model of education with the development of the industrial school as a part of the school curriculum.

Even though the Hampton model gave birth to many other industrial schools, including

Booker T. Washington's famous Tuskegee Institute, it was not widely supported among the intellectuals in the Black community around the turn of the twentieth century. But it was the rigid and narrow-minded determination of Frissell, Northern industrialists, and Southern political leaders to expand across the region that led to the struggle over how to educate Black people and their leaders, not as accommodationists to the Southern political powers but as challengers and equals in determining their way of life. The Hampton model did not make its way into the secondary and college levels of schooling. It did, however, gain support across the region as the primary means of educating Blacks at normal schools and industrial training schools, such as Voorhees Industrial School in South Carolina, the Mount Meigs School in Alabama, and the St. Paul School in Virginia.

Louise Anderson Allen

See also African American Education; Values Education

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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HATE CRIMES IN SCHOOLS

A number of federal and state laws define particular acts as hate or bias crimes and incidents as a means of protecting select victim groups. General definitions agree that such actions are motivated in whole or in part by the perpetrator's hatred or bias toward the victim's perceived group affiliation. Groups that are recognized under federal law for protection include those targeted for violence on account of race, religion, sexual

orientation, and ethnicity. Some states include other victim categories targeted because of physical disability, skin color, creed, ancestry, mental disability, and gender. Hatred or bias is not always manifested in physical harm to individuals but also includes threats, harassment, intimidation, and creation of hostile environments. Sometimes hatred or bias toward individuals and communities is displayed indirectly through arson and destruction, damage, or vandalism of property.

School-age youth and young adults perpetrate a significant proportion of the hate and bias crimes committed in the United States. Sociologists argue whether children are externally motivated to act out their biases by a society that struggles with tolerance and xenophobia. Psychologists argue whether children are inherently mischievous and egocentric but can be taught to modify their behavior and resolve intra- and interpersonal conflict. Social scientific theories notwithstanding, many would agree that educators are well poised to dramatically impact youth development and steer youth toward empathy and acceptance of difference and away from prejudiced attitudes that lead to hatred and violence. Schools recognize that success with students and neighborhood youth cannot be accomplished alone. Parents, families, communities, and law enforcement must do their part to encourage young people to respect all human life in spite of physical, mental, and cultural differences.

The American school system is experiencing major demographic shifts in its student population, going from its predominantly English-speaking European American past to a future that will become dominated by immigrant students from African, Asian, and Latin countries, who will learn English for the first time at school. This reconfiguration may bode well for a more tolerant future American society where hate and bias crimes become indistinguishable from other types of crime. However, the current reality reveals a school system that is not getting high marks when it comes to cross-cultural acceptance and intergroup harmony.

The infamous Columbine high school massacre in Colorado in 1999 was at least in part motivated by racial, gender, and possibly sexual orientation hatred. A year earlier, two boys who claimed that University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard made sexual advances toward them murdered him. Wyoming state

law prevented prosecution of crimes committed on the basis of sexual orientation. In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York's World Trade Center, Muslims have become increasingly suspect and victims of hate crime because of their religious affiliation with the alleged perpetrators of the attacks.

Schools do more than educate young people; they also socialize youth for positioning in society. Adolescence and early adulthood are experienced from middle school through college; this represents a time when students wrestle with identity, sexuality, knowledge, beliefs, and ability. Competition to succeed can be fierce and schools are often held responsible for creating equitable, supportive, and safe environments. In a situation with high stakes and little room for failure, students can be particularly vulnerable and succumb to the types of behavior that result in hate crimes. Experimentation with drugs and alcohol is often the catalyst for impulsive and premeditated acts of violence against targeted groups.

Schools that anticipate the possibility of hate and bias criminal activity prepare by establishing rules and policies that spell out the consequences for students who unfairly violate protected individuals and groups. They realize that prevention through training, advertisement, and even the curriculum is the best way to deal with such behavior. High school clubs and athletic teams and college fraternities and sororities that haze students are put on notice that such practices can escalate to the point where outside law enforcement may be brought in to prosecute criminal behavior. If after investigation it is determined that the crime committed was motivated by hate, then the consequences are likely to be harsher, such as more jail time or increased fines.

American schools are indeed challenged to educate an increasingly diverse student body. No one is exactly sure about the best strategy to adopt to ensure that individuals and groups that have not traditionally enjoyed widespread social acceptance are provided safe and supportive learning environments. Some educators advocate multicultural education because it incorporates the significance and contribution of various cultural heritages to student learning and recognizes the value of good human relations in student development. Other educators, while acknowledging the import of such strategies as multicultural education, if it is taken

seriously, place more emphasis on the importance of the larger society taking responsibility to work harder toward promoting the rights of historically oppressed, hated, and violated groups.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also Discrimination and Prejudice; Homophobia; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues; Violence in Schools

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HAWTHORNE EFFECT

The *Hawthorne effect* is a psychological phenomenon named after a series of research experiments performed by Harvard Business School professor Elton Mayo in the 1920s. The term generally refers to the tendency of test subjects to attempt to please researchers and the resultant positive effect of researchers on subjects' performance. In education, it is believed that teachers who are passionate about what they are teaching and who genuinely care about students as individuals can have a positive impact on student learning. Therefore, a teacher who motivates students and gives them attention will positively affect their learning, and more measurable changes in attitude or behavior will result. While the findings of the original experiments have been deemed flawed, the Hawthorne effect has been an influential idea in educational and business settings.

In 1924, efficiency experts at the Hawthorne, Illinois, plant of the Western Electric Company

assumed that better lighting would result in higher worker productivity. Mayo manipulated variables related to working conditions. First, he examined physical and environmental factors such as the brightness of lights and humidity, then he tested psychological factors such as breaks and working hours. The findings were that employee production increased no matter which factor was manipulated. Even those workers in the control group were more productive. The conclusion was that employees responded positively to the attention they received from the experimenters, not necessarily to the changes in environmental and psychological factors. Mayo also noted that due to the extra attention from researchers and management, the workers changed how they viewed themselves and their role in the company. No longer isolated individuals, they saw themselves as participating members of the greater group, which elicited feelings of affiliation, competence, and achievement.

In education, the practical implication of the Hawthorne effect is that learning takes place most effectively when the teacher has a high level of interaction with students and remains concerned about students as individuals, valuing their contributions. The Hawthorne effect can operate negatively in classrooms if a teacher is told that one group of students is gifted and another group of students is low achieving. The teacher might treat each group differently and ultimately not set high expectations for the low achievers, while pushing the gifted students harder in the classroom. Because of the prominence that teachers have in the teaching and learning act, Hawthorne-like effects need to be examined to help elucidate and contextualize findings from classroom-based studies.

Researchers have long attempted to control for Hawthorne effects. However, an examination of the literature reveals unsatisfactory descriptions of these effects, with ill-defined intervening variables that might not be intervening at all. It has been suggested that subjects be interviewed after a study to determine if Hawthorne effects are present. Since the mid-1970s, the Hawthorne studies and their purported results have become a topic of debate, with statistical methods and data collection procedures coming into question and

alternate explanations being offered to justify the original results.

Lina Lopez Chiappone

See also Observation Research

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HEAD START

Head Start and Early Head Start and its program branches are comprehensive child development programs that serve children from birth to age five, pregnant women, and their families. As expressed in the Head Start Act, the purpose of the Head Start program is “to promote school readiness by enhancing the social and cognitive development of low-income children through the provision, to low-income children and their families, of health, educational, nutritional, social, and other services that are determined, based on family needs assessments, to be necessary.” The comprehensive nature of the program strives to ensure educational benefits, economic benefits, health benefits, and law enforcement benefits. This entry records the program’s history and current implementation.

Program History

Head Start began during the mid-1960s as part of President Lyndon Johnson’s “War on Poverty.” The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized programs to help communities meet the needs of preschool-age children in disadvantaged circumstances. At the request of the federal government, a panel of child development experts created a report that became the framework of an eight-week summer program. This program, launched by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was named Project Head Start.

Head Start was and still is a comprehensive effort to help end poverty by providing services to children

age three to school-entry age who are from low-income families. These services were intended to meet the emotional, health, nutritional, social, and psychological needs of its participants. In 1969, the Nixon Administration transferred Head Start from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (later the Department of Health and Human Services). The 1994 reauthorization of the Head Start Act established the Early Head Start program for low-income families with infants and toddlers. In total, the Head Start program has enrolled more than 23 million children since it began in 1965.

Today's Efforts

Today Head Start is a well-established program administered by the Head Start Bureau, the Administration on Children, Youth and Families, the Administration for Children and Families, and the Department of Health and Human Services. Programs are locally administered by community-based nonprofit organizations and local education agencies. Head Start grants are awarded by Department of Health and Human Services regional offices, with the exception of American Indian and Migrant Head Start programs, which are administered in Washington, D.C. Today Head Start is the most successful, longest running, national school-readiness program in the United States; it serves children and their families in rural and urban areas in all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Territories. This includes American Indians and children in migrant families.

For fiscal year 2005, the \$6.8+ billion budget provided services to 906,993 children, 57 percent of whom were four years old or older and 43 percent of whom were three years old or younger, at an average cost of \$7,287 per child. More than 12 percent of the Head Start enrollment consisted of children with disabilities. Services for all children were provided by 1,604 different programs scattered across every state. Although paid staff numbers nearly 212,000 people, volunteers account for six times as many individuals working with children in these programs. Children are

eligible to participate in Head Start if they are from low-income families or if their families are eligible for public assistance. The Head Start Act establishes income eligibility for participation in Head Start programs based on the poverty guidelines updated annually in the Federal Register by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Several subdivisions have been established over the years. Early Head Start serves infants and toddlers birth to age three and promotes healthy prenatal outcomes, promotes healthy family functioning, and enhances the development of infants and toddlers. Head Start itself is designed to foster healthy development in low-income children. Program grantees and delegate agencies deliver a range of services that are responsive and appropriate to each child's and each family's heritage and experience. These services encompass all aspects of a child's development and learning. The Migrant and Seasonal Program provides consistent and high quality services to support healthy child development across the nation. These programs cater to the specific needs of children and families who move across the country with their families to pursue seasonal work in agriculture. The American Indian-Alaska Native Program provides children and families with comprehensive health, educational, nutritional, socialization, and other developmental services that promote school readiness. These services are tailored for preschool children (ages three to five) and infants and toddlers (birth through age three) who are American Indian or Alaska Native and are from impoverished circumstances.

In addition, the program provides services to meet particular needs. Full inclusion of children with disabilities is a required element of the Head Start program. Head Start legislation mandates that at least 10 percent of enrollment is available for children with disabilities. Current prevalence supersedes this requirement. All programs provide the full range of services to children with disabilities and their families.

A primary goal of Head Start is to ensure that all children begin school ready to learn. Educational standards are fully described in national performance standards. Activities are directed toward skill and knowledge domains and domain elements. Indicators

of each child's progress are incorporated in the program's annual self-assessment. Head Start also recognizes the vital contributions made by parents and community members to education and development in their children and communities. Both groups are involved in the operation, governance, and evaluation of the program. Recognizing that health is a significant factor in each child's ability to thrive and develop, Head Start provides health screenings and regular health checkups. The program teaches and incorporates good practices in oral health, hygiene, nutrition, personal care, and safety.

Michelle Larocque

See also Early Childhood Education; Economic Inequality

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National Head Start Association: <http://www.nhsa.org>

HEGEMONY

Hegemony refers to one group systematically overpowering and dominating another group, and it can occur economically, ideologically, culturally, and socially by privileging certain values, information, and social norms to the exclusion of others. Theories of hegemony seek to analyze the ability of dominant groups to maintain social and economic privilege through their influence over societal constructs such as the media, advertising, books, and film. Other theories see hegemony as a consequence of current educational practices. These regard the values, knowledge, and social norms stressed in schools as working to advance the desires of the dominant group. The subjugated are left no choice but to accept and assume

the dominant ideology. In this way, the dominant group maintains their advantaged status through ideology rather than aggression. This subtle and covert control ensures that domination is sustained through inherent inequity. This entry will discuss the historical foundations of hegemony as well as its current use as a theoretical tool for analyzing sustained social, economic, and educational disparity.

Up to the early 1900s, education was heavily influenced by logical positivism, which held that certain norms were valid simply because they were supported and accepted through authority and reason. In response, Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), Jürgen Habermas (1929–), Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), and others were drawn to establish the Frankfurt School. Using aspects of Marxism to examine the entrenched social stratification and positivistic approaches to education, Frankfurt School theorists recognized the education system as constructed in such a way as to safeguard the economic and social interests of the elite. The Frankfurt School successfully established a connection between hegemony and educational practice; however, they failed to consider the possibility of individuals actively resisting social and economic subjugation.

Influenced by the Frankfurt School, critical theorists have analyzed the role of hegemony in modern societies to better understand how hegemony and inequality are sustained. Antonio Gramsci viewed capitalism as largely perpetuating hegemony. Embracing communism, Gramsci supported revolution as a means to liberate the subjugated. Henry Giroux utilized a neo-Marxist approach to critically examine the role of hegemony and agreed with the Frankfurt School's social theorists acknowledging the role of education in reproducing class stratification. However, Giroux questioned the inflexibility of social stratification and alleged that students and teachers could actively resist hegemony.

Michael Apple examined the underpinnings of hegemony in modern society and viewed the curricular and organizational choices educators and administrators employ in schools as highly subjective. Apple viewed education as political with schools reproducing societal class stratifications through the set of courses

offered to particular students. For Apple, education does not encourage social mobility; rather, it safeguards the existing economic and social hierarchies. Apple critically examined hegemony to enlighten educators as to their uninformed participation in the social reproduction of dominant society's ideology.

Contemporary views of hegemony have moved away from traditional Marxism and incorporate a multifaceted approach. Peter McLaren extends the concept of hegemony to include gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and class. Using hegemony to understand subjugation, scholars are broadening hegemony's scope by applying emerging critical theories such as critical race theory and critical feminist theory to better understand inequality and oppression.

Melanie C. Brooks

See also Critical Theory; Cultural Capital

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The hidden and null curricula, as they manifest themselves in various ways in the schools, represent subtle and deeply influential forces in the shaping of attitudes and beliefs. Because they are not immediately evident, as is the case with the formal curriculum, does not mean that they can be disregarded. Both hidden and null curricula are described in this entry.

Unofficial Expectations

The concept of the hidden curriculum was first developed by Phillip Jackson in his 1968 book *Life in Classrooms*. According to Jackson, there are three factors embedded in schools: (1) crowds, (2) praise, and (3) power. The hidden curriculum as defined by Jackson must be mastered by students if they are to successfully make their way through the school system. In the context of Jackson's work, the "unofficial or implicit expectations" are what constitute the hidden curriculum.

Examples of the hidden curriculum as identified by Jackson might include the automatic assumption in schools that males will typically take on leadership positions, the importance of certain sports (football, for example) for character development, and the idea that certain specific social manners and values are normative.

Peter McLaren (1998) expanded on the work of Jackson by identifying the hidden curriculum as "the unintended outcomes of the schooling process." These unintended outcomes are often unrecognized by those who teach in and administer schools. David Sadker and Myra Sadker provide examples of what McLaren is talking about in their analysis about how boys are unconsciously given greater attention than girls in elementary educational settings. As a result, boys and girls are taught that males deserve more attention than females. In addition to being potentially privileged because of the greater attention they receive, boys also end up receiving more instruction.

Another interpretation of the hidden curriculum comes from Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux. Essentially, they argue that there are implicit messages found in the social structures of the schools. Thus, in the period prior to desegregation and to a certain

HIDDEN AND NULL CURRICULUM

The hidden curriculum is an important concept for those interested in the schools as socializing agents and as agents of cultural reproduction. Closely related to the idea of the hidden curriculum is the concept of the null curriculum, which focuses on what schools *don't* teach.

extent in the decades that followed, the unequal funding of White over Black schools in the same communities represented a hidden curriculum—one that suggests that the needs of African American students are not as great as those of their White counterparts.

A final interpretation of the hidden curriculum comes from the work of Bensen Snyder who maintains that while teachers may dictate formal tasks, these may be reinterpreted by students to suit their own needs. As a result, formal curricular needs and objectives may be redefined by students to create an alternative curriculum. Thus a group of high school students might become very active in a drama or music program not so much because they are interested in performing, but because they are interested in being part of a social group associated with the program or activity, or they like to have access to the interesting things found in the theater department.

Missing Information

The null curriculum was first defined by Elliot Eisner in *The Educated Imagination*. According to Eisner, the null curriculum is what we teach by not teaching something. This happens, according to him, at two levels. The first involves the cognitive processes that are stressed or disregarded. An example of this would be when science teaching involves mostly learning specific facts and formulas. This would be in contrast to an approach that emphasized hands-on learning and discovery. The first approach de-emphasizes creativity and independence while the second emphasizes them. Thus, a curriculum that emphasizes rote facts and memorization implicitly teaches or suggests that creativity and independence are not as important or valued by society.

A second dimension of the null curriculum identified by Eisner is the idea that something is taught by not actually including it in the curriculum. This, the exclusion of African Americans or women in American history textbooks prior to the 1960s, is an example of a null curriculum. Likewise, the more recent exclusion of important gay and lesbian leaders or issues in history and literature textbooks represents a similar example of the null curriculum at work.

A similar example to the cases cited above would be the historical preference given to funding men's sports in high schools over women's sports. In such social situations, the social message (i.e., curriculum) being communicated through the null curriculum is clear—men and their activities count more than women and what they do.

Essentially, the null curriculum teaches what is valued and what is not valued by society. As a result, traditional values and power structures are reinforced, and minority opinions and values are often marginalized and given little value or credence.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Curriculum Theory; Ideology and Schooling

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HIGHER EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

The history of higher education is one of expanded choice and opportunities for students as well as innovative delivery systems such as the correspondence school, distance learning, and Internet information retrieval. Diversity through the years has expanded as federal court decisions have found it to be a compelling state interest. From higher education enrollment limited

to the few to egalitarianism, higher education has become a major influence in U.S. society. With nearly 18 million students and over 631,000 faculty members, higher education continues to reflect the ever-changing needs of society.

Historical Background

Higher education emerged from the works of scribes and theological schools. Ancient scholars, peripatetic teachers, imparted knowledge through lectures. Groups of individuals would follow teachers, often inspired by their worldviews. Priests, scribes, apprentices were teachers and repositories of knowledge. Written works were developed and continually added to with observation and reflection.

Teachers were protected by ruling classes who found cadres of literate people indispensable. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle taught and recorded philosophical views of the world. Egypt, Greece, and Italy were seats of early teaching and learning. Oratory, dialectic, and rhetoric were much prized in education. These early educational contributions have been passed down to our time. Aristotle's Lyceum and Plato's Academy were early models of higher education.

From the fourth century BCE to the eleventh century CE, tribal conflicts limited educational efforts. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, education of the clergy in their own schools was encouraged. The Cathedral School of Notre Dame became the University of Paris. With protection from kings and the pope, the University of Paris became an autonomous institution. Guilds or groups of scholars or masters and students provided the corporate structure for an autonomous institution. Such autonomy continues with faculty in charge of curriculum and admissions.

Bologna became a center for the study of law, with student guilds or collegia forming the organizational structure of the university. Renaissance humanism was often not well received by established universities. The Reformation had mixed outcomes and consequences, including rabid sectarianism and a high degree of institutional stagnation. However, both occurred in a period of cultural and intellectual ferment that led to an expansion of higher education.

Origins of Universities

Continental universities provided the model for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England. The rites and rituals of Oxford and Cambridge were incorporated in America's universities and colleges. Harvard College, although more of a secondary school than a college, provided education for theologians, teachers, and government leaders.

Harvard was founded in 1636, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701, College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1746, King's College (Columbia University) in 1754, College of Rhode Island (Brown) in 1765, Queens College (Rutgers) in 1766, and Dartmouth in 1769—all as private religious institutions. The curriculum based on continental universities was the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy).

The Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case of 1819 ruled that the college's charter was a valid contract. Dartmouth was a private institution not subject to public control. Control, financing, and management of private institutions of higher education became the domain of boards of trustees. The ruling led to an expansion of private higher education and to protecting private institutions from legislative interference.

Early Women's Colleges

Women's colleges were founded in the nineteenth century. Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary was founded in 1837 and Georgia Female College, later Wesleyan College, opened in 1839. They were private schools that provided women access to traditional academic disciplines. Vassar provided a transitional curriculum with a focus on women's conversational skills, feminine arts, and a classical course of study.

Ohio's Oberlin College, founded in 1833, was one of the first coeducational colleges that offered a traditional baccalaureate degree. There was fear that women could become unsexed, lose their charm and gentleness, become unmarriageable, and be subject to nervous breakdowns with too much learning or too strenuous studies. The American Women's Education Association founded in 1852 stimulated the development and expansion of higher education for women.

The curriculum was based on the liberal arts and the classical tradition.

Harvard faculty began to offer courses for women in 1879. Near the turn of the twentieth century, Harvard Annex became Radcliffe College for women. Early women's colleges often offered courses for teaching, an early career choice for women. To meet the growing demand for teachers, Normal Schools were created often becoming state teachers' colleges. As the demand for professional schools grew, state teachers' colleges became state universities offering an expanded curriculum.

Political activism of the suffragists led to the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing women voting rights in 1920. Bryn Mawr organized a summer school for working women in 1921. Women's participation in higher education continued to grow.

An Expansion

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 authorized two full townships in each new state to be reserved for a university. The Northwest Ordinance of 1785, which set aside land for the support of schools within a township, and the 1787 act became precedents for land grants to the states for public schools and universities. The demand for expanded education curricula led to the Morrill Act in 1862, which provided for Land Grant Colleges for agriculture, the trades, and education.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868 gave Blacks American citizenship. Black colleges developed in the South through the efforts of Booker T. Washington, who received an honorary doctorate from Harvard. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School was a model for Black education. The Morrill Act of 1890 required the states to make public education available to African Americans. Seventeen Southern states had separate land-grant colleges for African Americans. Eventually every state had a land-grant college.

In 1828 Yale professors found that what is ultimately worth knowing in college were the liberalizing, liberating liberal arts. In 1945, the Harvard

faculty in General Education for a Free Society provided a framework for meeting the common needs of an undergraduate education.

John Hopkins University opened in 1876, providing an impetus for the development of graduate programs based on a German research model. Daniel Coit Gilman, a Yale graduate, was the first president of Johns Hopkins. At Johns Hopkins, faculty and students were required to do research and to seek new knowledge through scientific investigation. This provided a model for research universities.

There were periodic efforts to develop common standards for college admission, and in 1892, the National Education Association appointed a Committee of Ten including Harvard President Charles Eliot to make recommendations about common high school curricula. The result was the Carnegie Unit, which provided for standard units of credit for high school subjects and college admissions.

In 1869, Harvard president Charles Eliot broke with tradition and led the development of electives in higher education. The elective system provided opportunities for professors to pursue their professional interests and for students to be able to choose their courses for career interests. Academic departments were formed around these interests and universities offered an expanded curriculum based on student and professor interests.

Postwar Change

With the GI Bill of 1944 (the Servicemen's Readjustment Act), thousands of returning veterans enrolled in higher education. The GI Bill proved a success. Fears of flooding universities with unqualified, unprepared students disappeared as returning veterans proved to be good students and contributors to their communities. Legislation for war veterans has been extended through the years.

President Harry Truman formed the Commission on Education in 1947. The commission recommended expanding higher education through the junior or community college level. Currently many community colleges are moving to four-year degree institutions or becoming satellites of university systems.

American higher education reflects the *Zeitgeist* or spirit of the times in which it exists. Jeffersonian democracy focused on meritocracy, while Jacksonian democracy stressed egalitarianism. As the nation grew, colleges reflected a spirit of progressivism. State universities during the 1900s were expected to perform a service function. Dealing with state problems and issues became an important goal of university missions. The University of Wisconsin developed the idea of using the institution's formidable resources to deal with public problems, needs, and issues. Higher education theorists continue to debate the role of professional schools versus liberal arts colleges.

Current Directions

Technology

With technological advances, students and faculty are accessing library and resource information through the Internet. Computer access to information continues to expand as more knowledge bases are on the World Wide Web. With the Internet era, traditional universities and colleges compete with new online distance-learning programs offered by nontraditional universities like University of Phoenix. Students are able to complete courses and degrees anywhere through online networks.

In response, colleges and universities have expanded their distance-learning undergraduate and graduate degree programs. With more information accessed through the Internet, higher education institutions place greater emphasis on ready access to computers in libraries, and the traditional card catalogue has been replaced. The Library of Congress and a growing library of the classics and academic knowledge provide speed as well as accuracy in accessing information. With increasing focus on collaborative research, faculty can network with each other through the Internet. Flash cards or jump drives make it easy to carry information anywhere.

Equity and Access

Economic and social justice advocates seek greater opportunities for minorities and people of color. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) led to

the integration of higher education institutions. Equity in and access to higher education institutions continue to be expanded through political activism. With an expanded multicultural population, special efforts are made to provide remedial training in basic subjects including English for English language learners, low-income students, and students at risk.

In *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California* (1976), the Supreme Court ruled that the state has an interest in diversity that may be served by consideration of race and ethnicity in admissions. Several decades later, in two 2003 Michigan cases, *Gratz v. Bolinger* and *Gutter v. Bolinger*, the high court again upheld the importance of diversity as a compelling state interest in higher education. Recruiting minorities, women, and people of color as students and faculty is a major goal of national accrediting agencies. Universities have minority recruiting offices to increase minority student enrollment.

Student retention in higher education is a major concern, and efforts are made to provide support services to retain students, particularly in the freshman years. William Bowen, president of Princeton, and Derek Bok, president of Harvard, conducted a research study to determine the long-term consequences of considering race in college admissions. Their conclusion was that with mentoring and support, minority students could perform well in higher education and make major contributions in their chosen careers and in their communities. Diversity was found to enrich the college environment for both learners and teachers.

Funding

A continuing concern in higher education is adequate funding for institutions. University presidents and boards of trustees face the problem of economic cycles that affect their enrollment as well as their ability to recruit highly skilled faculty, update facilities, and expand Internet access throughout the campuses. Private universities' tuition costs require special efforts to recruit, retain, and provide scholarships to maintain diverse student bodies. Since the early days at Harvard, special efforts have been made to recruit low-income, at-risk students. That effort continues.

State university and college systems continue to compete in state legislatures for adequate funding for faculty and staff salaries and for recruiting low-income, at-risk students. Tuition increases can meet only a part of the higher education budget. State legislative and private funding is essential for quality education.

Academic freedom is vital in a free society, and university officials and boards of trustees work to assure academic freedom when confronted with internal or external ideological conflicts.

Productivity

In research universities, faculty members are expected to keep up their academic productivity through peer-reviewed publication, grant acquisition, and recognition in their professional fields. To assure such productivity, senior faculty are often subject to five-year peer review. If they fall short, efforts are made to provide support, encouragement, and mentoring to increase productivity. University investment in the professorate continues to expand as inflation requires more fundraising. Retaining top quality professors is essential in attracting the best students, and in universities' promotion efforts.

Lifelong Learning

Most universities have programs for lifelong learning. These can be through correspondence, weekend sessions, distance-learning programs or lectures and seminars. With increased longevity, senior citizens are provided with a variety of programs, courses, and lectures for interest areas. Adult education programs have expanded through the years.

Federal Involvement

In recent years, federal legislation has provided increased civil rights protection for women, minorities, and disabled students. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 provided funds for science, math, and modern foreign language education, as well as other subjects. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, prohibits discrimination based on race, color, sex, or national origin. The Higher Education Act of 1965

and 1998 amendments provided for grants and contracts to identify qualified individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds to prepare them and provide support for their higher-education programs. In addition, the act provides for motivating and preparing students for doctoral programs.

First-generation American college students are given financial support and mentoring support. Talent Search is an effort to identify qualified students for postsecondary education. Upward Bound programs provide a variety of assistance for low-income, under-represented, disadvantaged students in higher education. A variety of federal support programs have been developed for special needs students in higher education. Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 bans sex discrimination in educational institutions that receive federal aid. Universities provide athletic opportunities and assure equal employment opportunities for women.

Then and Now

From the early religious and private colonial colleges to the elite colleges, higher education established its ability to adjust to historical influences and currents. The scholasticism of continental universities evolved into the traditional classical curriculum based on the trivium and quadrivium. Students and faculty gained more choice for their interest areas with expansion of the elective system. The Renaissance and Reformation eventually led to secularism in higher education.

State colleges and universities have offered service curricula to meet the needs of government, corporations, and individuals, for assistance with policy making, business development, and those with special needs. Prestige and public relations have been important student recruiters. State flagship universities have worked to achieve research status through faculty recruiting, fundraising, and scholarships to attract top-performing students. In general, the challenge for higher education in the future will be to address issues involving greater equity and opportunity, as well as the challenges posed by an increasingly technologically oriented and global culture.

James J. Van Patten

See also Academic Freedom; Affirmative Action; Corporate Involvement in Education; Educational Policy and the American Presidency

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

Myles Horton (1905–1990) and Don West (1906–1992) founded the Highlander Folk School in Grundy County, Tennessee, at the height of the Great Depression in 1932. Now operating as the Highlander Research and Education Center, its goals continue the traditions of its founders: providing education and fighting against economic injustice, poverty, and prejudice. Through educational programs and related services, Highlander tries to provide grassroots leaders with the tools to create broad-based movements for social change. This entry looks at its history and contributions.

The early years of Highlander focused on the progressive labor movement. During these years, the school created its first education programs for workers. The aim of Highlander's education programs was to empower workers and solidify the labor movement. As a means to achieve this goal, Highlander sought to train all poor laborers regardless of their race or ethnicity. Highlander became one of the first educational organizations in the South to integrate. By the late 1930s, it was regularly holding integrated meetings

and educational workshops, although the first fully integrated workshop was not held until 1942.

Highlander's commitment to desegregation began its second phase of social activity: the civil rights movement. The political landscape during the early 1940s was not ready for and fought against Highlander's agenda of economic, political, and social equity. Prior to the civil rights movement, Highlander held integrated leadership workshops and educational programs that were attended by figures such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., who were then largely unknown outside of their communities. In an attempt to thwart Highlander's growing contribution to the fight for equity, its opponents started using propaganda to tarnish its image, associating it with Communism.

Despite a smear campaign, however, Highlander's resolve did not waiver. The epitome of this resolve was Highlander's work with Esau Jenkins and the formation of "citizenship schools." Citizenship schools began in the Sea Islands in South Carolina and led to the campaign to register African Americans to vote. The success of the citizenship schools was a catalyst for the civil rights movement, and Highlander was once again in the middle of mobilizing people for social and economic justice.

The opposition to Highlander from segregationists continued, however, and the state of Tennessee succeeded in shutting down the school. However, the leaders of the school had obtained a new charter for the Highlander Research and Education Center, and Highlander relocated to Knoxville, Tennessee. It remained there until 1971, when it moved to its current location in New Market, Tennessee, twenty miles east of Knoxville.

As the civil rights movement began to define its own leadership, Highlander turned its attention back to its original interest, helping the people of Appalachia. During the 1970s and 1980s, Highlander focused its efforts on environmental and quality of life issues confronted by the region. While maintaining its fight for environmental, social, and economic justice, Highlander in the 1990s increasingly turned its attention to the needs of immigrants—mostly laborers from Mexico and Central America—in the South by helping them politically organize and by providing an organization through which they could connect with different people and address their problems and needs.

The Highlander Research and Education Center has contributed to the social foundations of education on two primary levels: philosophically and practically. At the philosophical level, Highlander has demonstrated how education can be a catalyst for social change through collective civic action regardless of race, creed, or social class. At the core of this belief is the notion that people have the answers to the problems that they face. Through communication and the exchange of ideas, people are able to find solutions to the problems with which they are confronted. Highlander has also been an example of and exercise in democratic and socially responsible education that empowers the people. Highlander's efforts in the field of social justice provide an exemplar of the possibilities of critical thought, action, and execution.

Benjamin Thomas Lester

See also Adult Education and Literacy; Social Justice, Education for

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Highlander Research and Education Center:
<http://www.highlandercenter.org>

HIGH-STAKES TESTING

High-stakes tests are examinations used to make critical decisions about examinees and those who work with the examinees. The hallmark of a high-stakes test is that the results are associated with consequences for those connected to the assessment, such as graduates

of professional programs, students in public schools, and teachers and administrators in public schools. High-stakes tests contribute to making decisions about examinees and institutions in many societies, including the United States, Germany, Japan, and Singapore. The consequences of such tests include benefits and detriments. Professional organizations offer guidance in the implementation of high-stakes testing programs that, if followed, should result in fewer of the negative consequences currently associated with high-stakes tests. This entry describes high-stakes tests, their consequences, and strategies for ensuring their fairness and contribution to quality education.

How Tests Work

Examples of high-stakes tests include examinations for high school graduation, college credit (e.g., Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate), college admissions (e.g., SAT; ACT; Graduate Record Examination, or GRE; and licensure such as the U. S. Medical Licensing Examination). In public schools, high-stakes tests have been used by policy makers to hold students and educators accountable for student outcomes. At the postsecondary level, admissions offices use test results to predict which applicants will most likely be successful at their institution. In addition, examinations have been used to award college credit for coursework completed in high school. In the case of licensure examinations, the purpose of the tests is to assure the public of the qualifications of aspiring professionals.

The interpretation of high-stakes test scores might be norm or criterion referenced. Norm-referenced interpretations are based on the comparison of an examinee's score with scores of other examinees. The ACT, SAT, and GRE are all examples of high-stakes tests that provide norm-referenced interpretations. For example, an examinee's score of eighty-eighth percentile on the GRE indicates that her raw score (i.e., number of test items correct) was higher than the scores of 88 percent of the other examinees. In contrast, criterion-referenced tests in state testing programs use a student's item-correct score to classify his performance as basic, proficient, or advanced. Such criterion-referenced interpretations do not

provide information about the student's performance as compared to other examinees.

In terms of response format, some high-stakes tests use only a multiple-choice format, whereas others use multiple-choice and constructed-response items. For example, some states administer end-of-course examinations that contribute to a student's final course grade. In some instances these examinations use only the multiple-choice format. The GRE, however, incorporates both multiple-choice items and an analytic writing component.

The Stakes

The federal No Child Left Behind legislation (NCLB, Public Law 107-110) provides an example of public policy that requires high-stakes testing. NCLB requires states to test all students in Grades 3–8 annually in (a) reading or language arts and (b) mathematics. In addition, testing is required in science at one grade level in the grade spans of 3–5, 6–9, 10–12. Also, NCLB requires states to test high school students in one grade level annually. The state tests must describe two levels of high achievement (proficient and advanced) to gauge student mastery of the state content standards and a level of basic achievement to gauge the progress of lower achieving students toward attaining higher achievement levels.

Test results are disaggregated and reported by ethnicity, poverty level, disability, and English language learners (ELLs). The target is for all students to be at the proficient or higher level in reading or language arts and mathematics by the 2013–2014 school year. Schools that do not meet adequate yearly progress (AYP) targets are required to develop school improvement plans and the school district must provide students and parents with public school choice. Schools that do not meet AYP for several years potentially face such sanctions as restructuring, dismissal of staff, and external oversight.

The types of stakes associated with a high-stakes testing program vary across constituencies. To continue the school example, in some states, schools with high test scores receive financial awards or public recognition. The stakes are raised in terms of public awareness when states publish school report cards that

contain test scores and ratings (A to F, Excellent to Unsatisfactory) based on the school's test scores. Stakes for schools, and for neighborhoods, increase when realtors provide families with a school's test scores to sell a house.

The stakes for educators include the award of bonuses or pay increases for teachers if test scores are high. In low-performing schools, possible sanctions for teachers include denial of tenure, dismissal, reassignment, and withholding of salary increases. Administrators in low-performing schools may be dismissed or receive a salary reduction, whereas in high-performing schools, an administrator may receive a bonus.

In the case of students, high-stakes tests have been used to determine grade-level promotion. Tests are used to track students in classes based on their achievement levels. Tests inform decisions about the qualification of students for special education services (e.g., gifted, learning disability). Scores on high-stakes tests determine whether students meet high-school graduation requirements and whether students receive diplomas of distinction. At the end of secondary school, students complete examinations that are used to make college admission decisions and some students receive scholarships based on the test scores. In concluding their postsecondary education, aspiring professionals, such as students in medicine, law, and teaching, must pass a licensure examination.

Consequences

High-stakes tests are associated with both beneficial and detrimental consequences. For example, the establishment and publication of content standards associated with state-level tests allow teachers and students to understand the important content that students must know and be able to do. Information from the tests can be used to identify problem areas in instruction and to plan changes. However, high-stakes tests typically cannot be used for diagnostic purposes because too few test items assess a specific content area for reliable reporting, and the scores typically are reported in the summer.

Another benefit is associated with the NCLB Act and its requirement that schools report students' test results by socioeconomic level, disabilities, ELLs, and

race/ethnicity. Such disaggregated reporting of students' test results allows educators to examine whether *all* students are learning key content knowledge. Disaggregation allows monitoring of achievement gaps between examinees in, for example, high and low socioeconomic groups, and reduction of any achievement gap.

Harmful consequences associated with high-stakes testing include educators' narrowing of the curriculum. One instance of narrowing the curriculum occurs when teachers focus instruction on those subject areas tested, such as reading and mathematics, and attend less to subjects not tested, such as history or art. Another form of narrowing of the curriculum is illustrated by the minimum competency tests of the 1980s. To prepare students for these tests of basic skills, teachers narrowed instruction in terms of depth in order to focus on basics. Thus, at the expense of student mastery of more complex skills, teachers narrowed their instruction to address minimal competencies. Also, narrowing occurs when learning activities are aligned with the test format. For example, teachers use commercial test-preparation materials in their instruction, replacing problem-based learning activities.

A consequence of the narrowing of the curriculum is that test scores may no longer accurately represent student learning. Scores on a test are indicators of student performance in the broader content domain from which the test items were sampled. The usefulness of test information depends on the degree to which the scores on a specific test represent what students can do in the broader content domain of interest. Scores on a high-stakes test become inflated as when teaching is based on the content of a specific test because the scores no longer reflect students' understanding of the broader content domain.

Although high-stakes tests provide information for improving instruction, in some instances, educators narrowly target student groups for intervention. Such a consequence can be seen when a school decides to focus efforts on students with borderline scores on a high-stakes test and dedicates less resources to high- or low-performing student groups.

High-stakes testing policies have focused attention on student groups that may have been ignored in the past; however, the negative consequences of

high-stakes testing may disproportionately affect these same groups. African American and Hispanic students have high failure rates on graduation examinations. In addition, states that have scholarship programs to support students in their undergraduate studies have test-score requirements that impede minority students from qualifying for the scholarship.

Conditions for High-Stakes Testing

The increasing use of high-stakes tests as instruments of policy has led to publication of position statements by the American Educational Research Association and the American Evaluation Association, both national organizations of professionals who conduct research and evaluation in education. The position statements indicate that high-stakes testing programs in education should meet certain conditions. Included in the conditions are the following:

- Decisions about students should be based on multiple, high-quality measures, not a single test. Critical decisions about grade-level promotion or high school graduation require that students have multiple opportunities to demonstrate their proficiency. In addition, if evidence indicates that the score from a test does not reflect a student's actual proficiency, then alternate methods for assessing the student's proficiency level are required.
- Validity studies should examine the accuracy of test-score interpretations when using labels of "basic," "proficient," or "advanced" to indicate students' proficiency or "passing" to describe examinees' performance.
- Students must be provided the opportunity to learn the content and cognitive skills that are tested prior to implementation of high-stakes policies. This requires evidence that the content has been integrated into both the curriculum and instruction prior to its use in a high-stakes context.
- Rules designating which students are to be tested and which may be exempted from testing must be established and enforced if test results for schools or districts are to be compared or results compared over time.
- Appropriate test accommodations should be made for ELL students and students with disabilities. Appropriate accommodations will assure the scores of ELL students and disabled students represent the intended construct, such as social studies or

mathematics achievement, and not characteristics external to the construct, such as text reading level.

- Students who fail a high-stakes test should be provided remediation in the knowledge and skills of the broad content domain that the test represents.
- Each use of a high-stakes test must be validated. For example, a test used for making decisions about individual students would also require a study of the use of the test for making decisions about teachers or administrators.
- The reliability of scores should be sufficient for each use. For example, the reliability of school means might be sufficient for making decisions about overall student performance; however, the reliability of subgroup means (e.g., for ethnic, socioeconomic groups) might be insufficient for making school improvement decisions.
- The consequences of a high-stakes test should be evaluated and findings communicated to policy makers, educators, and the public.
- Tests should align with the whole curriculum, not the portion that is easiest to assess.

Robert L. Johnson

See also Achievement Tests

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HISPANIC EDUCATION

There has been a radical rise over the last twenty-five years in the number of people that self-identify as “Hispanic” on the U.S. Census and other official forms. Between 1980 and 2005 the Hispanic population nearly tripled, increasing from 14.6 million to 41.9 million. In 2005, Hispanics made up 14.5 percent of the total U.S. population, and the latest projections are that Hispanics will be 24.4 percent of the population in 2050. From meat-packing plants in Nebraska to poultry plants in north Georgia, from central Washington to central Iowa, a new human landscape is being formed in places where Spanish was not heard and salsa was not sold. Public schools set in that landscape are profoundly affected by their new Hispanic students.

At the start, it should be noted that language, culture, and history determine how we categorize and name groups of people. *Hispanic* connotes someone from a Spanish-speaking background (usually, from a former Spanish colony), while *Latino* commonly refers to a person from Latin America and does not necessarily exclude indigenous or non-Spanish-speaking people. To be inclusive of divergent viewpoints about these words, *Hispanic/Latino* will serve as a general adjective here, and *Hispanic* will be used when an official government term is required.

Background of Hispanic/Latino People

Some Hispanics/Latinos, although certainly not a majority, are not immigrants. *Hispanos* in New Mexico, and many Hispanics living near the Mexican border in southern Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, are ancient residents of the land their families settled long before the U.S. became a nation.

Most Hispanics/Latinos, however, have immigrated to the United States in the last three decades. Although nearly half of all Hispanics/Latinos live in just two states—California and Texas—recent patterns show the greatest percentage increases in states without a history of major immigration, such as North Carolina, Arkansas, Kansas, and Nevada.

Prior educational experiences for each immigrant generation vary. Immigrants come from different nations, and the sociohistorical context of their native country affects how they respond to schooling. The major national origins of Hispanics in 2005 were 64.0 percent Mexican (constituting 9.3 percent of the entire U.S. population), 15.2 percent Caribbean (9.0 percent Puerto Rican, 3.5 percent Cuban, and 2.7 percent Dominican), 7.4 percent Central American (3 percent from El Salvador), 5.5 percent South American (1.7 percent from Colombia), and about 8 percent from elsewhere.

Hispanics in the United States are predominantly in the lower economic groups. In 2004, 29 percent of all Hispanic children (and nearly 50 percent of children in single-mother families) lived below the poverty line. The per capita income for Hispanics was \$12,111, which was only 56 percent of the \$21,587 per capita income for Whites. Almost 60 percent of Hispanic fourth graders were in public schools in which more than half of the students were eligible for free and reduced-price lunch.

The Spanish language is a primary social factor. According to 2005 data, in three states (Texas, California, and New Mexico), nearly 30 percent of the entire population age five or older speaks Spanish at home; in the United States as a whole, that figure is 12 percent. It is also true that in half of the states, Spanish is spoken at home by less than 5 percent of the people. Only 14 percent of Hispanics speak English poorly or not at all.

The world's most populous Spanish-speaking country, Mexico, shares a porous 2,000-mile border with the United States, which results in a contentious social situation for Hispanics/Latinos. Since 1990, movements to eliminate bilingual education, make English the official state and national language, and report all undocumented workers exposed a political fault line among Hispanics/Latinos, and between ethnic groups.

The parents of many immigrant children in public schools are afraid of being deported and are aware of prejudice against them, even as they struggle to adapt to a new society. Hispanics/Latinos who have lived here for generations, often in low-income enclaves, also have to deal with cultural stereotypes.

Educational Issues

It is important that educators know where immigrant families and students originate and what pressures to acculturate (or not) they face once they arrive. For example, immigrant children from an urban area such as Mexico City have had educational experiences quite different from those of children from an isolated rural community in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. Ethnic background and social class also matter: Indigenous people from Guatemala, Mestizos from Nicaragua, and Europeans from Argentina may approach language and schooling differently.

Immigrants also enter different communities. Going to school in a large, relatively homogeneous Hispanic neighborhood (e.g., in New York's Spanish Harlem or Chicago's Pilsen) is a different matter than attending school in a more heterogeneous and less Hispanic area (e.g., in metro Atlanta or rural Alabama). And there remain many thousands of migrant students whose schooling histories are frequently fragmented and poorly documented.

Three educational conditions of Hispanics/Latinos are highlighted here: School segregation, school achievement, and school attainment. Residential segregation has resulted in school segregation (or "resegregation," according to some analyses). Nearly two thirds (65 percent) of all Hispanic students live in big cities. In the ten largest public school districts in this country, four of every ten students are Hispanic. In 2003, nearly one third of Hispanic students attended schools that had greater than 75 percent Hispanic enrollment, and more than half attended schools that were over 50 percent Hispanic.

Standardized test scores from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in reading, mathematics, and science in 1999 offer a mixed view of Hispanic students' school achievement. Hispanic students' scores have improved over

the last several decades in all three areas, but the gap between them and White students did not narrow, and their scores still are significantly lower than those of White students.

Another fundamental measure of success for Hispanics or any other group of children is the level of school attainment and the rate of school attrition (the dropout rate). In 2003, the proportion of Hispanic/Latino eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds who had a high school diploma or the equivalent was 64 percent, compared to 84 percent of Blacks and 92 percent of Whites. Hispanic/Latino students had a dropout rate of 23.5 percent, while the rate was 10.9 percent for Blacks and 6.3 percent for Whites.

Important Initiatives

Given the complex economic, linguistic, political, and educational contexts of life for Hispanics/Latinos, how can educators help to lower the dropout rate and raise student achievement? What do educators need to know and do?

Language Learning

At every level—classroom, school, district, state, and nation—language is both a pedagogical and a policy issue. Prior to several influential court decisions, schools could essentially offer little or no accommodation for nonnative English speakers; now, laws require that schools provide services to new English learners. Given that mandate, however, there are numerous possible arrangements for Hispanic children to learn English—and their school subjects.

When nonnative speakers of English begin their schooling, “transitional” language programs move them as quickly as possible into English-only classes. In most cases, Spanish speakers take a class each day in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). One major problem with such classes is that there is no unified ESOL curriculum in many states and school districts, and there is a great divergence in the availability of pedagogical resources. On a positive note, most states now require that prospective teachers—in some states, all teachers—take courses in how to teach children who are new English learners.

Bilingual education programs teach students in their native language and in English. “Weak” bilingual programs push students as quickly as possible into fully mainstreamed classrooms. “Strong” programs focus on the maintenance of students’ native language, along with learning English. One approach to bringing bilingual education into the regular classroom is through “sheltered instruction,” where students in subjects such as social studies learn the content through a combination of Spanish and English.

Dual-language immersion programs are an “enrichment” version of bilingual education, where all students in a school learn English and a second language (in the case of heavily Hispanic/Latino schools, it would be Spanish). Strong bilingual and dual immersion programs see language not as a “barrier,” but as a resource that can benefit all students and the school.

Curriculum and Instruction

In terms of curriculum, one major issue is whether to augment traditional textbooks with material that may be more meaningful to Hispanic/Latino students. Some educators are dubious about the value of a special “month” for different ethnic groups and are working to incorporate multicultural perspectives throughout the curriculum. Some would introduce elements of Hispanic/Latino cultures in content areas such as mathematics and science, and not only in language arts and social studies, as is most common.

There is also debate over how to assess new Hispanic/Latino students who are nonnative speakers of English. Some schools have opted for initial testing in Spanish, to determine students’ literacy and mathematics skills in their first language. Schools also set policies (or accept practices) about grading, classroom-based testing, and standardized testing at the end of each year. The issue is how to assess students’ learning meaningfully, and not make judgments about academic ability based on someone’s English-language capability.

School Experience

Numerous ethnographic accounts paint a nuanced portrait of Hispanic/Latino students’ lives in various corners of our country, from urban Boston to rural Georgia to the Mexican border. One goal of these books

is to examine Hispanic students' school engagement and disengagement. With high dropout rates for Hispanic/Latino students and the need to increase their academic achievement, it is vital to document how these students can become more engaged in school life.

Hispanic/Latino students sometimes lack the requisite social and academic networks in school. Students need positive peers and a sense of belonging; they need to develop a "school identity." Students create this sort of identity when they find a niche in academic and extracurricular programs. There is solid evidence that girls are more likely than boys to engage in academics and to establish positive peer networks, so educators may need to examine motivational strategies for boys and girls.

Connecting Families, Schools, and Communities

Collective values are important in Hispanic/Latino families, and work is strongly emphasized. To be *bién educado*, "well educated," is a matter of knowing how to act for the collective good, and not just of amassing a certain number of years in school. Still, it is apparent from the ethnographic studies and other research that Hispanic/Latino students and parents aspire to advance educationally—at least toward a high school diploma and often higher. However, certain national groups express expectations far below their aspirations. Because of parents' limited educational advancement or success (Hispanic/Latino parents' education levels are still far below those of White and African American parents), and many families' disconnection with school, students may not place priority on excelling at schoolwork and attaining good grades, the building blocks of school success.

Developing parental involvement can prove difficult, for many reasons. Immigrant Hispanic/Latino parents usually come to the United States with a cultural background of respecting and not questioning teachers. They may fear deportation and, particularly for recent immigrant women, limited English skills may make them reticent to attend school functions. In spite of these obstacles, there are many stirring examples of how to get families and the community deeply involved in school life.

Charting a Course

Enhancing the education of Hispanic/Latino students depends on the quality of teaching, which turns on teachers' openness to learning. Because of how teachers are assigned (the most recent graduates of teacher preparation programs usually are placed in the most difficult school environments) and the shortage of teachers in certain inner-city areas and in growing school districts, there can be problems with teachers teaching out of their fields or lacking sufficient prior educational interaction with students from diverse ethnic groups. Changes in placement policies and mentoring practices can mitigate these "qualification" problems, but the "quality" of actual instruction depends on how teachers communicate with and engage Hispanic/Latino students and family members in classroom and school life. All such changes require improved teacher preparation and ongoing professional development.

Hispanic/Latino children and adolescents have a strong cultural foundation on which to build academic engagement. They tend to be fluently bilingual, live in tightly bound family systems, respect adult authority, and maintain a strong work ethic. Any course of action that is intended to improve how they are educated should begin from a stance of respect for students' academic and social strengths; be carried out as part of a whole-school collaboration that increases students' access to rich, multilingual learning; and end up with deeper connections to teachers and school programs.

H. James McLaughlin

See also Bilingual Education, History of; Cultural Pluralism; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues; Migrant Education

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HISTORICALLY BLACK CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

With the emancipation of the slaves in 1865, Roman Catholic bishops expressed in the Second Plenary (1866) and Third Plenary councils (1884) that bishops and their parishes should make every effort to establish churches, schools, orphanages, and homes for immigrants, Blacks, and the poor. The few Catholic schools that served Black children were operated by Black Catholic men and women (Josephite Fathers, Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Fathers of the Divine Word, African Mission Fathers, Capuchin Franciscan, Franciscan Sisters, Mission Helpers, Servants of the Sacred Heart, Sister Servants of the Holy Ghost, Oblate Sisters, Sisters of the Holy Family).

Prior to 1954, a quiet but firm desegregation of Catholic parishes and schools marked the migration of Blacks from the South to inner cities and communities in the Northeast, Midwest, and West. After 1954 and throughout the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the Catholic Church required in its theological teachings and schools respect for the individual, thereby embracing the education of Black students and its community. White flight between 1960s and 1980s placed many parishes and schools, once supported by immigrant communities and students, in dire financial condition. Today, historically Catholic African American schools

continue as viable and important alternatives to public schooling. But African American Catholic education is challenged by poor neighborhoods and rapid demographic shifts. The traditional mission of Catholic elementary and secondary schools and the thirty-two historically African American Catholic high schools is being tested as parochial schools (Lutheran, Episcopal, and Methodist), also educate large numbers of racial and ethnic students.

Paul E. Green

See also African American Education

See Visual History Chapter 6, Catholic Schools and the Separation of Church and State

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HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are unique American higher education institutions. These institutions often began as elementary and secondary schools and overcame significant barriers associated with racism and discrimination. Since their founding, primarily in the late nineteenth century, they have evolved into centers of leadership development for African Americans, and have produced over 90 percent of the African American college graduates during the past 100 years, although today many African Americans attend other universities. This entry provides a basic description and brief history of historically Black schools, and looks ahead to the future of these institutions.

Basic Facts

Historically Black colleges and universities are defined as institutions established specifically for the education of African Americans. Black colleges

reflect the tension between the aspirations of the African Americans for equality and economic and social justice and the second-class citizenship of African Americans in American society.

HBCU's represent 105 colleges and universities, down from a peak of 117. Thirty-eight are private, mostly religious. Many still have affiliations with their founding religious organizations. The remaining Black universities and colleges are public institutions that are located in the South, with the exception of Central State University in Ohio and Cheney State and Lincoln universities in Pennsylvania.

While they account for only 3 percent of all colleges and universities in the United States, HBCUs produce approximately 23 percent of all bachelor's degrees earned by African Americans, 13 percent of all master's degrees, and 20 percent of all first professional degrees. Three quarters of all African American Ph.D.s in the United States did their undergraduate work at historically Black colleges and universities. Early in the twentieth century, the Black militant and scholar W. E. B. Du Bois described how Black colleges inculcated their students with a sense of racial pride and instilled in them the confidence to fight against the injustices of the American social order.

Historical Context

Higher education for African Americans was limited prior to the Civil War. There were only twenty-eight African Americans recorded as receiving a college degree up to that time. Most opportunities for higher education for African Americans were limited to the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and were highly restricted. Oberlin College in Ohio and Berea College in Kentucky were among the few colleges open to African Americans.

Cheney State University (1837) and Lincoln University (1854) in Pennsylvania and Wilburforce College (1856) in Ohio are generally considered the first colleges established for African Americans. The American Colonization Society, which was concerned with sending African Americans back to Africa, and various Protestant religious denominations were the two major groups supporting the establishment of Black colleges during this period.

Reconstruction

The end of the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves brought to Black education a new hope, with visions of opportunity and equality in fulfilling the dreams of the freed people. The reasons for these dreams were the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishment of slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment, equal access; and the Fifteenth Amendment, the right to vote.

Three separate and distinct philanthropic groups shaped and established Black colleges. They were the African American benevolent societies headed up by Black churches and led by the Baptists and African Methodist Episcopal denominations, the Northern White benevolent and denominational societies, and a group of philanthropists consisting of leaders of large corporations and wealthy individuals. Each had its own agenda.

The New England Missionaries included the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and the Congregationalist religious denominations. They responded immediately by establishing schools, colleges, and normal (teacher training) schools. These groups established forty colleges and seventeen public colleges between 1865 and 1890.

The Congregationalists (the American Missionary Association, or AMA) established seven Black private colleges and thirteen "normal" (teacher training) schools by 1890. These schools began as colleges in name only, but the title signified their eventual purpose. Each included at its inception elementary and preparatory schools, since there were no high schools or academies for African Americans. Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, and Leland universities were able to begin college divisions by 1872.

The curriculum of these Black, private colleges was and still is largely classical, including foreign languages, mathematics, science, and philosophy. The missionary philanthropists felt that a classical education was the best means for African Americans to achieve racial equality. Thus, education, according to missionary societies, was to prepare a college-bred African American leadership that would uplift their race. The imprint of belief education, as well as a sense of purpose, morality, and order of those

religious groups from the North has had a lasting effect on the climate of the Black college.

The Negro philanthropies also established a number of Black colleges. Some of the most notable ones were Allen, Morris, and Benedict (South Carolina). The Negro philanthropies' main goals were to increase the literacy of African Americans; continue the struggle for equality and social justice; and to promote ethical, moral behavior, and racial uplift, along with training for economic improvement.

The industrial philanthropists were concerned with where African Americans fit socially and economically in the "new" South. Corporate leaders of large industries established foundations such as the Peabody and the Phelps Stokes foundations. These leaders changed the nature of the education of African Americans. The type of education that these foundations promoted was called industrial education or training. Its purpose was actually more to maintain distinct social classes than to provide occupational training. African Americans were trained for fields that corresponded with their low-status class.

The philosophy of these foundations was a combination of Christian missionary and capitalism, with the intention of insuring that African Americans remained in low-caste status. By 1890 these industrial/corporate foundations had eclipsed the religion-based missionaries in ideology and the funding of Black colleges.

The Jim Crow Era

By 1877 the White Southern state governments were reestablished by the Compromise of 1876, beginning one of the darkest periods for African Americans. They lost political representation and their right to vote, and the equality of opportunity was abrogated.

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1898) Supreme Court case codified the blatant apartheid racial system between the races with the so-called separate but equal status of Blacks and Whites. A highly discriminatory dual public higher education system was established, one for Whites and one for Blacks. The discrimination against Black public colleges and schools was so blatant that the corporate/industrial foundations, such as the Slater and Rosenwald foundations, had to intervene

with funds to build schools for Blacks and pressure Southern state legislatures to increase funding for Black education.

State legislatures began to establish Black public colleges to train teachers by the end of the nineteenth century in order to meet the needs of the burgeoning African American population. By 1915, thirty-four public colleges were established. The Rosenwald, General Board, Phelps-Stokes, and Slater funds (corporate/industrialist-based foundations), established numerous normal (i.e., teacher training) schools and supported state and private colleges and universities during that period.

The industrial education model was the method of African American education preferred by the industrial foundations and Southern governments during that period. It was developed by Chapman Armstrong and incorporated into his Hampton Institute. Booker T. Washington, a former slave and protégée of Armstrong, expanded the model through his institution, the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

The famous Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois debates centered on the choice between classical education (equality) and industrial education (political accommodation) in the context of the political status of African Americans in the United States. These philosophies were proxies for the political debate on the place of African Americans in American society.

Despite numerous barriers to higher education, such as isolation and the lack of funds and recognition by the greater society, the Black private and public colleges began to evolve into unique and viable institutions for African Americans. The schools became centers of leadership development. They were able to nurture and instill in the students confidence and a commitment to community service and racial uplift.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Black public colleges were able to expand and improve somewhat the quality of education for their students through the assistance of the federal government and philanthropic groups such as the Slater and Rosenwald foundations.

The Morrill Act, in particular, helped improve Black public higher education. The first Morrill Act was enacted in 1862 to help states establish public colleges and universities to teach agriculture, military

tactics, and the mechanical arts; these were known as land-grant universities and colleges. The second Morrill Act was most important for Black education. It corrected the discriminatory policies of Southern states against African Americans when the land-grant institutions were established. African Americans were denied entrance into these institutions. The law forced the Southern states that had land-grant institutions, to establish a Black land-grant institution too. Sixteen were established throughout the South. This act allowed these colleges to provide scientifically oriented agricultural and mechanical arts programs.

Brown v. Board of Education

There were over 100 HBCUs by 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled through the *Brown v. Board of Education* case that the separate but equal laws upheld in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case were unconstitutional, thus ending legal apartheid in the United States. This edict did not immediately shift the African American student population from Black colleges and universities, but it established the legal basis for the eventual desegregation of all-White, higher education institutions. Black colleges and universities continued to enroll over 90 percent of the African American college-going population.

The Civil Rights Movement

By 1967 there were 111 historically Black colleges and universities. The civil rights movement ushered in a positive change of attitude in American society toward African Americans. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which put teeth into the enforcement of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision along with implementation of affirmative action in the workplace. The Higher Education Amendments of the Civil Rights Act helped shape these changes of attitude and privilege of White Americans. Predominantly White universities were required to open their doors to African Americans. They responded by providing African American students with scholarships, special admissions, and academic support programs. However, these changes challenged the continued existence of Black colleges and universities. African American students could now choose between the two systems.

As a result of these events, there was a dramatic shift in the late 1970s in which African Americans began attending predominantly White colleges and universities. Over 70 percent of African Americans now attend predominantly White universities. As a result, a number of Black colleges have closed, and many are in financial jeopardy of closing.

The civil rights movement period also saw court challenges by the historical Black public universities over the blatant inequality of the dual educational system in the South. By 1967, these institutions were serving the majority of African American college and university students. Yet, their facilities were not up to standards. These challenges exposed the Black public universities to the possibility of being eliminated. They were governed by White majority legislatures that were still hostile to Black education. Most needed millions of dollars to replace or rehabilitate the campus facilities. In the *United States v. Fordice* Supreme Court case (against the Mississippi state higher education system), Mississippi was ordered to upgrade the Black institutions in the areas of academic programs and facilities, and to do away with the dual higher education system. The 1973 case of *Adams v. Richardson* affected the border and Southern states that maintained a dual university system. These states agreed to improve their Black public universities, and the Black schools were allowed to maintain their special mission.

Looking to the Future

Many critics point to the autocratic governance of a number of HBCUs, their mismanagement, and the low graduation rates. Some of the major present-day challenges for HBCUs are the lack of sufficient endowment to ensure scholarships, the inability to attract excellent staff and improve facilities, and the fact that a number of schools have been placed on probation by accreditation agencies. Numerous Black colleges have increased their endowments by establishing institutional advancement offices; cultivating donors and graduates; and obtaining help from the federal government, foundations, and organizations such as the United Negro College Fund.

Beginning with President Ronald Reagan, presidents have issued executive orders to recognize and enhance federal support of HBCUs. Congress has provided funds to enhance HBCUs through the Black College University Act (1986). HBCUs will continue to serve as institutions to train African Americans for leadership, for citizenship, and to be agents for the equality of opportunities for the African American community. In doing so, they fulfill an important function in American higher education.

John William Long

See also African American Education; Higher Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans; Chapter 13, Exhibit of American Negroes: *Exposition Universelle de 1900*

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the twentieth century. As a service course for prospective classroom teachers, history of education extolled the institutional evolution of the public school system and portrayed it as an inevitable outcome of consensus forged by a democratic society.

This field of study first assumed institutional form in 1948, when the History of Education Section appeared under the auspices of the National Society for College Teachers of Education, with the *History of Education Journal (HEJ)* serving as its official organ and Claude Eggertson as editor. A stormy debate erupted in the 1950s over the intellectual mission of educational history—utilitarian versus scholarly—virtually paralyzing that organization. In 1957, the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education formed the Committee on the Role of Education in American History in order to move *educational* history closer to *academic* history, a scholarly approach rather than an institutional narrative, a broad history of education instead of a narrow history of public schools.

The History of Education Society, an independent organization, replaced the Section in 1960. This represented more than simple institutional displacement; it symbolized the field's emergence as a legitimate area of research. The *History of Education Quarterly*, the society's "scholarly journal," replaced *HEJ* the following year. The journal was based at the University of Pittsburgh, with Ryland W. Crary as its first editor. The *Quarterly* reflected the intellectual undercurrents of the society as it moved to New York University, Indiana University, Slippery Rock University, and the University of Illinois, with Henry J. Perkinson, Paul H. Mattingly, James McLachlan, B. Edward McClellan, William J. Reese, Richard J. Altenbaugh, and James D. Anderson serving as editors at various times.

Another significant scholarly metamorphosis occurred during the 1970s. Revisionist historians introduced the concept of conflict and challenged education historians to reevaluate the role of public schooling in democratic America, generally dismissing it as a source of political, social, and economic liberation and intellectual and personal growth. Debates over the revisionist view dominated the society's annual meetings and the pages of its journal. By the late twentieth century, the field had expanded its scope, analysis, and research methods, revealing a

HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

The History of Education Society grew from the intellectual ferment and institutional transformations in the field of the history of education. Although some work in this area had been done in the late nineteenth century, Ellwood P. Cubberley and Paul Monroe formalized history of education as an academic subject with their institutional, proselytizing style during the first half of

mature and vibrant subject. It transcended the mere history of schooling by emphasizing the educational functions of other cultural institutions, like the family, religion, and media, among others.

The society began a long-term affiliation with the International Conference for the Study of the History of Education in 1988. Incorporated in 1994 as a non-profit organization, the society holds its annual meetings in different regions of North America, often sponsored with local associations like the Midwest History of Education Society, Southern History of Education Society, and Canadian History of Education Society. The History of Education Society offers a variety of prizes that recognize noteworthy, scholarly contributions.

Richard J. Altenbaugh

See also Educational Research, History of

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HISTORY STANDARDS, NATIONAL

In 1994 the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) released the “National Standards for History,” a 250-page document outlining methods and content for teaching U.S. and world history in elementary and secondary schools. The NCHS spent over two years developing the standards, which include recommendations from thirty-five national education organizations. This entry describes what led up to the report and summarizes its recommendations as well as criticisms and revisions of the standards.

Origins

The National Standards for History was developed from the National Education Goals adopted by President

George H. W. Bush and the National Governors’ Association in 1990. His successor, President Bill Clinton, signed that report into law in 1994 as the GOALS 2000, Educate America Act. GOALS 2000 was the culmination of an education reform agenda announced by President Bush in 1991, which called for national standards in the subjects of English, mathematics, science, history, and geography. The education reform agenda enjoyed broad support from both politicians and the American public.

The National History Standards Project began in 1992 with funding provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, led by Lynne Cheney, and the U.S. Department of Education, led by Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. The project’s goal was to develop an understanding of the purpose of history education in the school curriculum, successful methods for history instruction, the specific historical knowledge students should acquire, and the thought processes students should learn. The thirty-member National Council for History Standards, consisting of leaders from organizations like the American Historical Association and the National Council for Social Studies, worked with the participants of the National Assessment of Education Progress in United States History to ensure that the new National Standards for History were aligned with that organization’s work.

Standards

The National Standards for History is a curriculum guide for students in elementary and secondary school. The standards are divided into ten historical eras beginning with the migration of Asian peoples to North America and ending with the modern United States. For each era, between two and four standards describe the themes, content, and methodologies that students should master at each grade level. The specific details of assignments, activities, and content are left to individual instructors or school systems to determine.

One of the goals of the National Standards for History was to create a history curriculum that was focused not on rote learning of dates, facts, and names, but on ideas and issues in each historical era. The leaders of the NCHS also strove to make the standards as inclusive as possible, working to ensure that

the roles of women and minorities in U.S. history received a more equal footing with the traditional figures that dominate the teaching of U.S. history, such as George Washington and James Madison.

In addition to defining the historical content students should master, the standards also address the types of historical thinking that students should master by the end of high school. The standards categorize historical thinking skills into five areas: Chronological Thinking, Historical Comprehension, Historical Analysis and Interpretation, Historical Research Capabilities, and Historical Issues—Analysis and Decision-Making. The Thinking Standards are presented to assist teachers in developing lesson plans that teach not only historical content, but also the skills to understand and use that content.

Criticism and Response

The National Standards for History met fierce criticism from both politicians and educators when they were released in 1994, particularly from former National Endowment for the Humanities head Cheney. Much of the political criticism reflected the so-called “culture wars” between conservative and liberal political figures during the 1990s and focused on the standards’ expanded attention to women and minorities. Criticism from educators included complaints that the standards focused too much on small details and not enough on larger events or themes. Some educators were also concerned by the appearance of presentism, the practice of making judgments of past events or cultures based on the values or morals of the present time, as in the case of elementary school students declaring that Christopher Columbus committed genocide.

Cheney led the criticism of the National Standards for History by arguing that the standards were an example of political correctness and focused on the negative aspects of American and European history. As examples, Cheney claimed that the standards mention McCarthyism nineteen times while ignoring heroes like Ulysses S. Grant, who is included only once. Cheney also argued that the standards did not treat the failures of non-European cultures with the same rigor applied to the failures of the United States and European nations, stating that the standards discuss the

advanced nature of Aztec civilization while ignoring issues like the Aztec practice of human sacrifice.

Other critics include William J. Bannetta, a fellow of the California Academy of Sciences, who wrote that the National Standards for History ignored the role of technology and science in the development of the United States by ignoring the contributions of individuals like the Wright brothers, Thomas Edison, and Albert Einstein while focusing on figures like Booker T. Washington, who were not of the same importance.

In response to the criticism the standards received, they were revised in 1996 to accommodate recommendations of two panels organized by the Council for Basic Education, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. After reviewing the standards, the council concluded that most of the criticisms of the standards were a result of the teaching examples included in the standards, not the standards themselves.

Christopher J. Levesque

See also American Education, Themes in the History of; Citizenship Education; Democracy and Education; Ideology and Schooling; Multiculturalism, Philosophical Implications; No Child Left Behind Act; Politics of Education; Social Studies Education; Standards

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HIV/AIDS

The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a

global crisis and a leading development obstacle for many nations. There is no known cure for HIV and the cost and availability of antiretroviral therapy (ART) make treatment very expensive. The disease has affected millions of individuals and devastated several national economies and societies. Education has become an important component in efforts to stem the spread of this disease. This entry provides an overview of the epidemic and examines educational initiatives and their impact.

The Epidemic

HIV was first identified in 1981, but epidemiologists have tracked blood samples containing the HIV back to the 1950s. Several scholars designate the Great Lakes region of East Africa as the HIV epicenter, though others have argued that the epicenter also includes portions of Central Africa. An accurate number of people infected with and who have died from the disease is difficult to measure. Many individuals were pronounced dead as a result of one of several opportunistic infections, or by other names such as “slim” disease in Uganda.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the rate of disease reached epidemic levels in several global regions and, except in a few countries, continues to escalate. The *2007 AIDS Epidemic Update* by UNAIDS and the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that there are between 30.6 and 36.1 million people infected with HIV around the world. The disease has created millions of AIDS orphans. With no respect to race, gender, or social class, the disease has wreaked havoc in many nations. High-risk population groups include youth, young adults, and migrant workers, who make up significant portions of the labor supply’s most productive members.

Although HIV is a worldwide pandemic, there are vast disparities among geographic regions in the number of people living with HIV (PLHIV). Sub-Saharan Africa and the South and Southeast Asian regions account for 83 percent of the world’s total infection rates. Sub-Saharan Africa, with about 11 percent of the total world population, accounts for 76 percent of the total female infections and roughly 87 percent of all infected children. Oceania, with .5 percent of

the world’s population, represents roughly .2 percent of infection and deaths from HIV. Sub-Saharan Africa is thus overrepresented in terms of adults, children, and women infected with HIV and in the total number of deaths from AIDS. The high rates of infection and the resulting fear have led many to blame and discriminate against those who are infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS.

Because of its transmission and effects on the body, HIV and AIDS have predominantly been labeled a health-only issue. But this approach to the disease is too narrow. As early as 1987, WHO proposed a multisectoral approach to addressing HIV/AIDS. The multisectoral response has been promoted by UNAIDS and other major multi- and bilateral development agencies and has been adapted from successful multisectoral models such as those of Uganda, Senegal, and the United States. Governments and the international community have stressed inclusion, participation, and cooperation with non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, faith-based organizations, and the private sector to increase the effectiveness, outreach, and reduce duplicate efforts by multiple actors in the HIV response. This multisectoral strategy brings together community members, health care providers, religious leaders, government agencies, the business community, and school personnel and administrators in a comprehensive response to HIV and AIDS under one umbrella plan directed by the government and a coordinating council of stakeholders. Government commitment, multisectoral collaboration between government sectors, political stability, and a democratic society are all precursors for an effective HIV/AIDS education campaign. Well-formulated and context-relevant national HIV/AIDS strategic frameworks and policy statements are essential documents that provide coordination underpinnings to a successful multisectoral response.

Educational Initiatives

The education sector is an essential component of the multisectoral approach in countries that have reduced their HIV-seroprevalence rates. Education attainment is a potential predictor to poverty reduction and the

overall health within a country. Further, some studies show a negative relationship between education and seroprevalence rates. Education is considered an essential means to influence knowledge and create behavior changes in youth. Formal education interventions include strategies based on abstinence, being faithful within a relationship, and condom use (i.e., the ABCs of HIV prevention); inclusion of HIV/AIDS in the curriculum; and school-supported programs such as peer-education groups, school clubs, dramatizations, and in-service training for teachers and administrators.

While schools are positioned as ideal settings for successful behavioral communication change (BCC), schools are not always the best avenue for disseminating life skills. Depending on the curricular requirements, administrative support, and teacher knowledge, schools can be limited in what is offered by means of HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and stigma. If teachers lack sufficient training regarding the disease, it is doubtful that they will be willing or able to share the necessary life-saving skills for successful HIV/AIDS-prevention education. Therefore, other, nonformal education avenues must also be taken to achieve successful HIV/AIDS-education dissemination to the target student population. Parents, family and community members, peer groups, the mass media, voluntary counseling and testing services, literacy programs, and cultural performances (such as dramas that focus on the disease) are successful, nonformal, education media through which HIV/AIDS-prevention messages can occur.

AIDS stigma is a leading impediment to AIDS education efforts, which in turn creates a major obstacle to effective prevention, treatment, and care of the disease. AIDS stigma is a social construct that can take on many different forms, causing victims to be rejected, isolated, blamed, or ashamed. Education efforts can help curb the negative and vicious cycle that inevitably results from AIDS stigma and help prevent children from dropping out of school, unnecessary marginalization, and increased suffering. In an effort to stem stigma and increase accurate knowledge about prevention and transmission, it is necessary that government leaders, school administrators, and teachers address AIDS stigma in schools.

Research on Education's Impact

Education and HIV/AIDS exist in a cyclical relationship, influencing and being influenced by the other. Education impacts an individual's knowledge, behavior, and attitudes toward the disease. Recent studies have shown an education effect on HIV infection rates, with better educated individuals having lower infection rates, more knowledge about HIV and AIDS, and greater acceptance of PLHIV. Inversely, HIV infection negatively impacts both the teaching workforce and student attendance. HIV infection and AIDS among teachers and administrators increases absenteeism from illness, reduces productivity, and eventually depletes the teaching workforce and knowledge base in several countries faster than it can be replaced. HIV also impacts student learning, as students with infected family members are required to drop out of school to care for ill family members, take employment to compensate for lost income from ill caregivers, or care for younger siblings. In the face of escalating adversity, education is perhaps the most essential means for prevention of HIV and AIDS and ultimately overcoming the global pandemic.

W. James Jacob and John M. Collins

See also Sex Education

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HOLISTIC EDUCATION

Though the principles, perspectives, and frameworks of *holistic education* can be traced far back in recorded history to early philosophical and religious teachings, the contemporary use of the term is rather new. Definitions, methods, philosophies, and descriptions of holistic education have varied somewhat among educators and scholars as it has been viewed from different perspectives, but it is basically concerned with educating the whole person—body, mind, and soul—to develop his or her fullest potential. This entry looks at the field's historical background and the principles behind its practice.

Background

The terms *holism* and *holistic* were coined by Jan Smuts from the Greek words *holus*, which means “whole,” and *holon*, which means “entity.” Smuts saw holism as a process of creative evolution in which the tendency of nature is to form wholes that are greater than the sum of their parts. He developed a philosophy of holism early in the twentieth century that viewed reality as organic and evolutionary, including both its material and spiritual aspects. These ideas, which were published in his most important book, *Holism*

and Evolution, in 1926, have recently become more accepted, though holistic educators do not generally regard Smuts as an important influence.

The historical philosophical and psychological figures who are considered to have more directly influenced the field of holistic education often include Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, Maria Montessori, Rudolf Steiner, Carl Jung, Jiddu Krishnamurti, Alfred North Whitehead, and Abraham Maslow. A more recent list of influences on holistic education might include the following individuals: Carl Rogers, Marilyn Ferguson, Fritjof Capra, Joseph Chilton Pearce, David Bohm, Douglas Sloan, Ken Wilber, P. Parker Palmer, and Theodore Roszak. Although none of these individuals identified themselves as holistic educators or would be identified as leaders of holistic education, their ideas and writings have been an influence on the field. John Miller and Ron Miller are current writers who identify with holistic education and are considered leading figures in the field.

From the list of influences above it can be seen that holistic education has some relation to and can to some extent be identified with, but not limited to, traditions of romanticism, transcendentalism, humanism, systems theory, and integralism.

Philosophic Principles

Holistic education has developed largely as a reaction to what its proponents view as the mechanistic, reductionistic, and materialistic conceptions that have come to dominate popular thinking and education in the last century. As they see it, the result of these paradigms has been a fragmented and limited approach to human development and education that has led to a focus on developing physical, behavioral, and intellectual capacities for economic and material benefits while ignoring or discounting social, emotional, psychological, moral, creative, aesthetic, and spiritual natures and capacities. Holistic education has emerged out of a need to address this imbalance and the growing disillusionment in some circles with what are viewed as dysfunctional approaches to further individual and collective human interests and potentialities. As holistic education challenges the dominant worldview and practice in education, it

has been marginalized, and its influence in educational, scientific, and political areas limited.

Holistic educators believe that the body, mind, and soul are integral aspects of human nature that should be considered in treating the whole person, and that holistic education is a more defensible, practical, and effective approach to developing well-balanced and healthy people who can be valued contributors to society according to their potentialities and the opportunities available to them. Until all aspects of the human being and the environment are properly treated in education, these educators believe individuals and humanity will suffer from a lack of balance and the denial of part of their reality.

Holistic education views all aspects of life as interconnected, interrelated, and interdependent. As such, it is ecological and global, encouraging an understanding and appreciation of multiple contexts and connections. Proponents hold that when people disconnect or dissociate from reality, and especially from parts of themselves, they are limiting development. Besides considering the whole person—physically, mentally, and spiritually—holistic educators see a need to recognize that people affect their environment and their environment affects them.

Holistic educators are especially concerned with the failure of modern education to consider the emotional, social, and spiritual natures of students. It seeks to develop the full potential of the person in a humanistic fashion that recognizes and honors each individual's unique talents and capacities. Holistic education sees active positive engagement in relationships with the world and others as one of the most powerful means of authentic education. It believes in the innate goodness of people and that they will develop into happy, healthy, and well-balanced individuals given the right conditions.

Education then is primarily a drawing out or unfolding of the individual's potentialities, not a dispensing of information or instilling of learning. To do this requires the educators to be well developed themselves and to be sensitive, knowledgeable, and creative in helping their students realize their true natures. Holistic education encourages individual and collective responsibility in an ongoing quest for greater realization, fulfillment, meaning, understanding, and

connection. Proponents find traditional education harmful in that it fragments and compartmentalizes knowledge and learning into subjects and discrete unconnected units, encourages competition over compassion and cooperation, and is subject and teacher centered rather than spirit and learner centered. Holistic education sees the whole as greater than the sum of its parts and that the whole-system approach requires moving from the limitations of a rationalistic, linear, and simple approach to a more intuitive, nonlinear, and complex view. It connects and makes a relationship among linearity and intuition; body, mind, and spirit; the individual and the collective; and the many and varied forms of knowing and knowledge. As a result, individuals educated holistically attain a degree of autonomy and authenticity that allows them to be progressive agents in advancing their own and others' development and welfare.

Rodney H. Clarken

See also Waldorf Education

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HOLMES GROUP

Initially comprised of primarily deans of education from universities across the United States, and chaired by Dr. Judith E. Lanier (then Dean of the College of Education at Michigan State University), the Holmes Group convened in 1983 in response to charges that in order to effectively impact the educational landscape, leaders in higher education needed to become more involved in reform efforts, especially in the area of teacher education. From an initial goal of establishing updated and higher standards for teacher education,

the Holmes Group grew to include over a hundred research universities and broadened its focus to encompass an ambitious reform agenda impacting both teacher education and the teaching profession.

In focusing attention on teacher education reform, the Holmes Group established five framing goals aimed at producing teachers better prepared to effectively teach in the “real world” of contemporary classrooms. They argued for making the education of teachers more intellectually rigorous and for establishing entrance requirements to the profession. In addition, the Holmes Group recognized the essential need for connecting more effectively and collegially with schools. By encouraging teacher educators from the universities to work more closely in school settings and by inviting K–12 teachers to be more integrally involved in the preparation of preservice teachers, the Holmes Group envisioned a “simultaneous renewal” effect occurring, thus enhancing the preparation of preservice teachers while also improving schools as places where teachers work and learn.

This emphasis on collaboration between universities and public schools broke with much previous interaction between these entities that tended to be top-down models in which university professors dispensed the results of their research and prescribed best practices to teachers, often without recognizing constraints and obstacles faced in the constantly changing contexts of contemporary classrooms. The Holmes Group’s model also recognized and validated the importance and role of teacher-practitioner knowledge in informing and supporting the preparation of preservice teachers. From this model came the concept the Holmes Group is perhaps most recognized for, the development of new institutions called Professional Developments Schools (PDS).

In 1996, the Holmes Group commissioned a study chaired by Dr. Michael Fullan, an acknowledged authority on organizational change, to evaluate the group’s accomplishments and to identify progress made toward its goals. This study indicated that effecting the systemic reform of education in the United States could not be achieved by any one reform effort. Consequently, the Holmes Group broadened its base from universities and schools to include formalized partnerships with seven other

organizations representing professional educators. Thus, the Holmes Group became the Holmes Partnership. Although the name changed, the goals for the new partnership remained the same—improving teacher education and the teaching profession.

Cathy J. Siebert

See also Educational Reform; Teacher Preparation

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- National Association of Professional Development Schools: <http://napds.missouri.edu>

HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

The Holocaust, led by Germany’s Adolf Hitler, was the systematic slaughter (1941–1945) of 11 million people, including 6 million Jews (1½ million of whom were children) and 5 million others, including homosexuals, disabled people, Roma (Gypsies), Jehovah’s Witnesses, and political prisoners. This entry briefly summarizes the facts of the Holocaust and discusses how it has been treated in schools.

Historical Background

As the Nazi war machine rolled across Europe during World War II, Jews and others in each successively conquered country were identified, registered, removed from their homes and held in ghettos, rounded up, and shipped in cattle cars without proper food, water, or sanitation to more than one hundred forced labor, concentration, and extermination camps. They were held in inhuman conditions, starved, tortured, and disease

ridden. Many died from these conditions; others (particularly the elderly and children whose labor would have no value to the German state) were immediately sent to gas chambers. Hitler wanted nothing less than to eradicate the Jews, to render them an extinct race. He very nearly succeeded; one in ten Jewish children in Europe survived his murderous rampage.

In the sixty years since the end of the World War II, it has become clear that Hitler redefined the meaning of genocide through his efficient use of technology. In Bosnia, Chechnya, Rwanda, and the Sudan, to name but a few locations, genocide has proceeded with little outside intervention. Moreover, in spite of the world's horror at what Hitler wrought, a revitalized, more virulent strain of anti-Semitism (often conflated with anti-Zionism and criticism of the state of Israel) has gathered momentum in Europe, the Middle East, and North America, particularly in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

This has taken place despite efforts to provide education about the Holocaust. Because some have viewed the Holocaust primarily as a Jewish issue rather than a human one, Holocaust education has rarely been central to public school curricula. History textbooks may devote only a page or two to what some argue was the defining event of the last century; many teachers, hesitant to approach this difficult history, choose to ignore it entirely. A recent poll of 4,000 people in Britain revealed that half of them had never heard of the Holocaust.

Educational Approach

Guided by John Dewey's vision, contemporary education is often reluctant to examine the darker side of human history and behavior. Nel Noddings notes that American curriculum veers away from treating anything that suggests grief. Against this, theorist Marla Morris posits the model of a "dystopic" curriculum that would admit the presence of the Holocaust and the darker, more realistic view of human nature that entails. This is uncertain ground for teachers whose own pedagogical training may have provided little experience with engaging complex moral dilemmas.

Holocaust education has generally not been included in the antiracist curriculum developed and

implemented in the last twenty years. Where *race* is construed narrowly as determined only by skin color, anti-Semitism is not included. Prevailing opinion prior to 9/11 was that antipathy to the Jews was a thing of the past, that the world would "never again" target them for violence. As a result of this, some assert that anti-Semitism is the least explored "ism" in a politically correct world. Textbooks used in the schools of the Arab Middle East make no mention of the Holocaust; many North American Muslims have never heard of this event. Holocaust scholar Alvin Rosenfeld maintains that where there has been good Holocaust education, anti-Semitism cannot logically follow.

The two pivotal points of cultural reference for the existence of the Holocaust are the extermination camp at Auschwitz and Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl*, the journal of a fourteen-year-old Jewish girl in hiding from the Nazis. Anne's *Diary* has sold 31 million copies in 67 languages. Across the boundaries of culture, gender, and time, students continue to recognize Anne's name, know that she wrote a diary, and want to read it. As such, this text may provide a worthwhile entry point for approaching the complex topic of the Holocaust across a variety of classroom subject areas and grade levels. Anne's struggle to believe that people were fundamentally "good at heart" reflects her moral choice to embrace goodness while understanding the potential for evil residing within each human being.

An abundance of testimony and excellent curricula have been developed to aid teachers in teaching about the Holocaust; much of this is easily accessible through the Internet. George Santayana warned that those who fail to remember their own history are doomed to repeat it. Thus, Holocaust education has a critical role to play in mainstream human rights education.

Lesley Shore

See also Discrimination and Prejudice; Eugenics; Human Rights Education; Peace Education

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Facing History and Ourselves: <http://www.facinghistory.org>

HOMELESS CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS, EDUCATION OF

Families with children, as well as unaccompanied children, comprise a large percentage of those who are considered homeless in the United States. The changing face of the homeless has shifted from an unemployed adult without a family to working families who simply cannot afford to pay for housing on their incomes. These families keep up with their housing payments as long as they can, but when unexpected financial hardships arise (loss of job, unforeseen medical costs, car accidents, and so on) and the family cannot make their housing payment, the result is loss of housing.

Homeless children have consistently displayed academic and emotional problems, as well as poor social skills. In addition to these factors, homeless children are disproportionately at risk for health problems and

often suffer from malnutrition. This entry briefly describes how homelessness affects all aspects of a child's life and then looks at some educational approaches that may help homeless children.

Impact of Homelessness

Homeless children seldom receive the routine medical examinations that are recommended for all children, thus they receive little to no preventive medical care. The result is that homeless children are often in poor health and are often chronically ill, both of which adversely affect their development. Families are often denied access to shelters if a family member is ill, and this leads to periods of time spent sleeping outdoors, often in inclement weather. More than children who are not homeless, homeless children are affected by common childhood illnesses such as respiratory infections, ear infections, skin disease, common colds and flus, and diarrhea. Hunger and malnutrition are other factors that adversely affect homeless children's health.

In addition to physical health, homelessness also adversely affects children's development and often leads to psychological and behavioral problems. Homeless children's lives can be described as chaotic. Living in a shelter, on the street, or in an automobile is not conducive to getting a good night's sleep. Homeless children often suffer from sleep disorders and/or sleep deprivation, which can often be linked to short attention spans, distractibility, and an inability to see a task through from start to finish. Behavioral and psychological problems that homeless children are disproportionately affected by, include but are in no way limited to, the following: short attention span; aggression; separation anxiety; poor social interactions; delays in gross, motor, speech, and language development; high levels of stress; and depression. These health, developmental, behavioral, and psychological dynamics make it no surprise that homeless children are also typically behind their peers academically.

Schools for the Homeless

To meet the myriad needs of homeless children, individuals and groups have founded schools that educate solely homeless children. One such example is the

Thomas J. Pappas Education Center in Phoenix, Arizona. The school, founded in 1990, serves a large number of students in kindergarten through eighth grade. The Pappas School is founded on the principle that homeless children face extreme amounts of humiliation and stress in traditional public schools, and removing these feelings will foster academic achievement, as well as psychological, emotional, and behavioral development. The school is designed to give homeless children the kind of stability that housed children have in traditional public schools. This stability is believed to foster homeless children's abilities to make and maintain friendships, which is believed to directly affect a student's ability to thrive in other areas of their lives.

Upon enrolling in the Pappas School, each student is met by a counselor, nurse, outreach worker, and Welcoming Center coordinator to assess the individual child's needs. After assessments are made, and the student's needs are identified, a member from the team designs an individualized learning plan. This plan includes how to deal with academic, emotional, behavioral, and psychological needs. The school also attends to additional needs; for example, the clothing room distributes clothing, food, and toiletries.

The school's academic structure is quite different than that in traditional public schools. Reading, writing, and mathematics are the core subjects at the Pappas School. Children are grouped, by their abilities, into MALTs (multi-age learning teams). Students progress as their abilities, and not their age, dictates. Students are classified by, but not grouped by, their grade level. Classrooms are also structured under the premise that behavior problems will be the norm, not the exception. Students' behavioral problems are dealt with in a positive, problem-solving manner, and not a punitive manner.

While the Pappas School provides an example of an entire school that is designed to serve homeless children, a majority of schools consisting exclusively of homeless children are one-room schools that are located within a shelter. Children of all ages and abilities are all in one classroom, where the teachers are usually not required to follow standards and curricula dictated by the states to traditional public schools. The basic premise of schools that exclusively serve

children who are homeless is that these children have a great deal of stress and uncertainty in their lives, and schools should be designed to meet all of their needs (with the exception of housing) on site. There should be no need to access outside community resources to meet a child's needs when the school can do it all in one place. This is in direct opposition to the prevailing ideas of how traditional public schools can meet the needs of homeless children.

Other Educational Approaches

One dominant model that public schools employ to meet the needs of homeless children is often called the communities of learning model. The model is founded on the principle that schools know how to best educate children, but homeless children need more support than is typically given to the average student in order to succeed academically. They also recognize that the other factors (behavioral, psychological, emotional, etc.) that children must cope with will have a dramatic effect on their ability to learn. Therefore, communities of learning incorporate family support, adult education opportunities, the expertise of social service providers, and the expertise of school employees to best meet homeless students' needs.

In this model, schools work with shelters and other service providers to forge a partnership that results in a collaborative effort that best meets homeless students' needs. There are tutoring programs: adult education programs that also provide transportation and day care; and supportive services such as counseling, behavior therapy, and so on that are offered in locations which are convenient to children and their parents. An important piece of the program is the adult education component because parents who value education are more likely to promote the values of education to their children. Many schools do not possess the desire or the ability to institute a community-of-care model. This does not, however, mean that these schools are not doing anything to better serve homeless youth.

A common practice in schools that are actively attempting to better serve their homeless students is to have their staff go through intensive training on the issues surrounding homelessness. It is important for all staff who come in direct contact with students to

receive training, and the training should in no way be limited to teachers and administrators. Secretaries, bus drivers, and other support staff are often the first contact a student has with a school employee. Unfortunately, these individuals seldom receive the kind of training that is necessary to sensitize them to the needs of homeless children. This training is necessary because these employees often set the tone for the type of experience a student will have.

In addition to educating the school community, many programs reach out to the larger community to educate the general public on the issues of homelessness, how children are affected, what can be done, and so on. The common elements of public schools' efforts to best meet the needs of homeless children are as follows: collaboration with outside service providers, transportation and child care assistance, teacher and staff training, availability of tutoring, adult education opportunities, focusing on the relationship between the curriculum and the children's daily life experiences, and flexibility.

While not all elements of a child's life can directly be affected by their schooling, schools are an integral piece in the comprehensive approach that is needed to make substantial gains in a child's chances to flourish as an adult. It should not be assumed that the school should be solely responsible for implementing programs that can have a positive influence on the lives of homeless children. Schools, working in conjunction with parents, social service providers, and other community resources, should all come together to realize the dramatic effects they can have on homeless children.

Joshua Diem

See also Economic Inequality

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- National Coalition for the Homeless: <http://www.nationalhomeless.org>

HOMESCHOOLING

Homeschooling is in some ways the newest and most radical form of private education in the United States—and is, from another perspective, the oldest and most basic approach, as children have always learned from their families. Homeschooling is in some ways the ultimate type of privatization, as it is typically privately funded, privately provided, and (almost fully) privately regulated by parents in the home. About 1.35 million children in the country are being formally and officially educated by their parents or guardians at home—after a titanic struggle between 1975 and 1999 to legalize the effort, as homeschooling was once deemed a violation of “compulsory education” policies in all fifty states. This entry traces the history of that struggle, the pros and cons of the practice, and how it is typically implemented.

The Right to Homeschool

Groups like the National Home School Legal Defense Association have fought in court and in legislatures to

assure parents the right to homeschool; now all fifty states recognize the prerogatives of the family as the primary educator. However, universal *public* education stands as the central principle of most modern societies, with laws requiring that children attend schools from ages about six to eighteen. Homeschooling only became a sticky judicial and policy issue because of these state compulsory education requirements. While some states require parents to report to local school superintendents on their children's homeschooling progress, all now allow parents to ignore compulsory education and teach their children themselves at home.

Although parents initially wanted to extricate their children from the hands of the state, some families are now turning back to the public schools to help their children. Families are requesting access to after-school activities at their local public schools (e.g., sports, games, club activities), admission to classes/courses that parents feel unqualified to teach (such as physics, calculus, or the German language), or special services such as speech pathology, counseling, and testing-diagnostic services. While homeschooling parents once fought legally and politically to escape the control of the public schools, some are now pushing the system to admit their children to activities and services that the children may need.

Parents and their advocates such as the National Legal Defense Association have (a) created a strong political base in the United States; (b) built a fast-reacting lobbying mechanism that unites a range of families and interest groups around issues of concern to these parents; and (c) increasingly placed homeschooling in the public eye, such as when homeschooled children have won the National Spelling Bee. Leaders of the homeschooling movement understand the importance of the war of words and ideas, and have done well in entering the spotlight and the hearts of Americans.

Pros and Cons

Interest in homeschooling differs by family, but some patterns do emerge. The majority of homeschoolers, about 60 percent, are Christian families who may find the values and behaviors in public schools intolerable. Sex education, absence of prayer and Bible study, and

the lack of lessons grounded in Scripture, for example, may make these parents uncomfortable.

Other examples of homeschoolers include parents whose children are in need of special attention (as with gifted, special needs, psychologically troubled children) and who want to handle these problems or concerns themselves at home. Thus, while some parents come to homeschooling for religious or philosophical reasons, other families mainly consider the homeschooling option after the traditional schools have failed to meet the needs of their children.

Many parents worry that public schools are physically dangerous environments; that is, they are seen as filled with drugs, violence, and other physical dangers to the very lives of their children. With the development of Internet technology and printed curricular materials, parents can now buy or download lessons and activities that help them keep current with the latest teaching methods and materials. And homeschooling networks may make up for the isolation, as students and their parents can use the Internet to get assistance with questions and problems, and to connect to one another in a worldwide education network and social community.

Four arguments are often heard when people defend public schools and attack homeschooling. First, critics argue that homeschooling removes children from the wider community—isolating them from important social experiences of schooling. Second, parents who homeschool are not usually trained, licensed educators; thus some critics believe that these families cannot teach their children to high enough standards. Third, homeschooling also diverts interest and in some cases funds from public schools, since many state and local funding formulas are based on Average Daily Attendance (ADA). And fourth, homeschooling is seen as a selfish effort to remove children from the mainstream—and thus their parents from supporting public schools—for example, when bond issues, budgets, and programs are up for public scrutiny and votes.

In important ways, homeschooling is a peek into the future, as Americans take control of their lives and work to overcome the influences of large institutions. While public education in the United States is a major institution based on key familial values, so too is homeschooling an active national return to rugged

individualism. Research seems to show that home-schooled children do as well as public school students on tests and are just as likely to go on to college. So the end result of homeschooling is in keeping with the overall purposes and products of K–12 education in the United States.

Bruce S. Cooper

See also Privatization; School Choice

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HOMEWORK

Homework has been a controversial issue in American education for over 100 years, and the arguments have changed little over time. Proponents of homework believe that it promotes increased learning, better study habits, and improved home-school communication. Opponents argue that it deprives children of time to spend on other worthwhile pursuits (including play), usurps parents' rights to plan their children's time after school, increases the achievement gap between higher and lower socioeconomic classes, harms children's health, and fails to produce academic benefits.

Parents have generally favored moderate amounts of homework, but educators' support for homework has been somewhat cyclical. In the nineteenth century, when pedagogy was based on drill, memorization, and recitation, homework was necessary if students were going to be able to recite memorized lessons in class. Students probably found it boring, repetitive, and exhausting, but there was little organized opposition to it.

Organized criticism of homework began in the 1890s. Physicians cited the health dangers of homework, such as curvature of the spine, stress, and eye strain, as reasons to abolish homework. Then in 1897, Dr. Joseph Mayer Rice reported that spelling practice at home did not even lead to better spelling.

Attacks on homework increased during the progressive education movement of the early twentieth century. Progressive educators favored meaningful learning through experience, so old-fashioned homework based on memorization was incompatible with their pedagogy and philosophy. Moreover, they believed that teaching should be based on scientific principles known only to trained teachers, so parents attempting to help their children with homework would only confuse them. Antihomework activists succeeded in making their position educational dogma in 1941, when the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* published an article that stated that “research evidence is none too favorable to homework.”

Since the progressive era, favorable opinions toward homework have been more common during campaigns for academic excellence. Homework came back into favor during the Cold War era of the 1950s and 1960s, when more rigor in education was seen as essential to national defense. After increasing in the early 1960s, homework decreased during the Vietnam era, when attention shifted to social issues. After the publication of the report *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, support for homework reemerged as part of the back-to-basics movement meant to preserve the economic position of the United States. Educators, parents, and policy makers all generally favored homework during the 1980s and 1990s. There is still substantial support for homework, and the amount of time students spend on homework has increased slightly in recent years.

There are still concerns about homework, however. Research shows that homework is more likely to be associated with achievement gains as students get older, but recently students in the primary grades are the ones most likely to receive extra homework. Inequities in resources at home for the completion of homework may increase the achievement gap between wealthier and poorer students. According to Etta Kralovec and John Buell, homework-induced stress even causes some students to drop out of school. The ramifications of assigning homework may be far less, or far greater, than a teacher expects.

Pamela P. Hufnagel

See also *Nation at Risk*, A; *Progressive Education*; *Sputnik*

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HOMOPHOBIA

Homophobia, defined as an irrational fear of, aversion to, or discrimination against homosexuals, continues to be a rampant problem in North American schools. Homophobia derives from heterosexist ideology, that is, the belief that heterosexuality is inherently superior to, and justifiably dominant over, nonheterosexuality in its various forms. Heterosexism manifests in two main forms: cultural heterosexism, the stigmatization, denial, or denigration of nonheterosexuality in cultural institutions; and psychological heterosexism, a person's internalization of this worldview, which erupts into homophobia. The world of schooling, which requires attendance and is charged with teaching, nurturing, developing minds and bodies, has frequently proven to be fertile ground for perpetuating both sorts of heterosexism. Manifestations of heterosexism are woven throughout curricula, and homophobic attitudes

commonly erupt into verbal and physical harassment/violence among school peers, often with teachers and administrators doing little to interrupt it.

Most first-grade children already have ideas about what it means to be gay, even though much of what they have learned may well be incorrect, born of fear and prejudice rather than factual information. Derogatory epithets surface among peers during primary education and become routine in high school, where homophobia often ripens into verbal and physical abuse. Schools are in a position to correct children's misinformation early on, but this unenviable position as a fierce battleground for this divisive issue prompts many teachers and administrators to avoid such conflicts by conflating gay and lesbian identity with "talk about sex," labeling both "age inappropriate." Much peer harassment goes uncorrected by teachers who are afraid to address students directly on issues of sexual identity, not because of teachers' animus against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (henceforth LGBTQ) people, but because they feel ineffective dealing with such issues.

While pressures of coming into sexual identity are difficult for all adolescents, LGBTQ teens face particular struggles. Fearing being labeled lesbian or gay, or facing those feelings in oneself, inhibits development of close relationships with members of the same sex in *all* youth, not just gay and lesbian teens. However, LGBTQ teenagers are especially preoccupied with their social discomfort, often encountering difficulty concentrating in class, shunning classroom participation, shying away from extracurricular activities, and dropping out of school. With few traditional support structures to lean on for help, LGBTQ youth often perceive themselves to be stranded in an environment that shuns their very existence.

These negative sentiments damage the self-esteem of LGBTQ adolescents and increase the likelihood of self-destructive behavior. Thus, LGBTQ youth are one of the nation's highest risk groups. Many LGBTQ teens fend off accusations of being lesbian or gay by engaging in premature heterosexual involvement, leading to high percentages of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease. Further, LGBTQ youth are not only more likely than their heterosexual peers to use drugs and drink alcohol to excess, but studies on youth

suicide consistently find that they are two to six times more likely to attempt suicide than other youth.

The situation in schools is dire for LGBTQ teens, but they are not alone in suffering the consequences of heterosexist manifestations in schools. Curricula on the family are standard fare in most elementary schools. Yet, most progressive approaches to diverse family constellations still do not embrace discussions of families with same-sex parents despite the fact that 6 to 14 million children in the United States are reared by at least one gay or lesbian parent and that as many as one family in four includes a lesbian or gay member. The educational system's function as a heteronormative community creates confusing scenarios for children torn between love for their families and the need for acceptance by peers and teachers.

Further, while lesbians and gay men are growing more visible in many walks of North American life, teachers who come out in school still risk harassment, dismissal, and physical violence. Thirty-nine states have no employment protection for lesbian and gay teachers, so coming out is both financially and psychologically risky. Regardless of merit, vast numbers of dedicated LGB teachers do not feel physically safe in school because of their sexual identity.

Heterosexism has not been without challenge in schools. The National Education Association (NEA) adopted their Code of Ethics in 1975, which specifically states that educators shall not exclude, deny benefits, or grant advantages to students because of sexual orientation. Online organizations educate citizens about how to promote educational policies and reforms that can foster the health and well-being of lesbian and gay students. Chapters of PFLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) in some school districts provide support, education, and advocacy for sexually diverse students, teachers, and families. GLSEN (Gay, Lesbian and Straight Educational Network) has also developed a presence in many communities by providing assistance in setting up gay-straight alliances in schools, providing educational materials, and lobbying legislative bodies.

That said, conservative Christian groups, like Focus on the Family and the Eagle Forum, continue to expend enormous amounts of time and financial resources fighting the efforts of the National

Education Association and lesbian-gay advocacy groups. With growing numbers of gay-straight student alliances now in existence, many of these opposition groups have shifted their focus to the curriculum, hoping to prohibit any discussion of LGBTQ issues, even in sex education classrooms.

Teachers, counselors, administrators, and teacher educators, who so frequently have deemed questions of sexual diversity to be outside their purview, undoubtedly will be called upon to take a stand in the battle to create environments that are both physically and psychologically safe from the often-disastrous effects of homophobia in schools.

Susan Birden

See also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students: Advocacy Groups for; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students and Teachers: Rights of; Sexuality, Gender, and Education

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HORACE MANN SCHOOL (NEW YORK CITY)

Established in 1887 by Nicholas Murray Butler in New York City, the Horace Mann School captured two late-nineteenth-century trends in secondary schooling: the country day school, which combined the rigor of boarding schools with outdoor physical exercise; and the progressive school, which aimed to counter the sterility of public schools. As president of the Industrial Education Association, which trained underprivileged girls in domestic skills, Butler spearheaded an effort to expand the curriculum to include academic subjects as well, but he also wanted to train teachers

specifically for this unique curriculum. He changed the school's name to the New York College for the Training of Teachers and also founded the Model School, as part of Teachers College, where students could observe and practice teaching methods; soon after, the school was renamed the Horace Mann School.

Shortly after Teachers College and Columbia University became affiliated in 1897, the Horace Mann School moved to the Morningside Heights area of New York City, where it remained until 1914. In that year, the Boys' School moved to the school's present location at 246th Street in the Bronx. In addition, it moved away from the original philosophy of Teachers College; its mission was to prepare boys for college or business life through a full schedule of courses, extracurricular activities, and athletics. The Girls' School stayed at Morningside Heights until 1940 when it merged with the Lincoln School, which took on a more experimental approach to teaching. In 1946, the Horace Mann-Lincoln School closed.

The remaining Horace Mann School was able to separate financially from Teachers College and become an independent day school for boys, with an official charter granted in 1951. Through a series of mergers with other schools, including the New York School for Nursery Years and Barnard School, Horace Mann reestablished coeducation and took on its present organization. Since the early 1970s, boys and girls have been educated together in the school's four divisions: Nursery (three-year-olds to kindergarten age), Lower (kindergarten to fifth grade), Middle (sixth to eighth grade), and Upper (ninth to twelfth grade).

Today, the Horace Mann School has three campuses: in Manhattan; Riverdale (Bronx); and Washington, Connecticut.

The liberal arts are emphasized in its curriculum, which centers on five "core values," including the "life of the mind," which encourages analytical thinking early on; "mature behavior," in which students are expected to illustrate age-appropriate behavior; "mutual respect," which fosters respect for diversity; "a secure and healthful environment," which secures a climate free from sexual harassment, racism, or other behaviors that hinder the learning process; and "a balance between individual achievement and a caring community," which helps students to look beyond themselves. In addition to

its rigorous academics (twenty advanced placement courses and eight foreign languages), the Horace Mann School also boasts a national reputation for extensive extracurricular activities (including an award-winning weekly student newspaper), more than 220 faculty members (many of whom hold advanced degrees), and a diverse student body.

Mary K. Clingerman

See also Teachers College, Columbia University

See Visual History Chapter 10, Kindergartens

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HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

Education is considered a basic human right. Human rights education, however, is the dissemination of knowledge about people's rights and responsibilities individually and collectively in relation to their society (locally, nationally, and internationally). In 1924, the League of Nations endorsed the first Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The United Nations Charter (1945) also laid much of the groundwork for the Convention by urging nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Yet, it was not until 1989 that the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child. All but two countries have ratified this Convention (United States and Somalia). The principles are overwhelmingly supported by governments, their implementation less so.

Greater attention has been paid to the development of human rights education, particularly since the United Nations General Assembly recommended and put forth the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education from 1995 to 2004. During this decade, the

hope was to develop a plan of action at local, national, and international levels for the dissemination and promotion of human rights. Eight key target areas were identified, among them three related to education: (1) integration of human rights standards into educational curricula; (2) introduction of human rights standards into literacy education; and (3) promotion of nonformal and mass human rights education programs.

Curricular development in human rights education has focused largely on teaching the basic principles of fundamental human rights as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The ideals of fostering tolerance and respect for oneself and others are at the fore of these rights. The goal is for individuals to understand and exercise their fundamental rights, as recognized at local and international levels; where human rights are not protected at the regional level, efforts to secure those individual rights should be a matter of international humanitarian law.

The United Nations' goal is to have human rights education permeate all levels of schooling and all

levels of the community. Human rights education is often taught as a specific discipline, for example, as citizenship education, but it can also be part of all the disciplines, thus developing an inherent ethos embedded in the educational program. These principles underpin human rights education; the implementation and emphasis of human rights education widely diverge in different local and national contexts.

Dianne Gereluk

See also Citizenship Education; Rights of Students; Social Justice, Education for

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I

IDEOLOGY AND SCHOOLING

Ideology may be viewed as the influence of ideas and beliefs in people's lives, but it also can be seen as something much more complex involving politics and power. As a political concept and practice, schooling represents a set of processes that mirrors perspectives of a society's vision about the present and the future. Such visions, desires, and beliefs are deeply rooted in the ideological framework of each individual. In essence, what schooling is and what it means to be schooled depends upon particular readings and the imagination and aspiration of present and future societies, which are clearly based on particular ideological frameworks. Such ideological perceptions are totally linked by religious, cultural, political, and economic dynamics that decisively shape one's vision of social reality.

Schools do not simply process people, but they process knowledge as well. In order to fully understand schools as institutions that process knowledge, one has to recognize them as institutions that have an ideological function. Schools are sites of political and cultural struggles. The curriculum serves to construct a web of assumptions that is legitimized and incorporated into an intimate relation with socialization practices and knowledge formulation processes.

Understanding schooling as an ideological device implicitly recognizes it as a form of social control—that is, as a normative and disciplinary device. At worst, such control may be despotic, but even in the

best sense, schools represent a hegemonic framework of co-option and coercion strategies. What is at stake in schools' ideological function? It is how knowledge is selected, diffused, and evaluated. It is in this context that the historical evolution and development of public education in the United States must be understood. This entry looks at the relationship between ideology and schooling as it has played out in the United States.

Who Decides Content?

Schooling as a form of social control is clearly evident in curriculum content. Thus, the way in which knowledge is structured in schooling is profoundly connected to the principles of social control in a given society. Since Aristotle, societies have been confronted with ideological tensions over what knowledge should be taught in schools. Certainly, the history of the curriculum field in the United States since its inception at the end of the nineteenth century is a clear-cut demonstration of the ideological battles in which particular interest groups—humanists, developmentalists, social meliorists, and social efficiency experts—argue for control over what will be viewed as knowledge. In fact, what, how much, and who will be learned through schooling is deeply determined by these ideological battles.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the social efficiency model of schooling was the dominant ideological model at work in schools in the United States. Following Taylor's rationale and influenced by perspectives put forward by other educational leaders

such as Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, and Ralph Tyler, and despite opposition and resistance in the work of John Dewey, George S. Counts, and Harold Rugg, the scientific/behavioral management social efficiency model remained so powerful because it was wisely able to incorporate both dominant and non-dominant traditions.

Such dominant ideological tendencies and strategies in schooling would become even more marked and refined with the advent of the New Right policies promulgated by Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States during the late 1970s. In this process, schooling came to be increasingly challenged by the so-called market ideology. Such tendencies led to an upgrading and reinforcing in education of an intricate set of tailored management techniques, namely standardized curricula, rationalizing teaching, systems management and management by objectives, competency-based testing and curriculum development, and reductive behavioral objectives.

Since the late 1970s, reacting against this tradition and denouncing schooling as an ideological vehicle, a group of critical scholars (among them Maxine Greene, Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren) has emerged as an important force in the literature of schools. Deeply influenced by the new sociology of education, phenomenology, analytical philosophy, and neo-/post-Marxist traditions, much of their work has focused on ideology and its role in schooling.

Critical Educators' View

For these scholars, school's lack of meaning and the fallacy of neutral knowledge pushed society into a dead end, creating social turmoil as was the American case with the 1960s student revolts, and the (re)emergence of the civil rights movement. School knowledge tended to be perceived as a psychological object or as a psychological process, something that became deideologized, depoliticizing the culture that schools transmit. Educational institutions were seen as the main agencies of an effective dominant culture, of a significant past that involves conscious and unconscious social and ideological choices.

Basil Bernstein, Michael F. D. Young, Pierre Bourdieu, and others argue that schooling protects the needs of a particular class, and in doing so acts as a significant force in cultural and economic reproduction. To challenge the ideological function of schools means looking at what knowledge is valued: Whose vision does it represent? Which particular "kinds" of students "get" what particular kinds of knowledge and dispositions? Who is selected? Why is knowledge organized and taught in particular ways, and to which groups? Such concerns clearly turn schools, as social systems, into ideological battlegrounds.

Critical educators challenge why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in schools as objective, factual knowledge—that is, how concretely official knowledge represents ideological configurations of the dominant interests in a society.

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See also Constructivism; Hegemony

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IMAGES OF TEACHERS IN POPULAR CULTURE

Images of teachers abound in popular culture—from Washington Irving's early nineteenth-century novel of schoolmaster Ichabod Crane to contemporary genres of adult and children's literature, film, television, cartoons, and song lyrics. Positioned in a variety of school settings—public, private, and parochial; secondary and elementary; poor urban and affluent suburban—teacher images vary widely.

From the hideous to the ridiculous to the noble, portrayals include children-hating ogres, quivering milquetoasts, and self-sacrificing crusaders battling for the lives and souls of their pupils. Images of teachers who stifle, oppose, bore, and abuse are juxtaposed with those who inspire, advocate for, stimulate, and nurture children. As well, more complex characterizations exist that cast some light on teachers' identities and experiences—despite a dearth of images illuminating teachers' personal lives, intellectual interests, or existential quandaries. This entry looks at how images vary by genre and audience and discuss what the research shows.

Variation by Genre

Construction of teacher image is highly dependent on genre and audience. In particular, when the audience is

intended for children or adolescents, teachers are more likely to be portrayed as caricature—as adversarial or peripheral to the plot of stories, novels, and films. In adult genres, teachers are likely to be the protagonists, with colleagues or administrators as antagonists.

Not surprisingly, cartoons manifest the most caricatured images of teachers. Among these images are repulsive spinsters; pedantic schoolmasters; and weary, frazzled employees—images that suggest the unattractiveness of schoolteachers and teaching as a profession. In some instances, however, comic strip teachers have roles in helping adolescents to become better students or make better decisions.

For the most part, song lyrics since the mid-twentieth century are aimed at adolescent audiences and present negative images of teachers. Songs instruct adolescents to resist adult authority as lyricists portray teachers as jailers who inhibit young people's freedom. Seldom does popular music show attractive teachers who help students, yet there are songs that position teachers as the romantic or sexual interests of students; such lyrics, researchers suggest, are provocative, providing a sharp contrast to the historically prudish image of the schoolteacher.

Books

Books for young children by and large describe teachers (usually White females) as nurturing adults who care about children and help them make smooth transitions to the world of school. Less frequently do images of foolish or abusive teachers appear in this genre, but when they do, they take on caricatured, witch-like qualities. Seldom are teachers portrayed as human beings who experience a range of emotions, are interested in learning, or have personal lives. Also, only rarely do portrayals of teachers who inspire learning appear in early childhood literature.

In books for older children, teachers similarly are portrayed as comforting parents or abusive ogres, but some teacher images transcend such polarities. In this genre, there exist depictions of meaningful teacher-student relationships in which teachers become friends, mentors, and advocates. So, too, there are images of teachers as nonconformists who challenge

the norms of school and society—such teachers who, by their teaching and their personal example, inspire pupils to love learning and to consider roles for themselves as individualists. In older children's literature, authors suggest that teachers can be life-changing influences on their pupils.

For adults and young adults, there are notable mid-twentieth-century novels (many of which have become popular films) that introduce paragon teachers. *Goodbye Mr. Chips* and *Good Morning Miss Dove* focus on the characters' lives toward the end of their careers and show their profound influence on students. Images in such novels not only suggest the interconnection of individuals' personal and professional lives, but emphasize teachers' primary identities as educators. Several scholars who examine gender as a critical feature of novels about teachers, most memorably *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, interpret the characters' destinies as influenced by societal forces and the restrictions of educational systems that repress strong women who express their sexuality. Other novels for adults and young adults authored by individuals who grew up in immigrant or working-class communities portray their memories of teachers who may inspire or frustrate children's literary impulses, such as the teachers portrayed in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*.

Television and Film

In the genre of television, most teachers appear in situation comedies. Some characters are peripheral to the plot and others more central. As in literature and song lyrics, caricatures predominate, particularly when the story is about children or adolescents. Television shows also depict teachers not only as objects of amusement but also as flawed yet intelligent adults who cultivate warm relationships with students (e.g., the popular mid-twentieth-century sitcoms *Mr. Peepers*, *Our Miss Brooks*, and *Welcome Back Kotter*). A number of scholars have written about teacher portrayals in the contemporary animated sitcom *The Simpsons*, noting that although these teachers are portrayed as sympathetic characters, they have become objects of satire because of their callousness as educators.

The vast majority of scholarship on teacher images focuses on film. Numerous movies have captured the popular and scholarly imagination with a singular motif—teachers as heroes or saviors. Heroic teachers

usually teach in neglected, dangerous urban schools attended, for the most part, by students of color, as in *Up the Down Staircase* and *Blackboard Jungle*. In such schools, teacher heroes relate well to some students but do battle with disruptive students as well as cynical colleagues and administrators. These films, which also include *Stand and Deliver* and *Dangerous Minds*, depict teachers as outsiders who save poor and minority students from the uncaring, brutal school system.

Other movies, such as *Mr. Holland's Opus* and *Music of the Heart*, while not going so far as conjuring up chaotic schools, portray self-sacrificing teachers with a singular mission. Even in the elite White setting of a private school, the teacher-hero motif appears (e.g., in *Dead Poets' Society*) as the teacher saves his students from the traditional curriculum and lives of conformity. Conversely, films featuring suburban high schools (e.g., *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* and *The Breakfast Club*) highlight adolescent characters and portray dehumanizing images of teachers as idiotic tyrants set on maintaining order. Scholars note that films delineate images of good and bad teachers as well as good and bad students—suggesting dominant archetypes that impede consideration of more nuanced or complex characterizations of teachers, students, and schooling. They also point out the racist undercurrent in films about urban settings.

Investigating Teacher Images

The powerful images of teachers in popular culture reveal perceptions of the status of the teaching profession, the culture and structure of schooling—including dynamics of gender, race, and social class, and the nature of teacher-student relationships. Scholars contend that the study of teacher images in popular culture is a vehicle for understanding the discourse around schooling; gaining insight about portrayals of gender, race, ethnicity, and social class; and challenging ingrained assumptions about teachers, students, and schooling. Teacher images have become a focus of scholarship because images are believed to contribute to public expectations—having the potential to influence public opinion about the nature of teaching and schooling and to repel individuals away from or toward the teaching profession as a career.

Scholars also maintain that popular representations may influence teachers' own sense of their roles and

identities. Therefore, they recommend contemplation of teacher image as an intrinsic component of teacher education. Advocates for the study of popular culture advise teacher educators to work with beginning teachers to interrogate popular teacher representations in order to contemplate what it means to be a teacher, to consider professional roles and identities, and to imagine how students and families envision teachers.

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See also Cultural Studies; Popular Culture

See Visual History Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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IMMIGRANT EDUCATION: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

The large-scale immigration to the United States following the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 has had a significant social and cultural impact on the education system, which has had to adapt to the demographic changes in the student population. Currently, 20 percent of the children in the United States are either first- (foreign born) or second-generation (of foreign-born parents) immigrants. This rise in immigration has presented challenges to host communities that need to adapt to the changing demographics of their constituents. The successful social integration of these newcomers depends on how the host community, specifically policy makers and educators, respond to the increased presence of immigrants among them. This entry provides a brief look at recent immigration patterns and policy, then turns to specific educational issues: language, acculturation, and educational achievement.

Patterns and Policy

The amendments of 1965 eliminated the use of national immigration quotas and provided new opportunities for immigration through family reunification and skills-based immigration, paving the way for dramatic cultural shifts in the immigrant population. From 1971 to 1980, the European proportion of the immigrant population dropped to 17.8 percent (from 52.7 percent in 1960), whereas Latin American and Asian representation increased to 40.3 percent (from 22.2 percent) and 37.3 percent (from 6.1 percent), respectively.

In 2003, the foreign-born category constituted 33.5 million people, or 11.7 percent of the U.S. population. The Latin American proportion comprised 53.3 percent of the total immigrant population, with Asia and Europe contributing 25 percent and 13.7 percent, respectively. The country with the highest representation was Mexico (30 percent of the total foreign born), followed by the Philippines (4.4 percent). Six states (California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey) continue to be the primary hosts of immigrants, although significant increases in foreign-born populations have been noted in Arizona, Nevada,

North Carolina, Georgia, and Colorado since 1990. Estimates of unauthorized immigrants (i.e., those who overstayed their visas and uninspected entries) range from 7 to 10 million.

Post-1965 immigration also included a rise in the unauthorized immigrant population, which emerged as a concern in the mid-1980s. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 imposed sanctions on employers who knowingly hired illegal immigrants, increased inspection and enforcement at U.S. borders, provided amnesty and temporary status to those who had lived in the United States continuously since January 1, 1982 and before, and extended a more lenient amnesty to farmworkers. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 represented a shift toward more stringent policy with a focus on deportation, border enforcement, increased requirements for sponsorship of immigrants, and reduced discretionary powers of immigration judges.

At the state level, concern about unauthorized immigration was reflected in California's Proposition 187 (proposed in 1994 and deemed unconstitutional in 1998), barring undocumented immigrants and children from schools and subsidized medical and social services; Proposition 227 of 1998 against the use of bilingual education in public schools; and Arizona's Proposition 200 of 2004 requiring proof of citizenship prior to voting or receiving public assistance.

Language Minorities

The 1965 immigration reform coincided with educational policies of the civil rights movement to yield a focus on language minority students. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the 1974 Supreme Court ruling in *Lau v. Nichols*—that instruction provided in a language a student did not understand was a denial of the student's equal opportunity for education—established the legal basis for bilingual education programs. Support for immigrant students was evident in the 1982 Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe*, which ruled that a student could not be denied admission to a public school based on his or her legal status.

The increased representation of immigrants in public schools led to the development of ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) programs

and lent impetus to multicultural education programs that valued culturally responsive pedagogy. However, the post-1965 openness to linguistic diversity shifted toward priority for English-language acquisition in 2001 as indicated by the No Child Left Behind Act. Current debates on immigration have led to the stagnation of immigrant student-friendly legislation in the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would allow high school graduates who are not legal residents to apply for conditional residency in order to attend college.

Acculturation

The model of assimilation that characterized the experiences of the immigrants of the early twentieth century did not apply to post-1965 Latin American and Asian immigrants, who, unlike their European predecessors, were not able to blend in to the social fabric of the Caucasian mainstream. Studies of these immigrants have yielded new insights for understanding, analyzing, and providing equitable education for immigrant students.

Margaret Gibson's notion of additive acculturation acknowledges the bicultural or transnational identities of new immigrants and offers educators a new model for facilitating the integration of immigrants. It highlights the need for the acculturation process to include the acquisition of knowledge and skills to participate successfully in the U.S. mainstream while maintaining native skills within the context of the family, both in the United States and abroad.

The concept of segmented assimilation advanced by Alejandro Portes and Ming Zhou challenged the assumption of inevitable assimilation to the mainstream, especially in the context of a racially stratified society where immigrants' human and social capital determined differential social tiers to which they would ultimately assimilate. The role of education in failing to circumvent this process has been documented in negative teacher and peer biases; cultural discontinuities; and inhospitable school climates that contribute to subtractive schooling, academic underachievement, and adversarial identities among students.

Herbert Gans identified the “second generation decline” that typically occurred among children of immigrants compared with their parents’ or foreign-born peers’ U.S.-based academic achievements. This challenged the traditional assumption that the longer an immigrant spent in the country, the more “Americanized” he or she became, and that such Americanization was desirable. Ruben Rumbaut’s classification of children of immigrants as the 1.25, 1.5, 1.75 generations, based on their age of arrival, provided insight into the complexity of intergenerational acculturation. Intergenerational conflict is often caused when children’s cultural and linguistic acculturation outstrips their parents’, leading to adult–child role reversals.

Diverse Achievement

Although aggregate statistics of immigrant students demonstrate comparable educational achievement with the native-born population, there is variance among diverse immigrant groups. The disproportionately high academic achievement of Asian students has earned them the title of the “model minority,” a stereotype that has had deleterious academic and social consequences. Variance in educational achievement can be linked to educational background and socioeconomic status. Asian immigrants had the highest rates of school completion and college education and were second to Europeans with the lowest representation of families in poverty among immigrant groups.

Approximately 28.5 percent of all foreign-born children under the age of 18 (compared to 16.2 percent of natives) lived below the poverty level in 2002. Poverty is also linked to the need for students to work while attending school, lack of health care, unsafe neighborhoods, and underfunded schools. The unique success of Vietnamese students, who arrived as refugees and whose parents had limited education, demonstrates that poverty and parental education are neither predictive of nor the only factors that affect immigrant adaptation.

Individual factors such as age of immigration; time spent in the United States; educational aspirations of student and family; sociocultural factors such as

anticipatory socialization; “push” versus “pull” factors that determined immigrants’ reasons for leaving; educational factors such as school climate, teacher quality, and curricular relevance; and community factors that include levels of hospitality versus hostility toward immigrants all interact to contribute to (or detract from) the successful integration of immigrants. Educators will have to recognize and address the social, cultural, political, psychological, and economic complexity that is immigrant education in the twenty-first century.

Contemporary immigration policy has reflected the divergent perspectives of host communities toward these newcomers. The education system has not been immune to the social and political impact of such policy, but nevertheless has functioned historically as a crucial factor in the successful social and cultural integration of immigrant students. As the numbers of immigrants continue to grow in the twenty-first century, the likelihood that all educators will encounter immigrant students in their classes is extremely high. How educators and policy makers address the increasing diversification of the population will ultimately determine the stability of communities in the future.

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See also Bilingual Education, History of; Immigrant Education: History; Migrant Education

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IMMIGRANT EDUCATION: HISTORY

The United States of America is often referred to as a nation of immigrants; hence, it is difficult to separate immigrant education from mainstream American education. However, immigrant education is generally viewed as being the education of those whose native language is other than English and whose culture is other than North American. Thus, the education of immigrant children has always revolved around language education. This entry looks at how immigrant education evolved over the years and briefly touches on current issues.

Historical Timeline

As it became evident that the predominant language of the United States would be English, efforts began to coordinate educational efforts among the colonies. The noted educational historian Lawrence A. Cremin records an early instance of attempts at immigrant (English-language-based) education.

Early Years

A system of charity schools was established and financed with British and American money in 1755 with the purpose of anglicizing German immigrants. The effort was unsuccessful, however, resulting in increased resistance by the Germans, firm in their desire to maintain and perpetuate their own language and culture.

Early in the life of the young country, education was considered to be exclusively for religious purposes. As the nation settled into life as a country instead of a colony, education began to focus on citizenship and national loyalty. Nationalist and Nativist movements fostered this shift in focus. Such an educational focus was necessary not only for native-born citizens, but also for immigrants. Citizens and leaders alike feared large groups of immigrants who maintained their native habits; these were considered incompatible with American culture. Thus, it became the responsibility of the schools to Americanize the immigrant.

In the early years of the country, the push for universal education advanced by the Nationalism movement produced a “Republican education” in order to ensure that all citizens understood the concept of the republic. Included within this notion was the concept of education for patriotism, which demanded the universal indoctrination of American and republican values. Education was seen as the instrument for breaking ties with Europe (the origin of the majority of immigrants) and establishing loyalty to America and her institutions.

Because of efforts to teach American values in the public schools, multiple immigrant groups established their own private schools, with lessons taught in the native languages of these groups. In many areas of the country, these schools were recognized as offering levels of education above those offered by the public schools. American parents seeking a superior education for their children enrolled them in these schools, thus effecting a reverse immigration, at least in the matter of language.

Post-Civil War

Following the Civil War, it became the added responsibility of the public schools to teach the English language. For immigrant children, the schools provided the only opportunity to learn English, because they were surrounded at home and in their communities with their native languages. Along with instruction in English came instruction in American customs, values, dress, and traditions.

The Americanization movement of the early twentieth century (approximately 1914–1924) focused on Americanizing adult immigrants. Despite this intense focus on citizenship education, the education of immigrant children remained unchanged. The focus continued to be on teaching republican values and the English language, including cultural elements.

The majority of immigrants preceding World War I did not speak English and had little education; immigrant parents recognized the value of education and the opportunities it provided their children. Recognizing that the person with an education was the first to get employment, parents sacrificed everything to be sure their children could attend school. Once

again, the school took on an additional purpose. In addition to fostering assimilation, the school provided opportunities to individuals for social and political advancement.

Key Court Rulings

Several legal rulings have directed the course of immigrant education. One important legal precedent defined just how far schools could go in Americanizing immigrant children. The Oregon case *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* sought to enforce school attendance in order to teach loyalty to America, the government, and American institutions. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, overturned the ruling, stating that children are not wards of the state and therefore could not be forced to attend school. Thus, private schools established by immigrant groups continued to thrive.

Several other rulings have affected the course of immigrant education, resulting in guarantees not only of equal education for all, but also, in recent years, of equal education in students' native languages. The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution established the constitutional basis for the educational rights of language minority students. Following World War II, *Brown v. Board of Education* established the principle of equal educational opportunity for all students no matter what their racial or ethnic heritage.

The Title VI Civil Rights Act of 1964 further enforced *Brown* by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin. It allows school districts to determine what is needed to support their locally designed plans to meet local, state, and national standards. The Title VII Bilingual Education Act (1968) was the first congressional effort to endorse appropriate and adequate education for students with limited English proficiency through federal funding. Further laws have been enacted on the state level in order to meet the specific needs of nonnative-speaking inhabitants.

Current Perspectives

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, data show that approximately 17 percent of the public school population is made up of immigrants or children of

immigrants. Because of changes to immigration policy, these immigrant children now come from all over the world instead of only from European countries, as in previous centuries. Additionally, immigrant parents are more likely to have reached higher levels of education than their predecessors, which greatly influences the education they expect their children to receive. Of the myriad language groups represented, Spanish-speaking students are most likely to remain bilingual throughout their lifetimes, due in part to the large Spanish-speaking immigrant population, but also to the lack of education of many Spanish-speaking immigrant parents.

The current focus of immigrant education is on the acquisition of the English language while allowing students to retain fluency in their first languages (mostly for Spanish-speaking students). The focus of immigrant education has shifted from a balance between language teaching and the indoctrination in American and republican values to a singular focus on teaching the English language.

Annis N. Shaver

See Visual History Chapter 14, Immigration and Education; Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGES

The plural term *indigenous knowledges* is used to reflect the great diversity not only among native peoples of the world, but within any continent or area. Indigenous means to be of a place. Thus, indigenous knowledges are approaches to understanding reality among persons and groups who understand the living

energy and relationships from inhabiting an area for a very long time. This conception excludes Western civilization, which through colonization has carried its knowledge from a primarily European home to all parts of the world. The colonizing Western powers denigrated native ways of knowing, considered themselves superior, and often ignored the great diversity of native peoples and the opportunity to learn from them. While recognizing the great diversity, this entry admittedly cannot do justice to all indigenous peoples' knowledge. Its focus is on the indigenous peoples of North America.

Written Versus Oral Tradition

Writing is a linear process and involves a complex relationship between the writer, reader, and text. Describing the holistic knowledge of native peoples in a linear way distorts it, especially given the social, cultural, and historical contexts that too often considered indigenous knowledge unworthy of any consideration; it was deemed nothing more than myths and superstitions of an illiterate people. Oral stories, so vital to native cultures, allow for circular holism and speaker-listener interaction.

Oral stories reflect the nature of indigenous knowledge: It is a lived knowledge; knowledge based in experience rather than divorced from human action; fragile and noneternal. Indigenous people believe that by listening and seeing the connectedness of all things around them, understanding begins. Seeing is not merely perceiving images, but seeking to understand relationships. Listening is not merely receiving sound, but hearing to see or to understand. Nothing is strange or out of place in this perspective, as seeming incongruities are remembered to be understood as more experience is obtained. Stories are altered and added to as knowledge is gained through living in a connected relationship with all that is around.

These relationships are important because native understanding begins with personality or answering the question "Who am I?" For native persons, this is not an individual inquiry, separate from the world; rather, it recognizes the collective. The universe is personal and connected; knowledge of self is not separate from other knowledge. Native people believe that a

living energy fills the universe and is in all things. This power, along with place and relationships among all things, produces personality.

Looking at Relations

For indigenous people, all things have personality in that all things have energy and are related. Indigenous knowledge is interested in the personality of all things. Western knowledge seeks to measure shape, form, and characteristics so that things might be classified. Native peoples look for actions of things in relation to other things. By observing correlations, native peoples begin the process to understand the totality of relationships. They are not so much interested in cause and effect in an isolated, singular way, but seek to understand a holistic interaction.

Whereas Western knowledge is divided among literature, philosophy, science, and religion, native knowledge does not make such divisions. Whereas Western knowledge elevates some areas above others and perhaps totally dismisses some areas, native knowledge does not. This results from the differences in knowledge sources. Western knowledge consists of data that are justified as true through evidence. Native knowledge is lived knowledge gained from experience in listening and observing while paying attention to relationships. In living, the stories, beliefs, and observations are related and unified into a holistic, harmonious, balanced vision of life.

Here is an example of the holistic nature of indigenous lived practical experience from the Senecas. Three sisters came to say that they wished to establish relations with people. The three sisters were corn, beans, and squash. The three sisters provided ceremonies so that if they were performed, they would become plants that would feed people. The one requirement was that they had to be planted together. By doing so, the Senecas fed themselves productively for a long time.

The colonizers from Europe tried planting one crop at a time and soon depleted the soil. Adding chemicals to the soil had side effects. Western science eventually confirmed that planting the three sisters together created a natural nitrogen cycle. The Senecas, rather than relying on abstract principles of scientific laws,

observed and listened to the Earth and respected the relationships through religious, literary, philosophical, and scientific means at once through experience. The Senecas did not ask an abstract question in the search to discover knowledge. They participated in making meaning by living a shared experience in relation to everything. They did not forget the things around them. What was true—planting the crops together—was also the right thing to do. The universe is moral, personal, and unified in this view. All of the experiences of all of the parts are brought together in the process of understanding.

There are levels of indigenous knowledge. In all of them, relations and connections are maintained because they are essential to finding understanding. General knowledge is synthesized from the specific as more and more data through experience are gained. Indigenous people do not stop to formulate questions but constantly think and observe, which provides a great deal of data. The stories that develop from experiences are theories undivorced from community.

Michael W. Simpson

See also Holistic Education; Native American Education, History of; Native American Higher Education

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INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES EDUCATION ACT

In 1975, Congress enacted landmark federal legislation that changed the face of educational history for students with disabilities. Originally passed as the Education for

All Handicapped Children Act, this law was amended in 1990 to become the Americans with Disabilities Education Act. The most current reauthorization is the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 2004. Echoing society's concern regarding equitable treatment of individuals with disabilities, this law mandates that all children and youth with disabilities have access to a free, appropriate public education, regardless of the nature or severity of the identified cognitive, emotional, or physical impairment. Coupled with related early childhood legislation passed in 1986 in the Education of the Handicapped Act Amendments, these laws require public school systems to both identify and provide related services (e.g., special transportation, counseling, and physical therapy) for children with disabilities ages three to twenty-one.

IDEA is directed primarily at states, and six major principles govern its implementation. The first prohibits the exclusion of any student and is referred to as "zero reject." This principle signifies that schools are required to educate *all* children with disabilities, regardless of the nature or severity of the disability, such that no child can be excluded from a public education. In addition, educational agencies within each state must engage in extensive efforts to locate, screen, identify, and evaluate all children suspected of being at risk for disabilities. The latter is referred to as the *child find system*.

Second, identification and evaluation must be nondiscriminatory. That is, the student must be evaluated in all areas in which a disability is suspected, in a way that does not discriminate on the basis of native language, race, or culture. Moreover, schools must use nonbiased instruments and multimethod evaluation procedures, with no single assessment procedure used as the sole criterion for placement.

Third, every student with a disability is to receive a free, appropriate public education (FAPE) without cost to the child's parent/guardian. As part of this process, a written individualized education program (IEP) must be developed and implemented to provide an individually tailored education. The IEP includes a description of the child's present level of performance, measurable goals and objectives, an indication of the extent to which the child will not participate in the general

education curriculum, the related services to be provided, and a plan for evaluating those services.

Fourth, IDEA mandates that students with disabilities be educated in the least restrictive environment possible. This means that children with disabilities are to be taught alongside children without disabilities to the maximum extent consistent with their educational characteristics. Schools must provide justification of the child's level of participation with his or her nondisabled peers in the general curriculum, and they must provide placement options to best meet the student's needs.

The fifth and sixth principles relate to the rights of children and their parents/families. Due process safeguards ensure the students' and parents' rights to information and informed consent before children are evaluated, labeled, or placed, as well as the right to an impartial hearing should a family disagree with the school's decision. Also reflecting the notion of honoring parental rights, IDEA requires that schools collaborate with parents and students in the design and implementation of special education services. Parent and (when age-appropriate) student input must be considered when developing IEP goals and objectives, determining which related services will be delivered, and making decisions about placement options.

Furthering many of the trends in education over the past few years, IDEA includes requirements regarding student accountability, use of highly qualified teachers, expansion of methods used to identify students with disabilities, and reduction of litigation. Often the topic of contentious debate, IDEA will continue to have an impact on the education of students with disabilities, and the schools that serve them, for decades to come.

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See also Assistive Technology; Least Restrictive Environment; Mainstreaming; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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INTELLIGENCE, THEORIES OF

Ideas about the nature of human intelligence have long historical roots. However, it was not until the late nineteenth century that modern theories of intelligence emerged among European and American researchers. These theories, which stressed the importance of scientific measurement, also marked the rise of experimental psychology as an academic discipline. The ways in which experimental psychologists conceptualized and measured intelligence would have a profound impact on American society, especially in relation to how American public schools structured learning opportunities for students in the first half of the twentieth century. This entry looks at the evolution of theories about intelligence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Early Influences

During much of the nineteenth century, theories of intelligence focused on measuring the size of human skulls. Physical anthropologists such as Samuel Morton and Paul Broca attempted to correlate cranial size and capacity with intellectual potential. This line of inquiry was marked by faulty methods of data collection and errors in experimental design. It also was infused with an ideology that purported the existence of innate intellectual differences between “superior and inferior races,” reflecting the dominant White European and American cultural bias at the time.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution also began to influence how European and American social scientists thought about intelligence. Darwin's notion that some species were destined to die off and others adapt and survive was appropriated by many social scientists, arguing that cultures, races, and classes of people probably adhered to the same evolutionary dynamic. Like their earlier nineteenth-century counterparts, these Social Darwinists believed that superior intellectual abilities were associated with Western European culture and the upper classes. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this preoccupation with individual and group differences in intelligence would form the conceptual foundation for the first modern theories of intelligence.

Modern theories of intelligence emerged with the rise of experimental psychology as an academic discipline. Psychology had been seen as a branch of philosophy in the nineteenth century, but this shifted as major advances occurred in the medical sciences. Beginning in the 1870s, laboratory experiments in biology produced dramatic breakthroughs in the diagnosis, cure, and prevention of contagious diseases. These methods were soon applied to investigations of the human mind by researchers in the "new psychology" who sought a more empirical approach to the study of intelligence.

As early as the 1870s, the first experimental psychologists in Germany began clinical experiments that studied the relationship between the mind and body. Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory dedicated to uncovering the structure of the mind. Wundt and other German researchers believed that intellectual thought was rooted in the nervous system and that by measuring reaction times to physical sensations, they could discover underlying mental functions.

Wundt's work attracted attention among both European and American researchers. Most prominent among the European researchers was English statistician Francis Galton. Galton was greatly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution, inspiring him to found the eugenics movement. Eugenics claimed that some individuals and "racial" groups were hereditarily predisposed to low intelligence, crime, and poverty. Galton believed that scientific experiments in the 1880s attempted to prove that there were fundamental

intellectual differences between classes and races of people. Instead of measuring skull sizes, Galton thought that experiments in reaction time would reveal these differences. Although Galton's experiments never yielded the results he expected, American psychologists were impressed with his research and wanted to bring the scientific rigor of European experimental methods to the United States.

One of the first American psychologists to adapt the work of Wundt and Galton was James Cattell. He had studied under Wundt and was influenced by Galton's eugenics ideas. Like Wundt, his experiments focused on stimulus/response protocols, but Cattell also added his own tests of memory and judgment. In 1890, Cattell published what is considered the first "mental test." Unlike Wundt, Cattell was less interested in using experiments to uncover the general structure of the mind but was more concerned in measuring individual and group differences in people's reactions to a variety of tests, believing that a person's heredity would have a greater influence on a particular test score than one's environmental background. Cattell could never ascertain the relative influence that heredity and environment had on how people responded to his test items, but his experiments foreshadowed debates later in the twentieth century about the nature of intelligence.

Alfred Binet and Intelligence Tests

Although American interest in the nature of intelligence gained momentum in the first decade of the twentieth century, it would be the experiments of French psychologist Alfred Binet that laid the foundation for the measurement of intelligence in the twentieth century. Ironically, Binet approached his work with little theoretical conception of how the mind worked, yet he created a test that would be the means for actualizing the dominant theories of intelligence among American researchers in the first decades of the twentieth century. Unlike previous experimental psychologists who were interested in reaction times, Binet sought to measure the higher, complex functions of the mind that people might encounter in real-life situations.

His experiments with French schoolchildren in the early 1900s aimed to discover intellectual differences

between “normal” achieving students and those who were “subnormal.” Binet and his colleague, Theodore Simon, devised a series of tasks of ascending difficulty that could be done in a relatively short time. He discovered that, on average, the older the students were, the better they did. Those above the average were considered to have a “mental age” beyond their chronological age, and those below the average were considered to have one that was lower. At the time, this was a major contribution to how intelligence was thought of and measured by psychologists in Europe and the United States.

Binet himself was unsure of what intelligence ultimately was but remained convinced that it was, to a certain degree, pliable and subject to change depending upon the educational interventions employed by teachers. American psychologists were quick to adapt his new intelligence test to an American setting while ignoring Binet’s cautions that intelligence was probably not a fixed and unchangeable cognitive function.

The U.S. Approach

Henry Goddard was the first American psychologist to bring Binet’s test to the United States. Goddard and other prominent psychologists in the 1910s, such as Lewis Terman and Robert Yerkes, believed that the test measured a fixed intellectual quantity that was relatively unchanged over a person’s lifetime. Where Binet was tentative about the nature of intelligence, the American creators of intelligence tests believed that intelligence was principally determined by heredity and was a fixed entity that could be objectively measured and ranked in a standardized manner.

This new approach to intelligence by American experimental psychologists occurred within a historical context of dramatic social change. Large-scale immigration from southern and eastern Europe and internal migrations from rural areas swelled the populations of American cities. Concomitantly, the growth of American industry resulted in the need for an expanding and increasingly differentiated workforce. Schools were caught up in the changes occurring in the cities and industry. Urban school officials in particular were looking for new ways to educate a growing and diverse student body.

It is within this social milieu that modern theories of intelligence and the intelligence test emerged. Both theory and the test came together with the testing of 1.7 million Army recruits in 1917. The publicity given to the tests and the ranking of scores into such categories as “moron,” “normal,” and “genius” generated intense fears and hopes among the public. Many interpretations of the test scores suggested that intelligence was unevenly distributed among different ethnic groups. Nativists argued that something needed to be done to stop the influx of “inferior immigrant stock.” At the same time, school administrators hoped that the new IQ test could be a scientific instrument capable of efficiently ranking and sorting their growing school population into appropriate learning tracks.

After World War I, the new IQ test became the *sine qua non* for measuring intelligence. The conception of intelligence as fixed, hereditarily determined, relatively unchangeable, and measurable through timed individual and group tests became the dominant theory within the experimental psychological community. In turn, both the theory and test were embraced by large numbers of school districts across the United States. By 1924, nearly 70 percent of American urban school districts were using IQ tests to assist in the placement of students into ability-based learning groups. By 1930, more than 130 standardized IQ and achievement tests were being used by American schools to classify their student population.

Dissents to the dominant theory of a fixed and hereditarily determined theory of intelligence emerged within the research community in the 1920s and increased throughout the 1930s. By the mid-1930s, there was no longer a consensus among researchers that intelligence was hereditarily determined. Since that time, there have been recurring debates about the relative influence of environment and heredity upon a person’s intellectual potential. And even though racial theories of intelligence have largely been discredited, the notion that an externally timed and standardized test can provide an accurate and objective measure of one’s intelligence has endured to this day.

Alan Stoskopf

See also Eugenics; Intelligence Testing

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INTELLIGENCE TESTING

Some scholars maintain that the notion of intelligence is a social construct invented by the privileged classes. Others maintain that intelligence reflects a biological reality and is a useful tool in life. However, how to best measure this ability remains a topic of debate, particularly as it affects schoolchildren. Despite divergent opinions on intelligence, its definition, and how to best measure it, intelligence testing traditionally has been one of the primary tools for identifying mental retardation, learning disabilities, and giftedness in American schools. This entry examines the history of intelligence, particularly as it pertains to education, and briefly describes current directions.

Defining Intelligence

The nature of the human intellect has fascinated scholars for centuries. Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Greeks discussed intelligence and tried to define it. In 1575, Spanish physician Juan Huarte defined intelligence as the ability to learn, exercise judgment, and be imaginative. In 1839, American physician Samuel George Morton championed craniometry, the measurement of skull and brain size to determine the intelligence of different races. Following this line of thinking, phrenology, which uses the shape of and bumps on the head to gauge mental faculties, was also used to determine intelligence. This early work, among other attempts, forms the foundation for

modern explorations of intelligence over the past 200 years. However, a single definition of intelligence has eluded scholarly consensus.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, psychology began to emerge as a discipline separate from philosophy, mathematics, and biology. However, individuals from these diverse fields continued to influence psychological discourse and the study of intelligence. In 1859, Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species*. The book suggested that the capabilities of humans, like those of lower animals, could be understood through scientific investigation. Darwin's cousin Sir Francis Galton, strongly influenced by this line of thinking, had a laboratory in London from 1884–1890 where visitors could have themselves measured on a variety of psychophysical tasks he believed were the basis of intelligence and therefore measured intelligence. Some of the tests included deciding which of two weights was heavier and squeezing a hand as forcefully as one could. Even in light of these crude attempts at measurement, Galton is regarded as the father of the intelligence testing movement, originating two very important statistical concepts, regression to the mean and correlation, which helped in the development of psychometrics.

The Galtonian tradition was taken to the United States by psychologist James McKeen Cattell, who was head of the psychological lab at Columbia University. Cattell had studied with Wilhelm Wundt at Leipzig, where the first psychological laboratory was founded in 1879. In 1890, Cattell proposed that psychology could not attain the certainty and exactness of the physical sciences unless it rested on a foundation of experiment and measurement. He proposed fifty psychophysical tests very similar to Galton's. These included identification of colors and reaction time for sound. Cattell's measures, like Galton's, had little predictive value for intellectual functioning. Ironically, one of his students, Clark Wissler, collected data showing that scores on Galtonian tasks were not good predictors of grades in college, or much else. Cattell continued his work in psychometric research and, with Edward L. Thorndike, developed the principal facility in the United States for mental testing and measurement.

The more influential tradition of mental testing was developed by French psychologist Alfred Binet and his collaborator Theodore Simon in France in 1905 to help identify learning-impaired students. Even before Wissler's research, Binet had rejected the Galtonian tradition, believing Galton's tests measured trivial abilities. He proposed that intelligence tests should measure judgment, comprehension, and reasoning—the same kinds of skills measured on most intelligence tests today. Although crude by today's standards, the Binet-Simon intelligence scale yielded results generally accorded with common understandings of high and low intelligence and is considered to be the first modern intelligence test.

The Arrival of IQ

Binet's early test was taken to the United States by Stanford University psychologist Lewis Terman, who revised and standardized the test in 1916. In Terman's Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, scoring was indicated by the intelligence quotient (IQ), a term proposed by German psychologist William Stern in 1912. IQ was calculated by dividing mental age (as determined by the test) by chronological age and multiplying by 100 to remove the decimal. Modern intelligence tests, including the current Stanford-Binet test, no longer compute scores using the IQ formula. Instead, intelligence tests give a score that reflects how far the person's performance deviates from the average performance of others who are the same age, arbitrarily defined as an average score of 100. By convention, many people still use the term *IQ* to refer to a score on an intelligence test.

In the early 1920s, as IQ testing was gaining momentum, so was the eugenics movement. Sterilization laws were passed in sixteen American states between 1907 and 1917, with the elimination of mental retardation as its goal. U.S. Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in an opinion upholding the constitutionality of the law, said, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." In 1912, Henry Goddard administered intelligence tests to immigrants at Ellis Island. A biologist was appointed to a House Committee on immigration to oversee keeping

American intelligence high by implementing suitable immigration policies based on the findings.

During World War I, a group of American psychologists led by Robert Yerkes developed intelligence tests for the Army. The Army Alpha exam for literate recruits and the Army Beta exam for illiterate or non-English-speaking ones were used to sort men for service. The examination of nearly 2 million recruits marked the world's first mass administration of an intelligence test. The exams have been criticized for lacking standardization and for assigning recruits to the wrong exam. Despite these shortcomings, group intelligence tests gained in popularity and credibility. Many of the standardized tests in use today can be traced back to the Army tests, including the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-IV), the fourth revision of David Wechsler's classic 1949 test and one of the most widely used psychometric tools.

Other views on intelligence have also influenced how the construct is measured. Factor analytic theories of intelligence hold that intelligent behavior is multidimensional, rather than a unitary trait. Thorndike, Thurstone, and others have made significant contributions to the field. For example, in 1904, British psychologist Charles Spearman found that people who did well on one mental test did well on others, regardless of their content. He reasoned that different tests must draw on the same global capacity and called that capacity *g*, for general intelligence, but it also depended on one or more specific factors (called *s*) affecting performance.

The American obsession with testing continued to grow and took center stage in the 1950s when the launching of *Sputnik* brought into question U.S. school curriculum, consequently leading to more testing for accountability to prevent further "failure." In 1969, educational psychologist Arthur Jensen from UC Berkeley wrote that programs like Head Start fail because many of the participants have fixed, low IQs. These comments, viewed to have racial overtones, started a new wave of controversy. Even today, controversy about intelligence testing related to IQ variations between groups based on race and socioeconomic status continues. Most scholars agree that there are IQ

differences between these groups. However, the reasons for these differences ignite debate in both academic and public arenas.

Controversies and Current Directions

In the 1981 bestseller *The Mismeasure of Man*, biologist Stephen Jay Gould was highly critical of “unscientific” intelligence tests that are often used to find that oppressed groups are inferior and deserve their status. Continuing the whirlwind of debate, in 1994, *The Bell Curve*, by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, stated that there are substantial individual and group differences in intelligence that are not subject to easy environmental control because they are inherited, genetic differences. Herrnstein and Murray set out to prove that American society was becoming increasingly meritocratic, as wealth and other positive social outcomes were being distributed more according to people’s intelligence and less according to their social backgrounds.

In 1995, the American Psychological Association published a report on the status of intelligence research, in part to address the controversy surrounding *The Bell Curve*. Findings included that IQ scores do have predictive validity for individual difference in school achievement, as well as for adult occupational status. Furthermore, individual (but specifically not population) differences in intelligence are substantially influenced by genetics. The report also stated that the large differences existing between the IQ scores of Blacks and Whites could not be attributed to biases in test construction and suggested explanations based on social status and cultural differences, although it acknowledged no empirical evidence to support this idea. There was also not much direct evidence to support a genetic component to racial differences in scores.

Intelligence testing has been accused of unfairly stratifying or tracking students and adults according to race, gender, class, and culture by not tapping into creativity and practical know-how. As a result of this criticism, new tests and revised editions of long-standing tests have modified and updated the content, format, and the interpretation of data to reflect a diverse school-age demographic that includes different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and to reflect new

notions of intelligence based on modern theories of brain function. Yale psychologist Robert Sternberg has developed a triarchy of intelligence containing analytic, practical, and creative components. Harvard’s Howard Gardner believes that intelligence includes traditional components such as problem solving. However, he denies the notion of *g*. Instead, he argues for eight distinct intelligences (linguistic, musical, logical/mathematical, spatial, bodily/kinesesthetic, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and naturalist).

Although Gardner and Sternberg provide a fresh and interesting lens on intelligence, their ideas have not translated easily into practical ways of measuring them in classrooms. However, Sternberg and collaborators are working with the College Board, which administers the SAT, to devise a test to supplement the traditional test for college hopefuls. Scores from the Sternberg Triarchic Abilities Test are expected to better predict college success and increase equity among ethnic groups in the admissions process.

Despite these changes, psychologists tend to agree that a single score on any one measure of intelligence is unrealistic when determining appropriate placement and services for schoolchildren. The trend among school psychologists is to collect data on children’s abilities, as well as weaknesses, using a variety of assessment instruments, in addition to gathering anecdotal information from the school and home settings, and using all of the data to devise a plan for early intervention, taking into account the whole child, not just a score on a test.

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See also Culture-Fair Testing; Intelligence, Theories of

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INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS

The first international exposition was held in London in 1851. It was not until the 1867 Paris Exposition that specialized educational exhibits were put on display. In Paris, nearly 1,200 different educational items were included—half came from France and the remaining materials from countries such as England, Belgium, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. At the 1873 Viennese Exposition, more than 5,000 exhibitors sent materials for the educational exhibits. Later, key exhibitions took place in the United States.

Educational exhibits included in the international expositions provided important transfer points for educational innovations of the period. In addition, they represented how education and knowledge served as instruments of hegemony and power on an international basis. In doing so, their importance was much greater than has been traditionally recognized in the history of American education. This entry focuses on key U.S. expositions.

The Philadelphia Centennial

By 1876, and the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, educational materials had become commonplace at the expositions. In Philadelphia, the educational exhibits included not only examples of student schoolwork, but also model curricula and school buildings—many representing the most innovative educational ideas of the era. In addition, an International Congress on Education and a Library Congress were held as part of the exhibition. Both of these congresses were among the very first meetings of their type, anticipating the large international educational research conferences that have become a widespread phenomenon in our own era.

A number of important educational firsts are associated with the Philadelphia exhibition. John Eaton, the American Secretary of Education, for example, put out an invitation to educators across the country not only to send exhibits, but also to contribute to a multivolume centennial history of American schools. Although only a few states finally contributed full-blown histories of their educational efforts and innovations, these works

represent, perhaps as much as any single work, the beginning of the field of American educational history.

Interesting displays at Philadelphia included a fully operational Swedish schoolhouse, a display of metric education, and extensive portfolios from urban school systems such as St. Louis and Boston. In the area of industrial education, the exhibit of the design curriculum of the Moscow Imperial Technical Institute provided what was to become the principal model of industrial education used in the United States for the next generation.

Created by the Institute's head, Victor Della Vos, the curriculum on display in Philadelphia broke down the training of mechanical arts, such as forging and wood joinery, into its component parts. Thus, a student in the woodworking sequence was trained how to make various wood joints. The idea was to give students the foundation necessary to create original work of their own, rather than slavishly copy the work of others. American educators such as John Runkle at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Calvin Woodward at Washington University in St. Louis adapted Della Vos's ideas for American schools, creating what would become the dominant model for industrial education in the decades that followed.

Other educational fields were also influenced by the exhibits in Philadelphia. Metric education, for example, was introduced at the exposition by Melvil Dewey, who also promoted his decimal system of library classification at the library meetings at the exposition. Probably most influential was the first public exhibition of a demonstration kindergarten by the Northern Orphanage in Philadelphia and kindergarten materials in the United States. Kindergarten training materials such as "The Gifts and Occupations," created by the German educator Frederick Froebel and manufactured by the Massachusetts-based Milton Bradley Company, were included, as well as highly detailed photographs from the St. Louis public schools, which had begun the first public school kindergartens in the United States in 1873.

Chicago and Beyond

In 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago, innovations in industrial education such as the Swedish Sloyd system were introduced and had an

important impact on American school curricula. When the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition was held in St. Louis, students in the public schools were brought to the fair. The response was so positive that the Superintendent of Schools, F. Louis Soldan, and the Assistant Superintendent, Carl Rathman, persuaded the school board to allot \$1,000 to buy materials from foreign exhibitors for an educational museum. Purchases included botanical collections, mounted animals, art objects, and a large collection of lantern slides. Materials from countries such as Japan, France, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand were included in the new museum. The museum, which opened in April 1905, is widely considered to be the first audio-visual education program in the United States.

This connection between the educational exhibits at the international exposition and museum development in the United States is an important one. After the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition closed, many foreign exhibitors gave their displays to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. These materials provided many of the early exhibits for the National Museum, as did the U.S. government exhibits that were brought back from Philadelphia.

Other museums were a direct outgrowth of expositions held in the United States as well. In March 1873, the Pennsylvania state legislature passed legislation for the construction of Memorial Hall, which was to serve as the art gallery of the exposition. In May 1877, the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art was opened. This museum was the predecessor of the modern Philadelphia Art Museum. In Chicago, the Field Museum of Natural History was created as a direct outgrowth of the World's Columbian Exposition, as was the St. Louis Art Museum after the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Although the role of the educational exhibits at the international expositions as a force for innovation and educational transfer was important, the exhibits are also interesting in terms of how they reflected issues of cultural hegemony and domination during the same period. Western education, particularly technological and industrial education, was presented in the exhibits, and by educational leaders at the expositions, as a force for civilizing less "developed" countries and people. Much of the rhetoric of the educational

exhibits emphasized bringing civilization to colonized populations. At each new exposition, this theme became increasingly emphasized, culminating with the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. The schooling of Native American populations, for example, was a major theme of the exhibits in 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition. The education of students in the newly acquired American protectorate of the Philippines was similarly emphasized as a subject in the educational exhibits at St. Louis in 1904, including the running of a demonstration school.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Educational Transfer; Hegemony; Museums

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions; Chapter 12, Frances Benjamin Johnston and the Washington, D.C., Schools

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INTERNET, SOCIAL IMPACT OF

The Internet, popularized through the World Wide Web, has applications for communication, information sharing, commerce, gaming, and interactive activities. Literally a "network of networks," consisting of millions of smaller domestic, academic, business, and secured government networks, the Internet is a vehicle for the transfer of information and services, such as electronic mail, online chat, computer file transfer, file sharing, text documents, images, multimedia, and other items of information.

The Five Waves of Internet Use

The use of the Internet has developed and been applied socially through five waves of development and use that are in a state of flux and ongoing: (1) physical connection and ease of use; (2) socialization

and new channels of communication; (3) information; (4) commerce; and (5) gaming/entertainment and interactive experience. All five waves have implications for education. Through these waves of development, the Internet has been applied to the human experience and created a social phenomenon.

Physical Connection and Ease of Use. The first phase of development and technological advancements has passed from the 1960s and is ongoing, where physical connections are linked through advanced networking protocols. The progression of technological advances, coupled with ease of access and widespread use of computers, gives the Internet the social impact that it enjoys. The expansion of physical connections continues and will expand and migrate in a more widespread way to portable devices, such as handheld personal digital assistants and cell phones.

Socialization and New Channels of Communication. Phase two of the widespread use and socialization of the Internet includes e-mail, instant messaging, forums/blogs, chats, and so forth. *Online chat* refers to any kind of communication over the Internet but is primarily meant to refer to direct one-on-one chat or chatroom, using tools such as instant messaging. A group of regular users becomes a virtual community that exists around this Web space or use. Technology, computer games, and politics are some of the popular themes for forums. These forums can also be referred to as *Web forums*, *message boards*, *discussion boards*, *discussion forums*, *discussion groups*, and *bulletin boards*.

Additionally, the World Wide Web has seen a proliferation of individual self-publishing and cooperative publishing. The weblog, or blog; photo publishing; and wikis are examples of easy-to-create Web sites and publishing efforts. Whereas some blogs are information resources, others are more in the nature of online diaries. A blog may include text, pictures, and links to other Internet resources related to the topic.

Wikis are banks of information that invite interactive commentaries and information from a multiplicity of sources. *Wikipedia*, an interactive online encyclopedia, is such an example. Entries are posted and then modified

over time according to standards and style guides, and through a communicative process. Information can be challenged, responded to, enhanced, and updated.

Information. Databases, libraries, wikis, statistics, election results, school data, and product guides are some examples of information that are now easily accessed through Internet Web sites. Information applications of the Internet are widespread in personal; business; and, to some extent, educational uses. As the Web has grown, search engines and Web directories have been created to track and allow viewers to look through billions of Web pages and find things easily and quickly. Information is searched by relevancy ranking, because looking through the entire list of results is not practical.

Commerce. Phase four involves commerce, or the marketing, selling, and buying of goods and services. These uses of the Internet are widespread and have had great impact on local businesses. Web pages can display services and products, order forms, and delivery options, enabling the buyer to purchase items from a multitude of locations. Lower prices and ease of online shopping have had an impact on local businesses, in the way that other national chains have affected local merchants. Businesses with an Internet front have a wider reach and scope, and now even local stores will have a Web page or means of Internet access. Banking, postal services, and resale or auction forums such as eBay are all part of the phenomenon of online shopping and business.

Gaming/Entertainment and Interactive Experience. Phase five involves gaming or entertainment, including gambling, interactive games, streaming radio, TV, and so on. Radio and TV listeners and viewers use their computer to access stations at great distance even as other applications are being used on the computer. Games such as Fantasy Football and others using multiuser applications are hugely popular. Additionally, people on different sides of the world speak to each other over the Internet using software such as Skype. As the technology advances, so will the applications and the global and social impact.

Implications for Education and Culture

The use of the Internet has implications for all aspects of modern life. These can be characterized by a democratization of information and information sharing; a connection among all people of the world, often called *globalization*; a heightened speed or pace in modern life; and, finally, a long-term impact on institutions, such as education and government.

Democratization of Information. Public access to government afforded by the Internet has had an impact on governance. The electorate may participate throughout the process in a more participatory and vocal way and may watch election returns in real time. The use of blogs by citizens of a community, state, or nation covers many topics, especially political and social commentary. Information flows from many directions, and not just through governmental, journalistic, or “authorized” sources. Nevertheless, standardization and control have become necessary for the system to function. Established schools of journalism have begun to research blogging, noting differences between journalism and blogs.

Globalization. A sense of a global connection or globalization exists among corporations, governments, and nonprofits, covering varied issues, news stories, and social activities. There is still, as with other media producers, a dominant voice created by media centers in developed countries. It is possible, though, to find out what occurs in remote areas and localities via information posted to the Web, creating a sense of social connectedness. Virtual communities allow for contact among youth from different geographic, social, economic, and racial backgrounds. This has a democratizing effect and gives the sense of a shrinking, connected world.

Speed or Pace of Life. The speed with which modern societies can access and send information and conduct business as varied as ordering books or buying stones for landscaping has entered every aspect of life. Multiprocessing or multitasking is commonplace. A viewer may read a news story and send

instant messages to a colleague while simultaneously reading sports and stock quotations that scroll across the screen.

Implications for Institutions. The importance of the blogging community (and its relationship to the larger society) has gained importance at a rapid rate. The peer-to-peer responses and comments of bloggers have created a sense of participation that was not enjoyed before when information flow was dominated by formal journalism media or official government sources.

There are other, varied benefits and implications from the widespread use of computers and the Internet. The ability to communicate anonymously has allowed some participants to express themselves more openly in a virtual conversation than in person. Work experiences have changed for some employees who are able to work from home, or telecommute, because of connectivity to the home office. Universities offer online classes for students, and libraries at public schools head the digital age.

Although the freedom to work from home exists, a lack of freedom has also developed, with the ability of an employer or school to view communications and amounts of time on task, or engage in other forms of surveillance. A “coming of age” for youth can come more quickly than in the past with access to information that is not always controlled by parents. Additionally, chat rooms and online forums can be viewed by anyone, including future employers, or predators, as well as the intended friends and associates. Another detrimental effect of the Internet is the impact on copyright laws, because the information in text, print, video, or audio is easily obtained and shared. Protection of information producers has become an issue of inquiry and development.

Finally, a digital divide has developed between those who can afford computers and technology and have access to connectivity, and those who cannot. This applies to developing and developed countries alike, causing further economic inequalities and possibly thwarting social mobility. The Internet and its social effects are in their infancy. Time, imagination,

and technological advances, especially in the area of video transmission and connectivity devices, will take the Internet to its next threshold.

Jo Bennett

See also Digital Divide; Distance Learning; Media Literacy; Technologies in Education

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J

JAPANESE DETENTION CAMPS, EDUCATION IN

Seventy-four days after the Japanese military's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. The order allowed military commanders to set up an Exclusion Area where Japanese and Japanese Americans could not be present to guard "against espionage and against sabotage." This area encompassed all of California, southern Arizona, and western Washington and Oregon. In this area resided 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans who were eventually detained in War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps. The camps were consistently referred to as "resettlement camps" and "havens of refuge" by the Army public relations agency. Over half of the detainees were below the voting age.

Prior to WRA detention, Japanese Americans were held in Assembly Centers, where many camp residents had established makeshift nurseries, small libraries, and kindergarten, history, current events, and English classes. However, when the detainees were moved to the WRA camps, these community educational initiatives were essentially scrapped. Schooling for detainees of high school age and under was provided at all ten of the Relocation Centers by the WRA. Part of the mission of the schools devised by civilian planners was rooted in the philosophy of New Deal social programs—to give detainees stability

during a catastrophic situation and reintegrate them into society after it had passed. The camp schools in Jerome, Arkansas, had a stated mission shared by other schools managed by the WRA, to "develop an educational program which would promote an understanding of American ideals: loyalty to American institutions and training for the responsibilities of citizenship and of family."

This mission was to be accomplished under armed military guard, in tarpaper barracks in camps located in far-flung swamplands, deserts, and prairies west of the Mississippi River. The average student-to-teacher ratio of these schools was 48:1 in elementary schools and 35:1 in high schools, compared to the national average student-to-teacher ratio of 28:1. Over 90 percent of the certified teachers were European American. Much of what constituted the "loyalty" portion in the planning of this education program consisted of discouraging the traditions of Japanese families in favor of assimilation into roles in mainstream society for when the war ended. Nevertheless, Japanese parents' involvement in their children's education and cultural life was high, despite the coercive nature of camp life and their conflicts with teachers representing camp policies.

Brent Allison

See also Asian American Education; Bureaucracy; Civil Rights Movement; Discrimination and Prejudice

See Visual History Chapter 19, Pledge of Allegiance

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JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY

The John Dewey Society began in 1934 when a group of professors, Henry Harap, Paul Hanna, and Jesse Newlon, called a conference of educational liberals together to respond to the crises in education. The group met in conjunction with the National Education Association annual conference to respond to the conditions in schools resulting from the Great Depression. Originally called the Conference on Education and Economic Reconstruction, the group was later renamed the John Dewey Society because members valued thoughtful work in and for schools that involved practitioners as well as scholars—one reflected in Dewey's pragmatic philosophy.

The original intention of the society has remained through the years: using reflection and critical thought to search for solutions to problems in education and culture. In addition, the group reexamines Dewey's ideas about education, democracy, and philosophy. To this end, the society espouses open debate among individuals with diverse views, both within their meetings and in their publications. Topics that have been addressed in past meetings include issues of accountability, the relationship between business and schools, the value of arts in education, curricular issues, the impact of technology, cultural politics, social justice, and philosophical explorations of imagination, theory, cognition, ethics, inquiry, and belief.

Initially the membership of the society included professors, school superintendents, representatives from educational publications, and the U.S. Commissioner

of Education. Over the years, however, the society has shifted to involve mostly professors. Throughout its history, the society has met in conjunction with larger educational meetings. In the early years, it met at the annual conferences of the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Association of School Administrators. Members also met during the meetings of the Progressive Education Association, as well as those of the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Currently, the society meets in conjunction with the American Educational Research Association.

Historically, the John Dewey Society has had a number of ties with other progressive initiatives. For example, the editors of *The Social Frontier* magazine were original members of the society. When the magazine was struggling in 1937, the John Dewey Society funded the publication of its last ten issues. There were also a number of ties between the society and the Progressive Education Association (PEA). By the 1940s, members of the society attempted, unsuccessfully, to merge with the PEA.

John Dewey was never a member of the society. He did, however, have some ties with the group. He served on the first yearbook committee and contributed to the yearbook. In later years he also wrote letters to the society requesting financial support for the writing project of one of his assistants. In response, the society provided a \$600 grant to Elsie Ripley Clapp to write about work she had done in rural schools in Kentucky and West Virginia.

Donna Adair Breault

See also Progressive Education

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JOURNALISM AND EDUCATION

Education and journalism are, in many ways, fundamentally incompatible crafts. In the classroom and the research center, the best educators are constantly building on the past—tomorrow's lesson plan or academic study is designed to build on yesterday's progress. Reporters start everyday from zero, never able to assume their audience has been exposed to any prior knowledge.

This challenge is hardly unique to education reporting—lawyers and judges, police and doctors, musicians and admirals are often frustrated by the morning paper or evening news. Day-to-day reporting in newspapers, magazines, television, and online at best is simplistic, and at worst is reflective of basic misunderstandings of the subject, they say. At the same time, such mainstream journalism is the primary basis of knowledge and opinion for the vast majority of people. Only a tiny percentage of information consumers read research studies, peruse academic journals, or have serious conversation with education experts.

Daily journalism, however imperfect, clearly drives the public's perception of every aspect of education, from preschool through graduate school, as well as shaping the way the public sees teachers' unions, school boards, legislators, and the rest of the education establishment. This entry looks at how the requirements of reporters' work affect coverage, focuses on the typical education stories found in the media, and provides some guidelines for working with the media.

The Reporter's Job

The greatest limitations for most reporters are of time and space. Most stories in the general interest media are reported, written, and published or broadcast within one or two days. Reporters often have only hours to familiarize themselves with the issues, gather the relevant facts, and produce a story—consultation with experts and deep analysis of data are often unavailable luxuries.

Even when reporters do have a nuanced understanding of a complex issues, they are often limited by space—either physical space in a publication or airtime

in a broadcast. A major-market newspaper story is usually 750 to 1,000 words, although deeper stories (normally printed on weekends) can occasionally run 2,000 words or more. Likewise, radio and television reporters are generally forced to report a story in under one minute, and a story could be squeezed into as little as fifteen seconds.

With few exceptions, reporters in the mainstream media are rarely specialists in the areas they cover. At newspapers or magazines, the topic of education is often assigned to relatively junior reporters, who rarely spend more than a few years on the beat. Television and radio reporters are normally jacks-of-all-trades, covering an election one day, a murder another day, and the annual release of standardized test scores on the day in between.

These challenges tend to become less pronounced at the largest organizations: *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, the Associated Press, and National Public Radio are among the outlets that have one or more veteran reporters with years of experience focusing primarily on education. Niche publications such as *Education Week* and *The Chronicle of Higher Education* also maintain staffs that are well versed in education trends and terminology.

Coverage Contents

The seasoned journalists are the most likely to engage in complex policy reporting and trend analysis; most other journalists employed by general interest news outlets will focus on the few story types discussed here.

The release of standardized test scores. In the era of the No Child Left Behind Act and its focus on high-stakes testing, most states build carefully orchestrated press events around the announcement of test scores. Professional organizations such as the Education Writers Association and the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media at Columbia University's Teachers College have encouraged reporters to examine long-term trends and engage independent experts and statisticians in the analysis of such test scores.

However, the limits of time and space often lead reporters to rely heavily on the data supplied by government officials, who are eager to use their

own interpretations to serve their own agenda. Other standardized tests—the SAT, ACT, and National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—may prompt similar stories.

The publication of general interest studies. Universities, think tanks, and private companies have become increasingly adept at publicizing reports or studies that have easy appeal to a lay audience. In recent years, the successful marketing of such reports has led to widespread coverage of issues such as the impact of gender on test scores, the availability of unhealthy food (especially soda) in public schools, and the health consequences of high-stakes testing. Many reporters are unable to differentiate between well-constructed studies published in peer-reviewed journals and pseudoscientific studies constructed to generate publicity.

Policy stories based on breaking news. These are usually prompted by local issues: the 2004 killing of a middle school student by his classmate in a Miami school bathroom led to countless stories about school safety; the psychological impact of violence; and the role of movies, television, and video games on child development. The highly publicized grading errors on the 2006 SAT gave rise to numerous stories about the reliability of standardized tests. Local debates over the teaching of evolution issues routinely lead to broader stories about how religion is handled in schools.

Soft features. These local stories generally focus on a particularly interesting teacher, student, or program at a single school or district. Traditionally these features have included the retirement of a long-serving teacher, the introduction of a particular computer program into a curriculum, and the high school graduation of a special education teenager, among other stories. More recent stories with national traction include the use of yoga in elementary school classrooms and the use of podcasts and iPods in high school and college courses.

Political news. More than any time in recent history, education has become highly politicized in the United States. While elected school board members and superintendents have long generated small amounts of local

coverage, NCLB and its state-level cousins have made public education a major issue for lawmakers, governors, and the president. Major changes to these policies—especially consumer-friendly programs such as school grades—will certainly prompt news coverage.

Working With the Media

When working with reporters in the mainstream media, it is crucial for educators to be cognizant of their audience: a demographically broad group of laypeople whose attention is being competed for even within a newspaper or broadcast. Requests for coverage, then, should focus on a story's impact on a wide audience and be presented as easy to understand. Television reporters, especially, will expect on-camera interviews and other visuals. Even print reporters—driven by the demands of the Internet—are increasingly eager to incorporate audio, video, and digital documents into their reports.

During interviews, reporters expect educators to be clear and brief, and not to use jargon. Unless reporters face extreme deadline pressure, most are eager to obtain a full understanding of the issue at hand—but educators should be prepared to see the nuances oversimplified or ignored in many cases.

One of the fastest changing developments in education journalism—as in the rest of journalism—is blogging. In many cases, blogs are simply another outlet for established voices such as teachers, students, and mainstream reporters. In a few cases, however, blogs from nontraditional writers are emerging; some are associated with particular agencies (teachers unions, think tanks, etc.), while others are wholly independent. As with any other form of journalism, blogs are written by people with a wide range of experience, talent, and agendas.

Matthew I. Pinzur

See also Activist Teachers

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JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

Created in 1917 by Julius Rosenwald (1862–1933), president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, the Rosenwald Fund had a profound effect on rural education for African Americans in the South during the early twentieth century. Incorporated in 1928, the fund concentrated on four broad initiatives: education, health, fellowships, and race relations.

It is best known for a rural school-building program, which funded the construction of 4,977 public schoolhouses, 163 vocational shops, and 217 teachers' homes in 883 counties in 15 Southern states. Reflecting Rosenwald's goal of encouraging communities to work to better themselves, the fund contributed \$4.4 million in matching funds to the school-building program between 1914 and 1932. Local African Americans and Whites provided the remainder of the \$28.4 million cost.

In the area of health services, the fund concentrated on the improvement of health care facilities and on advanced training for physicians, nurses, and hospital administrators. The fund's fellowship program provided the opportunity for Black and White Southerners to pursue graduate and professional training at Northern universities or European institutions. In 1942, the fund organized a race relations division, codirected by Will W. Alexander and Charles S. Johnson, the first African American president of Fisk University. Conforming to Rosenwald's desire that the fund expend its resources to benefit the current generation, it closed in 1948.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Rosenwald Schools

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K

KINDERGARTEN, HISTORY OF

Kindergartens were originally conceived by Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), a German educator, as pre-school instruction for children three to seven years of age. The word *kindergarten* means “child’s garden” in German and reflects Froebel’s belief that education should help children realize their natural, inner potential. Thus, the curriculum emphasized the moral development of children as well as their intellectual and physical development. Although conceived in Germany, the kindergarten movement gained its momentum and popularity in the United States. This entry looks at the kindergarten’s origins in Europe and its development in the United States.

Laying a Foundation

Froebel’s own unhappy childhood almost certainly influenced his interest in the education of young children. At the University of Jena in 1799, he focused his studies on physics, mathematics, and architecture. During the next three years he was influenced by the philosophical ideas of two German philosophers: Johann Fichte and Friederich von Schelling. Froebel soon developed his own philosophy in which God was the “Divine Unity” whose spirit infused all things. Thus, all things were interconnected.

After graduating from the university, Froebel decided to pursue a career in education. He studied

with the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, continued his studies at the University of Gottingen, served in the army (1813–1817), and eventually became the principal of a school in Kielhau, Germany. Froebel’s practical experience as an educator influenced his philosophical ideas. According to Froebel, the purpose of education is to teach children how to observe and to try to understand the “divine characteristics” of all the interconnected things in the world. His philosophy is outlined in *The Spirit of Man* (1826), which he wrote while at Kielhau.

In 1837, Froebel opened his first kindergarten in Blankenburg, Germany. He developed a curriculum based upon his set of “Gifts” and “Occupations,” a series of twenty teaching toys and activities that taught a child through play. The purpose of the Gifts and Occupations was to help children understand the unity that Froebel believed was inherent in everything in the world, while at the same time providing them with the tools to shape, and perhaps master, the world in which they lived. Gardening, games, and group singing also helped the children learn to play and work together.

Due to a lack of sufficient funds, the school in Blankenburg had to close in 1844. Froebel spent the next five years traveling throughout Germany promoting kindergartens. In 1849 he once again tried to establish a kindergarten, this time in Libenstein, Germany. Because of kindergartens’ association with radical political ideology, the Prussian government banned them in Germany in August 1851. Froebel died in June 1852.

Traveling to U.S. Shores

By the mid-1850s, educators in the United States were discussing and writing about the kindergarten movement. Henry Barnard described the kindergarten exhibit he had seen in 1854 at an educational exhibit in London in an article in the *American Journal of Education*. Margarethe Schurz, a former student of Froebel's, established a German-speaking kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1856.

The Peabody Influence

Elizabeth Peabody (1804–1894), an experienced educator with connections to the leading intellectuals and philosophers in New England, met Schurz in Boston in 1859. Peabody was a Transcendentalist who believed that the human soul, or spirit, could rise above the material and physical world and become one with God's divine spirit. After learning more about the kindergarten movement from Schurz, Peabody familiarized herself with Froebel's work.

In 1860 she opened a kindergarten in Boston. It was the first English-speaking kindergarten in the United States. Her assistant was Mary Mann, the widow of education reformer Horace Mann (1796–1859). Elizabeth and her sister, Mary Peabody, published the *Kindergarten Guide* in 1863. In order to learn more about the Froebel's ideas, Elizabeth went to Europe in 1867–1868. When she returned, she continued to advance the kindergarten movement and the Froebelian system through correspondence, lectures, and a new journal, the *Kindergarten Messenger*.

One of those attending a lecture by Peabody was Milton Bradley (1836–1911), a Massachusetts board game manufacturer. Because he was so intrigued with Froebel's ideas, Bradley began to make kindergarten and art materials and published a book by Edward Weibe, *Paradise of Childhood*, which was the first book to explain the Froebelian system in detail to an American audience.

Susan Blow's Role

Another visitor to Europe during the early 1870s who was impressed by the kindergarten classes she saw there was Susan Blow (1843–1916), the daughter

of a wealthy St. Louis businessman and politician. Upon her return to the United States she began lobbying William Torrey Harris (1835–1909), Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, to set up a public kindergarten. Harris agreed to assign a public school primary teacher to help Blow set up an experimental kindergarten in space he provided.

First, Blow went to New York to get further kindergarten training. Then Blow returned to St. Louis in 1873 to begin her own kindergarten training program for teachers and classes for children. The Des Peres kindergarten, which began in August 1873 in St. Louis, was the first successful public school kindergarten in the United States.

Dissemination of the kindergarten idea continued through the vehicle of the International Expositions. There were two demonstration kindergartens on exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, one of which was the Des Peres kindergarten. Both kindergartens generated a great deal of interest and helped spread the kindergarten movement across the country. By 1879 there were 53 kindergarten classes and 131 paid teachers. Volunteers and unpaid assistants also helped in the kindergartens, some of whom were in training to become teachers.

Controversy

Opponents to the kindergarten movement argued that kindergartens were too expensive, that they spoiled young children, and that it would be impossible to train kindergarten teachers. Superintendent Harris and the St. Louis School Board recognized that the training in the skills and habits (punctuality, cleanliness, industry, and politeness) provided by the kindergarten curriculum would benefit future workers in the manufacturing sector. He also believed that it was important to give children, especially those from poorer neighborhoods, the opportunity to have an extra year of schooling, while at the same time getting them away from the corruption confronting them on the streets, and perhaps even their own homes.

Kindergartens were used as one of the primary vehicles for the Americanization of immigrant children. They provided the opportunity to instill the values of a democratic and capitalistic society in the

children, helping them to become loyal workers and citizens. During the late nineteenth century, charity kindergartens were set up in churches and settlement houses for the children of the very poor in most large cities. It was believed that by working closely with the parents of these children, it would be possible to improve the life of the whole family and encourage the children to rise above a life of poverty. Many of the teachers in these charity kindergartens spent part of their day out in the neighborhoods, encouraging older children to enroll in school and taking on many of the duties of the modern-day social worker.

The kindergarten movement continued to receive support from public school systems across the country. By 1898 there were 4,363 kindergartens, with a total of 189,604 pupils and 8,937 teachers. Gradually, kindergartens were shifting away from so much volunteer and parental involvement as they became more integrated within public school systems. Criticisms of the curriculum also grew: Some felt that Froebel's "Gifts" and "Occupations" discouraged creativity in children, while others objected to Froebel's system because it was not developed as a result of observing young children. John Dewey (1859–1952) disagreed with Froebel's belief that the mind of a young child already contained some universal principles.

A new approach, known as the Progressive kindergarten movement, was supported by John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), Anna E. Byran (1858–1901), and Patty Smith Hill (1868–1946), head of the Kindergarten Department at Teachers College,

Columbia University. The Progressives believed that morality was defined by the culture in which the child lived and not something that was inherent within each child. Therefore, the purpose of kindergarten should be to help the child learn to cope with a culture and world that were becoming more complicated and demanding everyday. The National Kindergarten Association was founded in New York in 1909. By the end of World War I, kindergartens were an important component of the public school system in most of the larger towns and cities in America. They continue to be a major component of most school systems today.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 10, Kindergartens

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LABORATORY SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

John Dewey (1859–1952) founded the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago in 1896. Dewey had come to the university in 1894 from the University of Michigan to be head of the combined departments of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. His responsibilities included organizing and administering an experimental school. The school, which opened in 1896, was intended to be a laboratory for pedagogy and educational experimentation in much the same way a laboratory is used for physics or chemistry. As such, according to Dewey, it had two main purposes: “(1) to exhibit, test, verify and criticize theoretical statements and principles; (2) to add to the sum of facts and principles in its special line.”

At the Laboratory School, Dewey tested his progressive theory of education. Drawing on the work of early theorists such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, he concluded that children learn best through hands-on experience, and that the school should function as a miniature society for the child. In the textile laboratory, for example, students would not only learn about the history of textiles, but would actually spin wool, dye yarn, and weave cloth using a loom. In doing so, they would learn how earlier cultures used technology for the improvement of their lives. They would also learn how to work in a group to produce a product.

Dewey was heavily influenced in his work with the Laboratory School by a number of figures in the

Chicago community. Among the most important of these was Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House; Ella Flagg Young, a doctoral student of his at the university and the first female superintendent in Chicago as well as the first female director of the National Education Association; and Georgia F. Bacon, one of his lead teachers at the school.

Dewey’s work at the Laboratory School, along with his emerging philosophy of education, is described in a number of works. These include the 1897 article “My Pedagogic Creed”; regular reports on the activities of the school during its early years made in Chicago’s *University Record*; and two brief books, *The School and Society* (1899) and *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902).

Dewey left the University of Chicago in 1904 for Columbia University as a result of a conflict with the university’s central administration over the running of the Laboratory School. However, he continued to contribute to the development of experimental and laboratory schools, including the Horace Mann School, which was affiliated with Teachers College, Columbia University, and the Park School of Buffalo, recognized by many as the first country day school in the United States.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Horace Mann School; Park Schools; Progressive Education

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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LEARNING DISABILITIES AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Among the 4,584,946 English language learners (ELLs) enrolled in 2000–2001—9 percent of the total school-age population—are students who also have learning disabilities. A learning disability is a cross-cultural phenomenon; therefore, it might be logical to assume that the growing immigrant population is and will continue to be inclusive of students with learning disabilities. Their learning is influenced not only by the disability but by language and cultural experiences, too. Addressing their needs has been problematic for a variety of reasons discussed in this entry.

Minority Overrepresentation

One of the most critical issues in special education's modern history is the overrepresentation of minorities in special education. Despite the fact that considerable efforts have been made to understand and address the issue over the past three decades, the problem is still reflected in enrollment statistics today. Factors that can affect the degree of disproportionate representation are district size, assessment measures used to indicate the problem, and the availability of alternative curricula such as bilingual programs. The existing research on overrepresentation has focused solely on issues of race, however, and has failed to address the impact that various diversity markers such as language proficiency and social class might have on overrepresentation and underrepresentation of minorities in special education programs.

Most of the studies focusing on ELLs have addressed the issue of misplacement. When linguistic barriers, which are already a concern for assessing

ELLs, are added to a disability, how to assess the student becomes even more complicated.

Assessment Bias

Research concludes that, typically, ELLs are not tested in their native language and as a consequence can become victims of assessment bias. Many ELLs in special education classes have been diagnosed as having a learning disability when in reality they may lack only English proficiency. On the other hand, many children who need special educational services may not receive them because of efforts to reduce the number of minority students served, a controversy that has plagued special education for decades.

This might be explained by the fact that when these children enter American schools, their native language stops developing and is, in fact, slowly lost. At the same time, English is not developing adequately. Therefore, these children end up with significant language deficits that affect their literacy development. The extent to which aptitude or conduct of concern in school performance is an intrinsic attribute of the child or a consequence of the child's environment is not easy to determine, especially when these children are ELLs.

Delivery of services and educational decisions for ELLs with disabilities have been historically determined based on research and practices that have been proven effective for their monolingual peers. It seems, however, that this might overlook the linguistic needs of ELLs with disabilities. Language and culture must be an integral part of the educational plan for all children. Failing to consider these factors may mean that students do not receive an appropriate education in the least restrictive environment as mandated by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Consequently, the need to understand and identify interventions and assessment processes to help maximize the educational experience of ELLs with disabilities is clear and urgent. Well-conducted studies that seek to identify predictors of reading failure in ELL populations are clearly needed.

Ana Maria Pazos-Rego

See also Cultural Pluralism; Immigrant Education; Contemporary Issues; Special Education, Contemporary Issues

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LEARNING DISABILITIES AND HIGHER EDUCATION ACCESS

Statistical data produced by HEATH Resource Center (1999) demonstrates that there has been a steady increase in the number of students with learning disabilities (LDs) attending postsecondary institutions. However, research suggests that the academic and social challenges they face in colleges and universities may be enough to discourage them from completing their education. Researchers have identified specific circumstances that help to explain this phenomenon: (1) the complex transition from the secondary to the postsecondary setting, (2) pessimistic attitudes of faculty and staff toward individuals with learning disabilities, and (3) the lack of experience of students with LDs in self-advocacy. This entry examines these problems.

A Complex Transition

The fundamental differences between high school and college make the adaptation of freshmen with learning disabilities to the postsecondary institution very complicated. Many times, students with LDs arrive at their college or university expecting no change from their high school experience. What they find is that the professionals involved in their education (e.g., faculty members and advisers) have no responsibility in requesting special services for the students. In addition, high school students interact more often with their teachers than the average college student may be able to do. Consequently, opportunities to demonstrate learning are also quite different; for example, as compared to high school classes, college classes have fewer exams that cover larger quantities of information, and they require more time invested on homework than what is expected of the high school student. In addition, college students with disabilities find that

their parents are less involved in the structuring of their lives at college.

Researchers have also found that when faced with less support from parents and teachers around them, students with LDs are also faced with significantly more requirements to plan their days and activities. This sudden amount of freedom may challenge all students, but for those with LDs, many of whom have difficulty with organizational skills, such freedoms can contribute to failure.

Faculty Attitudes

Section 504 and the Americans with Disabilities Act ensure that individuals with disabilities receive instructional accommodations that will grant them equal access to postsecondary education. As a result, colleges and universities have adopted alternative methods to help these students in their academic endeavors. However, studies investigating faculty understanding of learning disabilities showed that many members of the professorate have little knowledge about disabilities in general and about learning disabilities specifically. This lack of understanding can influence how faculty members provide accommodations for their students with learning disabilities.

One group of researchers found a backlash against college students with disabilities and reported that some faculty felt that providing accommodations for students with LDs was not fair or justified. This attitude may be related to the fact that a cognitive impairment often involves changes in related features of the academic work (e.g., extra time to complete assignments, readers, and alternative methods of demonstrating knowledge attainment).

Inadequate Self-Advocacy

Students with LDs may have little opportunity to develop self-advocacy skills because they are not actively involved in the academic decision process. The important decisions are made by teachers and parents, who believe they are representing the students' best interests. According to federal law, in order for students to receive accommodations at the

postsecondary level, they must self-identify and provide the necessary documentation to prove the nature and the needs of their disability. It is therefore essential that the student develop as early as possible the skills to self-advocate.

Some institutions have programs such as an Office of Disability Services that provide students with documentation of their disability and a delineation of the nature of the disability and the educational needs of students. However, in most instances, it is up to the individual student to advocate for himself or herself. In order to ensure that college-bound students with learning disabilities have equal access to postsecondary education, transition plans should include preparation and training in the necessary skills needed to succeed in the fast-paced college environment.

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See also Special Education, Contemporary Issues

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LEAST RESTRICTIVE ENVIRONMENT

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) mandates that every student with a disability be educated in the least restrictive environment (LRE). More specifically, LRE is a legal term referring to IDEA's requirement that, "to the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities . . . be educated with children who are not disabled, and that in special classes, separate schooling or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment may occur only when the nature or severity of the disability is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily" (20 U.S.C., Sec. 1412 [a] [5]).

Thus, the LRE is the educational setting that most closely approximates the regular school program (i.e., that of nondisabled students), while also meeting each child's special educational needs. IDEA establishes a presumption in favor of inclusion in the regular classroom in that it requires that a student's individualized education program provide justification of the extent to which a child will *not* participate with their nondisabled peers in the general academic curriculum, extracurricular activities, and other nonacademic activities (e.g., mealtimes, dances, transportation, recreation).

The LRE is an individualized and somewhat fluid concept; the LRE for two children served under the same disability category may be different, and the LRE for both may change over time. Furthermore, the environment deemed least restrictive for a child depends in part on the nature of the exceptionality. Most students with speech impairments and learning disabilities can be appropriately served primarily in regular classes, but those with more severe impairments might require resources only available in separate classes or schools.

Fundamental to the LRE is the notion of a continuum of services. This continuum is provided by school systems and includes a wide range of special education placement and service options to meet the unique

needs of students with disabilities. The service delivery options comprising the continuum can be conceptualized from least to most restrictive. At the less restrictive end are placements in the regular classroom (with or without consultation from a special educator) and resource room (where a special educator provides instruction to students with disabilities for part of the school day), whereas more restrictive placement options include separate classrooms (also referred to as self-contained classrooms), separate schools, residential placements, and hospital settings. The majority of students receiving special education services have mild disabilities and are served in regular classrooms (with support services provided as necessary), but those requiring more intensive services may be served in more restrictive settings. However, that a greater proportion of children with severe disabilities are served in placements other than general education classes in no way presumes that the LRE for such students is categorically restrictive, that is, automatically a separate class or school.

The major principle underscoring the LRE is that students are served most effectively and most equitably when they are in settings in which they can learn and that are as similar as possible to those of their nondisabled peers, and when they can possibly move to less and less restrictive classroom settings. Therefore, determining the LRE is a significant task, one that is typically undertaken by a multidisciplinary team (MDT) made up of various school personnel (e.g., general and special education teachers, school psychologist, speech therapist, counselor, physical therapist, occupational therapist) and the child's parent/guardian. This team determines the appropriate placement for a child following an evaluation of what the child's needs are as a result of the disability, and which special education and related services will be required to meet those needs. This important decision is to be made on a student-by-student basis, with any level of the continuum potentially functioning as the LRE for the student.

Special education placement should not be assumed permanent. The continuum of services idea is a flexible one, with students moving from one placement to another as dictated by their educational needs. In fact, the MDT is required to review the goals

and objectives for students annually to determine if new placements might be warranted. Moreover, parents must be informed of any change in placement considerations and accorded the right to consent or object, and to provide additional information on their child if they wish.

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See also Assistive Technology; Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; Mainstreaming; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDERED STUDENTS: ADVOCACY GROUPS FOR

Advocacy groups for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer/questioning (LGBTQ) students improve lives by providing outreach and information, helping LGBTQ youth find local resources, and supporting student activism. LGBTQ youth are coming out of the closet at younger ages and in greater numbers than ever before, forcing schools and society to revamp laws and policies and institute new programs to ensure their safety and inclusion. This entry looks at how advocacy groups help.

Before the advent of the Internet, LGBTQ youth advocacy groups were confined to large cities and served small populations of youth. Many youth advocacy groups were housed in local gay and lesbian community centers, usually underfunded and staffed by volunteers who offered outreach in the form of

support groups. Even so, many urban LGBTQ youth experienced extreme isolation in school and at home and had little or no access to other LGBTQ youth or adults. Growing up in small towns and rural America also presented a challenge to LGBTQ youth, who were less likely to find sources of support than their peers in more populated urban areas.

With the introduction of the Internet in the 1990s and an increase in LGBTQ characters in the popular media, LGBTQ youth have found greater societal acceptance and increased opportunities to engage with other LGBTQ youth and supportive adults. Because youth spend much of their time in school, it seems natural that America's public schools took center stage and became the battlefield on which LGBTQ youth are currently fighting to be recognized and included in the curricula and practices of the schools.

As a result, many LGBTQ youth advocacy groups have sprung up to provide support, resources, and training to students expecting equal rights. Among the most widely known of those groups are the Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network (GLSEN), started in 1990, and the Safe Schools Coalition, adopting its current name and mission in 2001. GLSEN has local chapters across the United States, and safe schools coalitions (grassroots coalitions of parents, educators, students, and community members) have organized in many communities to work with local school districts in bringing about equity for LGBTQ students.

The increased societal support for LGBTQ youth and the 1984 Federal Equal Access Act have allowed for the formation of support programs for LGBTQ youth in America's public schools, like Project 10 in Los Angeles, Massachusetts' Safe Schools Program for Gay and Lesbian Students, and more than 3,000 Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) student clubs in all fifty states. GSAs serve many purposes, including social, support, and advocacy. Besides GLSEN, advocacy groups offering support to students starting GSAs include the Gay-Straight Alliance Network; Lambda Legal, a national network of cooperating attorneys providing legal representation and Web-based handbooks, such as *Out, Safe, and Respected: Your Rights at School*; and the American Civil Liberty Union's (ACLU) Lesbian & Gay Rights Project, fighting for the rights of LGBTQ students in courts and legislatures.

Other advocacy organizations, many of them Internet based, include National Youth Advocacy Coalition; OutProud, the National Coalition for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Youth; Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG); Young Gay America (YGA); Youth Guardian Services, offering safe cyber spaces for LGBTQ youth; and Youth Resource, providing sexual health information to LGBTQ youth. Ambiente Joven is an advocacy organization for Spanish-speaking LGBTQ youth, and Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (Gender PAC) advocates rights of transgender students.

Ian K. Macgillivray

See also Equal Access Act; Homophobia; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students and Teachers: Rights of; Rights of Students; Sexual Orientation and Identity, Educational Policy on

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Web Sites

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- Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network (GLSEN):
<http://www.glsen.org>
- Gay-Straight Alliance Network: <http://www.gsanetwork.org>
- Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (Gender PAC):
<http://www.gpac.org/youth>
- Lambda Legal: <http://www.lambdalegal.org>
- National Youth Advocacy Coalition:
<http://www.nyacyouth.org>
- OutProud: <http://www.outproud.org>
- Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG): <http://www.pflag.org>

Safe Schools Coalition: <http://www.safeschoolscoalition.org>
Young Gay America (YGA):
<http://www.YoungGayAmerica.com>
Youth Guardian Services: <http://www.youth-guard.org>
Youth Resource: <http://www.youthresource.com>

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDERED STUDENTS AND TEACHERS: RIGHTS OF

The rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (LGBTQ) students and teachers are not defined in any federal law and vary widely from state to state and school district to school district. Courts are often left to decide on a case-by-case basis where the rights of LGBTQ teachers and students begin and end. This topic holds relevance for educational law makers and policy makers and the many students and teachers in America's schools who face discrimination based on their real or perceived sexual orientations and gender identities. This entry summarizes civil rights statutes and policies and discusses their impact on LGBTQ students and teachers.

State, Local, and District Policies

According to the Human Rights Campaign, eight states (California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin) and the District of Columbia prohibit sexual orientation discrimination in schools. Three states (California, Minnesota, and New Jersey) and the District of Columbia prohibit gender identity discrimination in schools. Private and religious schools are often exempted from such laws, as are the Boy Scouts of America, which uses public schools for meetings. Many state and district boards of education have policies prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation, but few explicitly prohibit discrimination based on gender identity, which would protect transgender students.

Five states (Alabama, Arizona, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas) prohibit any discussion of homosexuality in schools or mandate that homosexuality be referred to only in a negative manner (also known as

No Promo Homo laws). The Utah State Board of Education prohibits the "advocacy" of homosexuality.

LGBTQ Students

The most prominent court case serving as a wakeup call to school districts that antigay harassment must be taken seriously is *Nabozny v. Podlesny* (1996). Jamie Nabozny, an openly gay high school student who was tormented by his peers and severely beaten, sued several school administrators in federal court for failing to protect him from antigay peer abuse and was awarded \$900,000. Jamie was treated differently not only because he is gay (sexual orientation discrimination) but also because he is male (sex discrimination). When he complained about the abuse, he was told to fight back, whereas girls who reported harassment were not told to fight back. Schools that discriminate on the basis of sex risk losing their federal Title IX funding.

Similar cases around the United States—for example, *Henkle v. Gregory* (2003), in which Nevada student Derek Henkle was awarded \$451,000—are affirming the rights of LGBTQ students to safety and inclusion in America's public schools. The increasing popularity of Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) student clubs, and the lawsuits that result when districts try to prevent them, are also helping to define the rights of LGBTQ students.

Schools have the right to set dress codes in accordance with community standards, but in at least one case, *Doe v. Brockton School Community* (2000), the Court ruled that a school could not prevent an eighth-grade male-to-female transgender student from wearing girls' clothes. In *Fricke v. Lynch* (1980), a federal court ruled that students can bring same-sex dates to prom. With an emerging population of transgender middle and high school students, the courts may soon be ruling on their right of access to gender-neutral bathrooms and locker rooms, where the presence of ambiguously gendered students in the "boys" or "girls" bathroom or locker room could create an uncomfortable and threatening environment.

LGBTQ Teachers

Changes in state civil rights laws, coupled with recent legal precedents strengthening individuals' and

employees' rights to privacy and due process, are making it more difficult for school districts to dismiss teachers based solely on their sexual orientation. In California, Dawn Murray, a teacher who suffered harassment and discrimination because she is lesbian, was awarded \$140,000, and her district was ordered to provide sensitivity training to its employees on issues of sexual orientation. *Merrick v. Rio-Bravo Greeley Union School District* (1999) and *Kavanaugh v. Hemet Unified School District* (2000) ruled that schools violated California state law banning discrimination based on sexual orientation when they transferred students out of certain teachers' classrooms because those teachers were perceived to be gay.

Some districts are proactive and adopt policies, provide training, and support the rights of their LGBTQ teachers. In 2006, for instance, officials of Batavia School District near Rochester, New York, supported the right of a male-to-female transgender high school teacher to retain her job and held informational meetings for concerned parents. In 1999, however, Dana Rivers, a transgender high school teacher in Sacramento, California, was dismissed by her school board.

Previous case law has established that teachers cannot be fired for commenting on matters of public concern that are related to their school (in Letters to the Editor, for example) or because of their membership in various organizations. Likewise, LGBTQ teachers may be able to publicly comment on matters of public concern that have to do with sexual orientation and gender identity issues and their school, and they may be able to belong to LGBTQ organizations, but as of yet, there are no cases that address this. Likewise, just as heterosexual teachers "come out" to their students when they discuss their spouses and families, LGBTQ teachers may be able to be open about their sexual orientation, gender identity, partner, and families. But again, there are no cases that directly address these free speech issues, and as long as federal, state, and local laws and district policies do not explicitly prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, LGBTQ student and teacher rights will remain ambiguous.

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See also Equal Access Act; Homophobia; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students: Advocacy Groups

for; Rights of Students; Sexual Orientation and Identity, Educational Policy on

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Web Sites

- Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues in education: <http://www.IanMacgillivray.com>

LIBRARIES, HISTORY OF

Libraries developed soon after the development of writing itself. Although the first libraries were primarily storehouses of government records, they quickly expanded to include religious texts, reference materials, and literature. Libraries require not only the support of both religious and secular authorities, but also a literate populace to create and use the items located in them. This entry provides a brief historical overview.

Ancient Libraries

The Sumerian civilization in Mesopotamia developed the cuneiform method of writing, with clay tablets as the preferred medium for the creation of written

documents. The earliest Mesopotamian libraries date to 2,500 BCE, as in the examples of collections of tablets found near Nippur.

Ancient Greece introduced the first libraries open to public use. The impetus for the creation of public libraries in ancient Greece was the alteration of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides by performers and copyists in the years after their deaths. The Athenian tyrant, Lycurgas, decreed that written copies of the plays would be maintained as public records to ensure that the plays were accurately performed and reproduced.

The most famous Greek library of antiquity was located in Egypt. The Alexandrian library was founded as part of the Museum, a temple that served as a home for intellectuals who were recruited by the Ptolemies. A key function of the Library of Alexandria was the maintenance and reproduction of accurate copies of important Hellenic works. To track the library's vast collection, the poet Callimachus created a 120-volume catalog, called the *Pinakes*, which listed the most eminent scholars and their writings in alphabetical order. The *Pinakes* was not a comprehensive catalog of the entire library but a bibliography of the most important works.

Before the Roman conquest of Macedonia and Greece in the second century BCE, Roman library collections were limited to public records. However, after Paulus Aemilius brought back the library of Perseus of Macedonia as the spoils of war in 168, it became common for Roman generals to seize libraries as spoils. Some, like Cornelius Sulla, provided access to these private libraries to other intellectuals.

Julius Caesar planned the first public library of Rome after visiting the Library of Alexandria, but the creation of this library was delayed by his assassination. Gaius Asinius Pollio established the first public library in Rome around 37 BCE, using the spoils of the Illyrian War. Augustus established additional Roman public libraries starting in 28 BCE with the Palatine Library.

European Libraries

Medieval libraries were much smaller than their predecessors in the Roman world, frequently only a few hundred books stored in trunks or locking wardrobes. These libraries were housed in monasteries and churches for

the use of monks and priests. Libraries housed in the great cathedrals of Europe were larger and more diverse, as their purpose was to provide educational material for clergy and laity. An important exception was the libraries created by Emperor Charlemagne. Charlemagne procured texts from Europe and the Byzantine Empire and had them copied for use in monasteries and schools throughout his empire. He also pushed monasteries to create rooms for copying books to distribute to other monasteries.

Johannes Gutenberg's development of movable type in Germany radically altered book production by reducing the time and labor required to make books, which translated into greater availability of books and lower costs. These factors led to rapid growth in the size and complexity of library collections in early modern Europe and required the development of more sophisticated methods to organize libraries.

British public libraries developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the form of subscription and circulating libraries. Circulating libraries were established in most British cities by 1800. These libraries rented books to anyone who could pay an extremely small monthly subscription fee and focused on providing leisure reading materials. Subscription libraries developed at the end of the eighteenth century and sold shares to members to fund the purchase of common library collections, which focused on more serious materials than the circulating libraries. A final British precursor to the modern public library was the mercantile institutes, which were established by charities for the use of workers and focused on vocational materials.

Modern public libraries began to appear after the passage of the Public Libraries Act in 1850, which allowed cities to use taxes in order to establish and support public libraries. Despite economic depressions and two world wars in the twentieth century, Great Britain pioneered public library services such as bookmobiles, branch libraries, and service to hospitals.

U.S. Libraries

During the eighteenth century, colonists such as Benjamin Franklin founded society libraries based on the model found in Great Britain. Over time, some

society libraries offered nonmembers the option of paying an annual fee, known as a subscription, for the privilege of using the collection.

The drive to establish public libraries grew during the nineteenth century out of the belief that governments had the responsibility to regulate society and that public education was the best means to teach new immigrants how to take part in American democracy. In 1846, the New Hampshire state legislature authorized local governments to use taxes to establish public libraries; it was quickly followed by other states.

Public library use expanded during the twentieth century as new immigrants and unemployed workers tried to gain the skills to find better employment. During the 1950s and 1960s, state officials and the American Library Association worked to secure federal assistance to meet the needs of patrons. Economic difficulties during the 1970s and 1980s led to library closures in some areas. At the same time, library use and the cost of library technology and materials increased through the 1990s. As a result, public libraries have increased their efforts to secure private funding.

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See also Archives and Library Collections on Education; Literacy in American Culture

See Visual History Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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LIFE ADJUSTMENT MOVEMENT

The life adjustment movement was a short-lived effort following World War II to provide a high school curriculum that was more practical for what was then a

majority of high school students who did not go on to college or other postsecondary training. To understand the purpose and impact of the movement, it is first necessary to look at the educational situation following the war. Then, in looking at the response to that situation, it is important to examine the relationship between what was intended by advocates of life adjustment education and what ultimately happened in schools. With those events in mind, the criticisms of the movement and the resulting calls for reform might make more sense.

In 1944, in response to poor working conditions for teachers, glaring inequities in the funding of schools, and an almost 40 percent high school dropout rate, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association suggested that public education move toward a curriculum better suited to the needs of students, especially in Grades 10–12, most of whom had no intention of going on to college. Soon after, in 1945, at a meeting of vocational educators, Charles Prosser put forth a resolution calling for a functional curriculum that came to be called life adjustment education. The life adjustment curriculum included guidance and education in home life, citizenship, use of leisure, health, tools of learning, and work experience. Although it was assumed that this curriculum would be important for disadvantaged, poorly motivated, or low-achieving students, supporters of the movement also believed it would be better for all youth.

The movement enjoyed support from both educators and the public in the beginning, but soon the focus had been turned to money problems, and critics used the excesses of the movement to launch effective criticisms that brought the demise of life adjustment education. The most vocal and persuasive critics came from academia, but other reactionary groups joined the attack by connecting the movement to everything from John Dewey to communist infiltration. Critics pointed out the worst examples of life adjustment education—for example, classes in hypnotism and contract bridge—and argued that the schools had become anti-intellectual, secular, and subversive institutions. Defenders of life adjustment continued to argue that the new curriculum better met the needs of students and a changing society, but despite having the support of a

significant segment of the public, it had mostly lost the battle by the mid-1950s and all but disappeared with the response to the launch of the Soviet satellite, *Sputnik*, in 1957.

Rick A. Breault

See also Comprehensive High Schools

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LIFE HISTORIES

Telling life stories is a form of learning and knowing about one another, be it a couple getting to know one another, a child and parent building their lives together, siblings sharing lived experiences, classmates sharing their thoughts, or strangers looking for conversation. Furthermore, life stories are the substance for fictional stories that are all around us, in print, audio, and visual media. Thus, the conversations/dialogs/stories/narratives that surface regarding education must bring individual lives to the forefront; through those lived experiences, alternate ways of thinking about the meaning of school may emerge. Life history research is an interdisciplinary cluster of approaches that use life stories—whether written, oral, or in other forms—as a primary source for social, cultural, and historical research.

Where does life history research fit? It fits everywhere there is a life story to be discovered, told, and heard. How can life history methods be part of education research? They can be part of it when education is viewed as dealing with lives. How researchers view

life histories often depends on their academic discipline and orientation; their profession; and their own life stories, both personal and scholarly. The method of life history is rooted in the sociological underpinning of individuals being part and parcel of the society at large. The University of Chicago sociology department promoted this perspective vigorously during the 1920s, with almost every study making some use of personal documents.

Following the University of Chicago's pioneering life history work, social science research turned toward the positivist framework, relying on more quantitative measures or qualitative measures used to construct universal truths. Nonetheless, life history research continued to be sprinkled in the fields of anthropology and sociology throughout the twentieth century. It was not until the 1980s that the field of education became more and more receptive to qualitative methods, such as life history. Social science researchers, including educational researchers, are gradually abandoning their search for the one great truth.

More recently, education scholars have begun to explore the necessity of using qualitative research methods to gather and interpret rich data regarding lived experiences unfolding in schools. Many qualitative studies in education explore the inequities in education that have existed since the inception of public schooling in the United States. Highlighting the experiences of students, teachers, parents, and the larger school community can humanize the stories of struggle and resistance and push these life histories to the forefront of educational research.

Much of the research dealing with the meaning of schooling for children of color as well as children in lower socioeconomic strata is rooted in a cultural deficiency framework. Thus, life history research is one way to counter this stockpile of research that tends to overlook the complexities of lived experiences. Many educators believe that the body of knowledge that students bring with them to the classroom should be an integral part of the teaching/learning unfolding in schools. As they see it, the current system often views these personal experiences as irrelevant and unimportant. Life history methodology within the area of education research is still getting its feet wet, and of

the emerging, groundbreaking projects, most use the life histories of teachers, and not of students.

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See also First-Person Accounts of Teaching; Oral History; Qualitative Research

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LITERACY IN AMERICAN CULTURE

The uses of literacy and the spread of books and schools are a reflection of a society's values and attitudes. Each society must determine the answers to value-laden questions such as, Who should learn to read? What should be the content of available reading material? Who has the responsibility for creating and maintaining places of

learning? American culture has come up with different answers to these questions at different moments in time. As American culture has changed and evolved, as different concerns have developed, the uses of literacy have been transformed as well. What has remained constant, though, is that Americans employ a variety of methods in interacting with the written word. This entry offers a definition of literacy.

Literacy is a mosaic of socially constructed written language practices that vary according to use. People participate in literacy events in an assortment of ways depending on their knowledge of reading and writing, their previous experiences with texts, their interpretive practices, and their cultural resources and representations. Power relations among individuals and groups determine who and what people can read. Investigating the answers to these concerns in the past has been the goal of historians of literacy and those working in the field known as the history of the book. Understanding these concerns in the contemporary world has been the goal of policy makers and literacy scholars, as well as parents, news reporters, and business leaders. This entry explores both.

Literacy in Colonial British North America

The voluntary emigrants from England and the coerced emigrants from Africa who came to British North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought values and traditions from their former homes, including ideas about literacy and schooling. Although most of the European colonists were from the British Isles, they still brought different conceptions about the purpose of their life in the New World, just as they differed in Britain about the accessibility and availability of literacy.

The starkest contrast was between the settlers of Massachusetts and the settlers of Virginia. The difference in attitudes was exemplified by the declarations and actions of the leaders of the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay colonies, respectively.

Virginia's governor, William Berkeley, coming from the conservative English tradition that viewed scholarly skills among the poor to be a threat to social stability, famously noted in a report to the colony's overseers

in Britain his supreme joy that schools for the poor and a printing press were nonexistent in Virginia.

In contrast, New England colonial leaders valued literacy for all because of the great importance placed on direct access to the word of God. For the leaders of New England and their followers, the Bible, literally, was the embodiment of truth and God. In support, the civil government in Massachusetts in 1642 required parents and masters to take responsibility for instructing children and servants to read. Five years later, the General Court passed a law requiring every town of fifty families to create a basic school where reading and writing were taught. Towns of one hundred families were compelled to set up a more advanced grammar school. The “Old Deluder Satan Act,” as this legislation came to be known, focused on the need for widespread literacy to support religion and to foster a godly kingdom here on earth.

The introduction of slavery to Virginia, and the enduring prevalence of a stratified, patriarchal society that favored cash wealth over spiritual wealth, ensured that the influence of the written word remained relatively weak in that colony. Three out of every four people in Virginia at the beginning of the eighteenth century were either nonliterate or largely confined to the oral medium. Over the next seventy years, in both northern and southern colonies, inroads in commercial capitalism and fissures in political relations between the colonies and Britain led to an important shift in the use of literacy.

On the eve of the American Revolution, rudimentary literacy among Whites in the colonial South had increased dramatically. For New Englanders, the relationship between literacy and religion grew weaker. In the new era of the late eighteenth century, people wrote and read for commercial and political reasons. At the conclusion of the Revolution, the new country found yet another use for literacy—the promotion of republican discourse.

Literacy in the Early Republic

After the United States won its independence from Britain, maintaining a republican spirit in the fledgling country became a primary concern for many Americans. Political rhetoric increasingly suggested

that literate culture could facilitate the maintenance of a republic. In Pennsylvania, Benjamin Rush called on schools to develop people into “republican machines” who would operate for the betterment of the state. In Virginia, Thomas Jefferson argued that liberty would be safe only in the hands of an educated people. And in Georgia, the president of the University of Georgia, Josiah Meigs, argued that liberty and peace required education to be diffused widely through the general population.

Accordingly, in the decades immediately following the Revolution, literacy was used to support nationalism in the newly formed United States, a dramatic departure from the religious and traditional orientation of the seventeenth century. “Friends of Education” generated proposals to develop state-supported systems of education. Noah Webster and like-minded authors developed dictionaries, spellers, and schoolbooks celebrating the new republic and its distinctiveness. Schools opened their doors to girls, the future mothers of the republic responsible for nurturing the next generation of citizens.

Over time, the republican emphasis in public discourse dissipated. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the purposes of literacy increased in number. Americans in both the North and South continued to rely on traditional texts and political monographs, of course. Literate culture, however, expanded to include popular fiction, journals, farm magazines, and high-brow literature.

Personal writing in the early republic served a practical function and focused on the commonplace. Three types of everyday writing predominated in this world: straightforward accounts of events and expositions of opinion; practical, do-it-yourself advice on nearly every conceivable aspect of daily life (from exorcising spirits to killing worms); and letters written for personal or professional reasons. Most citizens were utilitarian in their use of writing and saw no need to link writing to literature or literary appreciation.

Nevertheless, citizens believed they were fulfilling their civic responsibility when they authored simple reports or penned do-it-yourself advice. Literate individuals were expected to be aware of the larger world. Writing was to benefit and instruct others. Articles in periodicals of the era frequently reminded their

readers that common men reflecting insights and truth had produced the great inventions and ideas of their generation. All classes were expected to participate in literate civic culture. Working-class people in the United States produced sophisticated political and economic treatises of their own and commented on those of others in newspapers and periodicals.

Literacy Before and After the Civil War

As the North became more industrialized, and as the South increasingly produced staple crops for world markets, literacy became more useful in commercial enterprises. In the United States, as in most of the rest of the transatlantic world, population density and commercial and manufacturing activity were variables associated with the promotion of an ideology of literacy. Areas with greater density obtained a social concentration that led to the development of institutions promoting literacy—schools, churches, and libraries. Commercial and manufacturing activities usually, but not always, were associated with increases in population density. These economic developments in turn advanced publishing, book printing, and newspapers, and subsequently advanced a particular type of literacy.

The purpose of literacy in the South in the antebellum and postbellum years remained distinct from that of the North. Republicanism and economic development were present in the South, of course. Southerners saw the need for republican values and for literacy to maintain the values required to continue their form of democracy. Some Southerners encouraged efforts to increase manufacturing and envisioned a commercial purpose for literacy. In the handful of urban areas in the South, schools and libraries were supported as wholeheartedly, and for similar reasons, as in the urban centers of the North.

Yet these two concerns, republicanism and commercial activity, played a secondary role. Literacy in the South was controlled by, and most prevalent among, a White elite that sought to maintain its status above all else. This single fact was the driving force behind the uses and purpose of literacy in the South. The consequences for literate culture of the South's hierarchical society manifested themselves in three ways.

First, elites either directly or indirectly limited schooling and literacy for others. The most blatant limitation on literacy occurred prior to the Civil War. Slaveowners believed that the written word threatened their society from within. Antiliteracy laws aimed at slaves were passed by southern legislatures in the 1820s and 1830s. Prohibitions against Whites or Blacks owning and/or distributing abolitionist literature developed in the 1850s. All of these laws were enforced more carefully as the sectional conflict between North and South worsened.

A second, related point is that in a world where literacy is limited, oral culture and tradition necessarily predominate. Some Southerners claimed that the South's oral tradition revealed Southern superiority in intellectual concerns. Others, although not going that far, recognized the value in the spoken word in the patriarchal and hierarchical world of the South. In a world where orality predominates, reading is a social activity. Writing and reading are reliant on shared interpretations arrived at through talk.

The third and final point to keep in mind is that immediately after the Civil War, freed Blacks fought the literacy limitations placed on them by Whites. Blacks shared an intense desire for education and literacy and saw schooling as a cure to their troubles. In the first years of the Reconstruction era, it seemed to the former slave and renowned educator Booker T. Washington that an entire race was attempting to go to school. For newly emancipated slaves to be able to read and write was to obtain power.

School systems created by and for Black Americans after the Civil War signified the ex-slaves' intent to regain jurisdiction over their own lives. Whites seeking political, economic, and social subordination of Blacks eventually undermined initial Black triumphs in this enterprise, and Whites won control of Black educational institutions. By the end of the nineteenth century, Black schooling and literacy in the South was controlled and limited by Whites.

Literacy in the United States Since 1880

There are three key trends in literacy since 1880. The first is the striking, albeit uneven, expansion of literacy

among people living in the United States. The latter half of the twentieth century, in particular, witnessed a substantial increase in access to schooling for previously restricted groups. The second trend is the continuing divergence of the uses and purposes of literacy, with a concurrent development of a wide array of reading publics. The third trend is the increasing entanglement of literacy ability, corporate profitability, and national productivity.

The Expansion of Literacy

In an era that witnessed an acceleration of technological, economic, and social change, literacy became increasingly important in people's lives. In response, schools enrolled greater percentages of students for longer periods of time. Early in the twentieth century, very few Americans graduated from high school or even reached the eighth grade. By the end of the century, virtually all adults had at least an eighth-grade education, and the median level of education was more than twelve years of schooling.

As a consequence, the median level of education for Americans rose dramatically throughout the twentieth century. With the increase in schooling, individuals became less likely to self-report illiteracy to census officials and other authorities.

The Uses of Literacy

Along with an increase in both the number and percentage of literate Americans, the United States saw an increase in the book-buying public. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Americans participated in the growth of a leisure society in which increasing amounts of household income were consigned to recreational activities. Reading—both a work-related and recreational activity—joined in that growth.

Book buying spread to a majority of the American population in these years, making strong inroads in lower-income groups. It was at the higher income levels, though, in a reading elite of well-educated, active readers, where reading became more diverse and intense. Yet, at the same time, the percentage of the American public purchasing newspapers and magazines declined in that period, likely because of inroads made by radio, television, and eventually, digital technology.

The Entanglement of Literacy in Modern American Life

To an unprecedented extent, literacy has become integral to economic competition in the modern Western world. American workers have come to be viewed as the raw materials, the human capital, of national and corporate wealth. The modern workplace puts a premium on the ability of individuals to manipulate and understand abstract symbols. Because of the enhanced role of literacy, a number of contradictions have developed.

First, even as literacy and educational attainment have increased in the population, American political and business leaders have become more vocal in their complaints of a lack of advanced literacy skills among Americans. The value of literacy, it seems, has increased even more than the diffusion of advanced literacy in the American public.

Second, because of the enhanced value of advanced literacy skills, the potential cost of not attaining those skills is even higher. Advanced literacy serves a gate-keeping function to opportunity and reward. The ability to read and write allows individuals access to higher levels of income and to social privilege. Those who do not attain the advanced levels required in modern American life, however, may find themselves on the periphery of both.

Finally, the rewards from literacy are so great, for individuals and large institutions, that American governments and businesses have created elaborate bureaucracies to test and sort individuals. As a consequence, although the potential rewards are great, the potential for injustice and exploitation is equally present.

Keith Whitescarver

See also Literacy in the South; Media Literacy; Slave Codes and Literacy

See Visual History Chapter 1, Colonial Beginnings; Chapter 14, Immigration and Education; Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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LITERACY IN THE COLONIAL ERA

Literacy in the American colonies was a constant preoccupation of European settlers. Geographical location influenced access to instruction, but in most colonies, by the 1770s, White men had achieved nearly 90 percent signing rates, and White women's signatures on deeds ranged from 50 to 85 percent. This entry looks at the development of literacy during this period, its methodology, and its missionary links.

Early Immigrants

The first English immigrants brought with them their own literacy, schoolbooks, and a printing press. In 1642, the Massachusetts colony passed a "Poor Law" decreeing that all heads of families and masters of apprentices should have the children under their roof taught to read as well as acquire a practical skill. Later, laws legislated that boys (but not girls) must also learn to write. In 1647, Massachusetts passed a schooling law requiring towns of over fifty families to support a schoolmaster to teach writing and reading to all who attended (in practice, boys). By 1712, legislators in all the New England colonies except Rhode Island had passed similar laws.

These seventeenth-century Congregationalist New Englanders agreed upon the purposes of literacy instruction. Reading was essential, mainly for religious reasons. In a culture that believed in infant depravity, it was crucial to teach children to read the Bible by

themselves in hope of achieving their salvation. In contrast, writing (defined as penmanship, not composition) was vital for economic reasons: good handwriting was a practical asset for men from blacksmiths to ministers. The corresponding economic skill for women was sewing; elite girls were taught writing, but only as a genteel accomplishment.

Instruction After 1750

The town-supported schools of New England were exceptional. In the middle colonies, White children attended schools sponsored by various Protestant denominations, including Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Mennonites. In the South, poor families joined together to pay for a schoolmaster, and wealthier ones hired a male tutor.

Schooling continued to be denominational or private across the colonies, but around 1750, literacy instruction began to improve, thanks in part to a rapidly improving standard of living and an influx of imported goods. Minimal literacy standards were raised: Between 1748 and 1771, Virginia, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Massachusetts all revised their Poor Laws to require that poor girls as well as boys be taught to write.

Spelling books, which offered more explicit reading instruction than primers, were imported from England in the 1730s and reprinted on American presses, becoming the child's introduction to reading. The most successful of these was Thomas Dilworth's *A New Guide to the English Tongue*, first printed in England in 1740 and in America in 1747. After 1750, children could read a wider range of books: Genres expanded from religious and courtesy books to advice books and even the new children's books being printed by the London printer John Newbery, designed to amuse children rather than convert them. Access to writing instruction improved: Imported stationery materials became widely available, and nonelite fathers, as part of their aspirations for gentility, paid for private writing instruction for their daughters.

Methodology and Texts for Literacy

Literacy was taught through the "alphabet method." Reading, writing, and spelling all proceeded from the smallest units (letters) to the largest units (sentences).

Children learned to recognize words by spelling them aloud, “M-A-N, *man*,” in cumulative syllables. In this oral approach, reading proceeded without writing. Indeed, writing instruction presumed a partial mastery of reading. This methodology was embodied in a series of imported Christian texts.

These began with the hornbook (a small paddle of wood with a page tacked onto it that showed the alphabet, a truncated syllabary, and the Lord’s Prayer); a primer; the Psalter (the prose version of the Psalms); the New Testament; and finally, the entire Bible. Different denominations offered their own locally printed primers, but the Congregationalist *The New England Primer*, in its second Boston edition in 1690, was popular everywhere.

Gender affected teachers as well as students. It was assumed that reading was easy to teach, so women, believed to have weak minds in weak bodies, were preferred for introductory reading instruction. In contrast, writing instruction was challenging and the province of writing masters who had, ideally, undergone lengthy apprenticeships. Whereas texts for reading instruction were easily obtained and relatively inexpensive, copybooks (books exhibiting different scripts) were owned only by writing masters, who used them to set copies for schoolboys. Only in the single-sex Quaker schools of Philadelphia was access to literacy instruction equal for both sexes.

Missionary Context

Native Americans’ introduction to alphabetical literacy occurred within the context of missionary efforts by European settlers. These varied by denomination but were all funded from England. On the island of Martha’s Vineyard, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., began converting the Wampanoags in 1642, and on mainland Massachusetts, another Congregationalist, minister John Eliot of Roxbury, began preaching to the Massachusetts Indians in 1646. Both missions involved teaching literacy in the Indians’ native language, Massachusett.

With Indian assistance, John Eliot began to translate and publish, on the local press, texts in Massachusett, printing the entire Indian Bible in Massachusett by 1663. His primer appeared in 1669. Beginning in 1704, the Anglican, London-based Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel attempted to convert the Mohawks of New York. Successive Anglican clergy preached to Mohawks near Albany, opened schools, and translated sections of the Book of Common Prayer (rather than the Bible) into Mohawk. Other missions involving literacy instruction include the Moravians among the Mahicans and Delawares, and, in English, instruction at Moor’s Indian Charity School, Connecticut, organized by Eleazar Wheelock.

Few Africans were able to acquire literacy unless they were taught by sympathetic slaveholders or, clandestinely, by literate slaves. However, from 1758 to 1776, London missionary organizations funded schools for young Africans in Philadelphia, New York City, Newport (Rhode Island), and Williamsburg (Virginia). Schoolmistresses taught at these schools rather than schoolmasters because writing instruction was never offered; writing was considered a dangerous skill for slaves. Other African children learned to read in Philadelphia, taught by the Quaker Anthony Benezet, and in Charles Town (South Carolina).

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See also Literacy in American Culture; Literacy in the South

See Visual History Chapter 1, Colonial Beginnings

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LITERACY IN THE SOUTH

In the United States today, being literate—having the ability to interact with, understand, and produce written texts—is considered a fundamental right of all people. Americans expect their political and economic leaders to work to increase literacy so that everyone can enjoy the benefits that literacy can bring. Americans would be shocked to hear public proclamations that children should not be allowed to attend school, or that books should be limited in circulation. Yet, in the nineteenth-century South, it was commonplace to hear public

figures talk about the need to prevent children from learning to read or write and to limit access to written materials to adults.

It was more than mere talk, however. Southern politicians used a variety of methods to limit literacy and its benefits in the antebellum era. Most significantly, an entire race was legally prevented from learning to read and write as states throughout the region prohibited the teaching of literacy to African Americans. In addition, public schools were grossly underfunded because the well-to-do largely decided to support an alternative set of private educational institutions and to send their children to schools outside the region.

State legislators held lengthy debates about how to prevent the spread of printed materials and in several instances passed legislation banning books and broadsides. State governments ordered federal postal officials to stop the delivery of books perceived as harmful. In the 1850s, missionaries from the northern United States offering religious tracts to Southerners were greeted with hostility and threatened with violence by sheriffs and armed patrollers. In the face of such opposition, the American Tract Society eliminated its once-thriving missionary service and pulled from the region virtually every individual charged with the duty of circulating these religious pamphlets.

Political and economic decisions also led to Southerners having restricted access to published materials because of an underdeveloped infrastructure. Books, journals, and newspapers were more difficult to obtain in the South than in the North. Southern publishing houses were virtually nonexistent. Consequently, throughout the nineteenth century, southern children were less likely to have attended school, and southern adults were less likely to be able to read or write than their counterparts in the North or West.

The initial aims of the efforts against literacy were relatively simple. Prevent the enslaved population of the South—African-born slaves and their descendants—from acquiring literacy so that they would be unable to either initiate revolts or flee to other regions. Whites in the antebellum South constantly were aware of the threat to their well-being by slaves seeking to end their oppression. Slaves frequently outnumbered Whites on

the remote and isolated farms and plantations of the rural South.

Slaveowners throughout the Atlantic world were mindful of the experience of slaveowners of the French colony of Saint Domingue. The bloody revolution that slaves began in the colony in 1791 ended with the creation of an independent and free Haiti in 1804, forever reminding wary slaveowners and eager slaves of the possibility of a captive people rising in fury and successfully transforming a slave society into one that was free.

That southern Whites restricted literacy among slaves is well known. Less renowned, but executed with equally tragic effectiveness, were efforts to restrict literacy among Whites. Planters and policy makers in the antebellum South did not fear personal violence from their less wealthy neighbors, of course, but the elites were wary of the threat of a lessening of their grip on their hierarchical and patriarchal society. Consequently, policy decisions at state and local levels in the South ensured that poor Whites had limited schooling opportunities. Literacy among these particular Southerners was quite low prior to the 1860s, at least when the group is compared to those of similar social status in the North.

After the Civil War, the poor of the South, both White and Black, again suffered from educational limitations. A failure to provide adequate schools ensured a docile workforce, a stagnating economy, and limited cultural and economic opportunities. Later, when literacy tests came to be used as a method of restricting voting opportunities, the failure of southern schooling restricted participation in political life.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, other policy makers tried to modify earlier arrangements as they sought to develop educational reforms for middle-class Whites. Concern for the educational well-being of the poor of both races remained unaddressed. Eventually, however, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, education was seen as a solution to a wide array of social ills specific to the legacy of the earlier efforts to limit literacy.

The widespread operation against literacy in the South challenged the very core of American national identity, and its consequences—cultural, economic, and political—continue to reverberate through the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries and into the twenty-first. Southerners today are struggling with both the memory and consequences of the past. When compared to those in other regions of the United States, Southerners have a lower standard of living, remain less educated, and are less likely to own a computer. Historical educational practices, in other words, continue to have an impact.

Keith Whitescarver

See also Literacy in American Culture; Slave Codes and Literacy

See Visual History Chapter 16, Lewis W. Hine and the Child Labor Movement

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LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

Local knowledge is generally defined as a community's shared understanding of its sociocultural, political, linguistic, economic, and intellectual relations across space and time, and the implications for the everyday regulating and rearranging of society. It is also described variously as knowledge that is place-based, situated, or regional. Local knowledge is what people use to construct meaning, so the ways of knowing generated and maintained within a given community or organization make up the members' social reality. Researchers attempting to understand social and cultural phenomena focus their attention on the actions that take place on a local level within the sphere of specific traditions, languages, and competencies. Arguments existing within the field of cultural

anthropology influence how educators regard the role and usefulness of local knowledge. This entry provides an insight into the current debate and then compares and contrasts three forms of local knowledge with the aim of clarifying its purpose for educators.

What Are the Limits of "Local"?

Researchers who seek to understand the socially constructed reality revealed in their studies of the local knowledge of a community recognize the need to use qualitative, often participatory, methods of data collection. However, the method of interpretation of these data is a matter of debate. Those who claim that science can identify human laws or universals normally interpret their data through the application of global tenets.

Clifford Geertz, a cultural anthropologist who coined the term in 1984 with the title of his seminal text, *Local Knowledge*, brought researchers' attention to the limitations inherent in applying universal principles when analyzing social phenomena. His interpretive methods, while acknowledging the constraints inherent in diversity and decentralization, are based on the purpose of the human sciences: to clarify and draw some conclusions about what is going on among various people at various times.

The current debate is influenced by postmodern views that have developed in the context of a movement to promote global thinking. Contemporary realities are globalized when scholars from different localities collaborate in the reframing of their own traditional knowledge and negotiate new meanings collectively. The challenge is to determine ways to demonstrate local authenticity. Power is exercised through the ways in which knowledge constructs the substance that serves as the basis for community members' daily problems and practices. Knowledge is powerful because it provides people with the rules of reason.

What Counts as Knowledge?

The ancient Greek classification of knowledge is useful in revealing the limited modern conception of what it means to know. Greek knowledge included

three forms: theoretical (epistēmē), technical (technē), and moral (phronēsis). Western epistemology has reduced moral knowledge and technical knowledge to one form, practical knowledge, because of its modernist emphasis on the distinction between theory and practice. Unexamined assumptions about the nature of knowledge not only interfere with a researcher's ability to select appropriate methods of interpreting social phenomena, but also render imperceptible the forms of knowledge that enable moral decision making.

Controversies associated with prevailing views of local knowledge are rooted in differing beliefs about how knowledge is constructed, accessed, and used. Briefly presented here are three terms that represent a range of descriptions and explanations of how local knowledge is interpreted.

Intergenerational Knowledge

Knowledge shared across generations is the foundation for sustaining the shared resources (e.g., land, water, air) and relationships (e.g., language, traditions, daily practices) that support community life. Intergenerational knowledge produces and is produced by the mutual support systems that maintain what characterizes the community. Those who recognize the need for critical examination of the ideological influences on the interpretation of social phenomena prescribe continual evaluation of it. For example, within an ecojustice framework, C. A. Bowers proposes studies of concrete situations that take account of place, existing arrangements of cultural self-sufficiency, and impacts on natural systems.

Indigenous Knowledge

Similar to intergenerational knowledge, indigenous ways of knowing come about through forms of sharing such as family interactions, storytelling, and demonstrations. Traditional cultural practices, like modern educational practices, generate content knowledge as well as fundamental worldviews. Because this is another form of knowledge that is typically undervalued, even those who possess it often don't recognize its potential power. Educators, managers, and policymakers can increase the status of this kind of knowledge by

allowing it to inform decisions that affect the community members. Using local knowledge allows inclusion of the moral dimension, resulting in prescriptions of *how* an interpretation ought to take place.

Cultural Knowledge

Cultural knowledge takes broad forms. It may be mythic, or it may reinforce views. It may be associated with a particular line of work (e.g., food preparation, textbook selection) or particular locations in time and/or spaces (e.g., faculty lunchroom, a latch-key childhood). Socialization processes create the interpretations, which are embedded in the language of native speakers. An examination of meanings expressed in metaphors can reveal knowledge that is common to a particular culture. Participatory research methods provide a way of learning a second way of life, without forsaking reverence due to one's primary group.

Uses of Local Knowledge

Recognition of the valuable uses of local knowledge can raise its status. Accessing the knowledge of those affected by its use in policy formation legitimizes its value in the decision-making process. It also enhances personal understanding between individuals and cross-cultural understanding between groups. Accessing local knowledge can serve to inform policy makers of the impact of global forces; it also allows participants a view of the ecological impact of their cultural beliefs and practices.

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See also Cultural Pluralism; Moral Education; Qualitative Research

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LUNCH PROGRAMS

They are now considered a fundamental part of the school day, but school lunch and other meal programs have been offered on a national scale only since 1946. With growing attention to the link between nutrition, health, and learning, they are increasingly becoming a part of the efforts to improve education outcomes for students. This entry describes the gradual development of school lunch programs, their links to helping poor children, and the recent concern with nutrition.

Early Programs

School meal programs have been in existence since the 1790s, when the first programs were started in Europe; the first programs in the United States began in the 1890s. What all of these early programs had in common was the desire to provide poor and malnourished children with at least one significant and healthy (by the standards of the time) meal. One of the earliest programs was started in Munich, Germany, by Benjamin Thompson (also known as Count Rumford), an American. He created the Poor People's Institute, which provided clothing and food in exchange for work for adults and children. The children were required to work in the morning and afternoon; between work hours, they received lessons. While seeking to provide nutritious meals, the program also sought to operate at the lowest possible cost. Based on the success of this program, Thompson went on to found feeding programs in other European countries.

In the United States, the earliest programs appear to have been started in 1853 in New York City by the Children's Aid Society. This program specifically served children in vocational education programs. However, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth that other

school feeding programs began to appear. Among the first cities to have programs were Philadelphia, Boston, and Milwaukee. These early programs often were based on an explicit link between hunger and the inability of children to learn and do the work required of them.

From the beginning of the twentieth century until the Great Depression, programs continued to be created. These programs were all locally run, and some were managed by a charitable group in cooperation with a local board of education. For example, in Cleveland, the program started in 1909 with the Cleveland Federation of Women's Clubs serving breakfasts to nineteen children at a single school. By 1915, the program had expanded to reach 710 children. In the case of the Cleveland program, the Board of Education provide the space and equipment with the charitable groups providing the food and hiring a woman to prepare and serve the food.

In other cities such as New York, the programs started out being run by charitable groups but were then taken over by the board of education. When the St. Louis Board of Education determined that it was not legal to spend public funds for food, the programs were required to be self-supporting (minus the cost of equipment), a policy that continues to the present. Regardless of how the program was run or funded, though, the prevailing reason for the program was to promote health and improve the readiness to learn.

Although many of the early programs were in urban school systems, some rural school systems also sought to provide a hot lunch for their students. With little to no public money available, teachers had to find alternatives. One strategy included having children bring contributions of meat and vegetables that were then combined and shared by all.

The Depression Years

As programs expanded, states started to pass legislation to authorize local school systems to run lunchrooms. Most states required the programs to cover the cost of food, but some states provided the resources for poor children to be provided with free meals. With the Great Depression, the federal government began

to take on a role in these programs. Some of the first aid came through employment support programs. These programs helped to pay the costs of employing women to prepare and serve the food, and as the Depression continued, these programs expanded under the Works Progress Administration.

During the Depression, farm prices were extremely depressed, and there were growing surpluses of agricultural products. At the same time, the high unemployment rates meant that many children could not pay for their meals in schools. The risk of malnutrition for large numbers of children attracted national attention. In 1936, Congress passed legislation that authorized the U.S. Department of Agriculture to purchase surplus food, removing it from the market, and then donate it in ways that would not interfere with regular commerce. This type of commodity purchase continued until World War II.

With the war, federal aid started to decline, and many programs shut down. However, Congress continued to support the program through legislation in 1943 and 1944 that authorized subsidy payments to local sponsors to pay for food and also set standards for how the federal aid could be spent. As the amounts authorized grew, the program expanded, and by 1946, 6.7 million children were being served each day.

Federal Legislation

In 1946, Congress enacted and President Truman signed the National School Lunch Act. At this time, three meal options were created: Type A, which provided a complete lunch; Type B, which had smaller portions and fewer items; and Type C, which provided a half pint of milk. (Type B was dropped in 1958.) Since then, the program has been continually reauthorized but has changed and expanded.

In 1962, the program changed from a grant to states to a guaranteed meal reimbursement and additional funding for schools that had a high percentage of low-income children. In 1966, the School Breakfast Program was created as a pilot that was then extended in 1968. That year also saw the creation of the Summer Food Program and for the first time provided funding for states to administer all the programs. In 1970, additional amendments created guidelines for

providing free or reduced price meals and prohibited discrimination, as well as overt identification of children receiving subsidized meals.

In 1980, changes provided increased flexibility and encouraged school food services to offer a greater variety of foods. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, additional program changes occurred as greater attention was paid to nutrition. In 1996, the program required school lunches to conform to the Dietary Guidelines of 1996. With the 1998 reauthorization, the program included an expanded After School Snack Program with complete reimbursement for schools in the neediest areas. Additionally, the “Meals for Achievement” pilot research program was implemented that year.

By the end of the 1990s and the beginning of this century, greater public attention was being paid to the link between good nutrition and children’s ability to learn. Additionally, national concern was growing about the number of children and adults who are overweight or at-risk overweight. With these twin concerns, the most recent reauthorization in 2004 brought a number of additional changes, including the requirement that local school districts create local wellness policies to address nutrition and physical activity. In 2005, new dietary guidelines were introduced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to help stem the tide of overweight. According to the USDA, more than 26 million children receive free or low-cost meals each day. However, many eligible children still do not participate, and many school districts are now expanding their programs as they seek to improve academic achievement.

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See also Economic Inequality; Vending Machines in Schools

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LYCEUM MOVEMENT

Taking its name from Aristotle's Lyceum school for the youth of Athens, the lyceum movement in the United States mobilized support for popular adult education in the United States and during its most active years—the 1830s to the 1860s—played an important role in promoting public schools, libraries, and museums. Growing from the Enlightenment ideal of education for the general population, lyceums disseminated information on the arts, literature, sciences, history, public affairs, and other sorts of “useful knowledge” via lectures and concerts, scientific demonstrations and dramatic performances, and participation in debates and discussion groups.

Josiah Holbrook, a traveling lecturer and teacher, founded the first American lyceum in Millbury, Massachusetts, in 1826. Local lyceums sprang up so rapidly following Holbrook's model that by 1834, there were approximately 3,000 active lyceum associations in the Northeast and Midwest. They organized as far south as Florida and as far west as Detroit. Lyceum activity never caught on with the same fervor in the South, however, because southern aristocrats feared that educating poor Whites and slaves would damage the economy.

Lyceum speakers were initially members of the local communities, but by 1840, professional institutions emerged that hired and promoted freelance lecturers to travel the lyceum circuit. Several New England Transcendentalists were closely and actively associated with the lyceums, which were seen as a powerful medium for communicating Transcendental philosophy to parts of the country outside New England. Lectures presented by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, for instance, were honed on the lyceum circuit, then later revised for publication. Many of the best known artists, writers, politicians, and journalists of the

day appeared as lyceum speakers, including Frederick Douglass, Daniel Webster, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Abraham Lincoln, Wendell Phillips, Frances Wright, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Lloyd Garrison, Susan B. Anthony, and Charles Dickens. Several lyceums were established for particular parts of the public such as women, seamen, and teachers.

The momentum of the movement was spent by the onset of the Civil War in 1861, and most lyceum activity immediately ceased. After the war, lyceums reemerged, but they were of a fundamentally different character from their antebellum counterparts. Although they were still used for speeches by notable public figures, the educational influence of the lyceums waned as they were used increasingly as a venue for traveling musicians and other entertainers, as well as vaudeville and minstrel shows. When the first continental railway was completed in 1869, these traveling performers also went West.

Only a handful of lyceums lasted into the early 1900s, but the legacy of bringing education to the general public through contact with great speakers, teachers, musicians, entertainers, and specialists of the day was carried on in the Chautauqua movement of the 1870s and lyceums built upon America's continuing interest in adult education and lifelong learning.

Susan Birden

See also Adult Education and Literacy; Chautauqua Movement

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M

MAINSTREAMING

Mainstreaming is a legal policy mandated by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) that addresses the placement and participation of students with disabilities in general education classes to the degree appropriate to meet their needs. Students with disabilities are integrated with their nondisabled peers for all or a portion of the school day and for all or only a few classes, depending on the students' characteristics and the accommodations required. Previously, mainstreaming was invoked primarily when moving students from special education classrooms to general education classrooms, typically for nonacademic portions of the school day, such as art, music, and physical education. More recently, it has included reintegration into content area (e.g., science, social studies) and even core academic subjects (e.g., reading, math). Notwithstanding this focus on the return to more inclusive, normalized settings, the special educator has principal responsibility for the mainstreamed exceptional child and works collaboratively with the general educator to ensure that curricular and/or behavioral modifications are implemented effectively.

In actual practice, the terms *mainstreaming* and *inclusion*, and to some extent, *least restrictive environment*, are used interchangeably; however, they can have very different meanings, and at a minimum are not synonymous concepts. Least restrictive environment, a principle mandated by IDEA, states that students

with disabilities must be educated with their nondisabled peers to the maximum extent appropriate. Inclusion refers to the notion that placement of students with disabilities in the general education setting (alongside their nondisabled counterparts) is a right of all students, with special education support services being provided within the general education setting as needed. Advocates of full inclusion believe students with disabilities should be educated only in the general education setting. The courts have expanded on the notion of mainstreaming by stating that it should be pursued as long as it is consistent with providing students with disabilities an appropriate education; that is, students should receive educational services with nondisabled peers as appropriate, but not necessarily exclusively in general education.

The law does not require inclusion. It requires that children with disabilities be educated in the least restrictive environment, which, for the majority of students, includes at least partial inclusion in the general education classroom. The most recent reauthorization of IDEA uses language that favors inclusion of students with disabilities in general education settings; however, most in the field of special education concur that this should not eliminate the continuum of services (range of placement and service delivery options) available to students. The educational needs and characteristics of some students with disabilities are such that separate classes and/or pull-out services are required for part or all of the school day. Although there is debate in the field among advocates of full

inclusion and those who favor maintaining the range of placement options, there is definitive agreement that students with disabilities need to be educated in the most normalized environment available and that extensive experiences with nondisabled peers are critical to their overall social and academic growth. The guiding principle in this decision-making process should be the extent to which these types of normalizing experiences can be provided while not compromising needed special education support services for the special needs child.

Educators may employ several strategies to implement mainstreaming effectively. Three of the most commonly used strategies in the schools include prereferral teams, collaborative consultation, and cooperative teaching. Although definitive research confirming their effectiveness is still in the investigational stage, authorities in the field of special education do recommend their use.

Prereferral teams refer to groups made up of a variety of school personnel (including the special educator, school psychologist, school counselor, administrator, reading specialist, etc.) who work with general educators by observing children who are manifesting cognitive or behavioral problems in the general education classroom and then devising strategies for working with them. The goal is to reduce the number of premature and/or inappropriate referrals to special education by emphasizing that general education teachers attempt as many alternate strategies as possible before deciding that challenging students categorically require special education services.

Collaborative consultation is an approach to meeting the needs of students with disabilities wherein a special educator (or psychologist/specialist) and general educator collaborate to develop strategies targeted toward addressing a student's academic or behavioral difficulties and capitalizing on his or her strengths. The child may see the special educator in a resource room setting, or the student may receive consultative services within general education. Although the special educator/psychologist serves as the expert in recommending accommodations for the student, the relationship between the professionals is based on the notion of shared responsibility for the child and parity in decision making.

Cooperative teaching (i.e., co-teaching) occurs when general and special educators team-teach in a general education class comprised of students with and without disabilities. This approach takes the collaborative consultation model a step further in that the educators teach in tandem. As a result, the special educator becomes more aware of the academic and social demands for students with disabilities in the general education setting. Moreover, there is variation in terms of how cooperative teaching is delivered. The general educator (as the content-area expert) may assume primary responsibility for instruction, whereas the special educator may provide needed academic survival skills, compensatory strategies, and behavioral modification techniques. In other cases, the special and general education teachers may jointly plan and teach the curriculum to students.

When it is deemed appropriate that a student return to the general education setting through the process of mainstreaming, one principle to consider is that of natural proportions. This concept suggests that students with disabilities should be placed in general education classes in proportion to the incidence of the exceptionality in the general population. A school district serving students with disabilities at a rate of 10 percent should have the schools and classes within it including such students at similar rates. Therefore, a class of thirty would contain no more than three students identified as exceptional. Others in the field have recommended that not more than 20 percent of the total class should have disabilities, which, in a class of thirty, would mean six students. Furthermore, the overall number of students with disabilities included should be reduced if some of those students manifest more severe impairments and require more extensive support services. As the field continues to embrace the notion of students with disabilities becoming the responsibility of *all* educators, it is likely that the debate over how mainstreaming is conceptualized, operationalized, and actualized will continue.

Juliet E. Hart

See also Assistive Technology; Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; Least Restrictive Environment; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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MANUAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

Models of manual training or industrial education were created in Europe and imported to the United States in the nineteenth century. The first U.S. implementation of this training was at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and it quickly became a dominant paradigm in secondary education. The idea was that it would produce skilled but compliant workers for growing U.S. businesses. This entry looks at the history of this type of education in the United States.

Beginnings

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), a Swiss educator and reformer, is considered to be the father of manual training (industrial education). In his system of education for children, he combined manual training and work with a general education. Interest in manual or industrial training, however, didn't develop in the United States until the 1870s, when manual training was seen as a potentially important curriculum for use in secondary schools.

The breakthrough came at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, where materials were exhibited from the Moscow Imperial Technical School that included theoretical training in specialized fields such as drafting, chemistry, and civil and mechanical

engineering, as well as practical courses in carpentry, metal turning, forging, and wood turning. The materials on exhibit included drawings, tools, and models, and they were based on the curriculum of Victor Della Vos, the school's director, which stressed that students learn the principles of design involved in the manual arts rather than learning only through an apprenticeship and copying the work of others.

In his system, it was essential that students learn how to properly use the tools involved in each of the manual arts and that they learn the mechanics of each area. Thus, as an example, students were introduced in their woodworking course to every type of joint that could be made. The idea was that they would learn the mechanics of the joint and then be free to make and create things on their own—not just slavishly copy the work of others.

John D. Runkle (1822–1902), president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), immediately realized the importance of the exhibit when he saw it at the exposition. When he returned to Boston, he proposed setting up a shop at MIT for training engineering students as well as a School of Mechanic Arts for secondary students. The training would be based on the Della Vos method.

Secondary School Adoption

Calvin M. Woodward (1834–1915), dean of the polytechnic faculty at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, who had experience as a secondary school teacher and principal, picked up on Runkle's notion of establishing mechanic arts schools at the secondary level. Some believed that if secondary students were trained under the Della Vos method, national production levels could double and wages would increase.

Woodward felt that manual training should be part of the general curriculum, not just at polytechnical schools but in the public schools as well. In 1880, the Manual Training School, a secondary school connected to Washington University and under Woodward's supervision, began offering a three-year program that combined the basics of a high school curriculum (mathematics, English, drawing) with training in how to use tools. Woodward adapted the project method (in which practical problems were solved during a specific period of time). At the school, students actually designed and

then produced a project. Students could take a foreign language as prep for entering a college, but most entered the workforce directly after graduation.

The immediate success of the school encouraged public schools in cities such as Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Orleans to open their own publicly supported manual training high schools. Not everyone was impressed with manual training; both educators and labor organizations opposed Woodward's methods. Some in organized labor felt that manual training schools threatened traditional apprenticeship programs. When extended down into the elementary grades, many believed that manual training programs preempted the study of more traditional subjects.

Perhaps the most prominent educator to criticize the manual training movement was William Torrey Harris, who was superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools (1868–1880) and then U.S. Commissioner of Education (1889–1906). Harris believed that the manual training curriculum emphasized the physical development over the spiritual development of the student. By spiritual development, Harris meant the tools that would make it possible for the child to learn about the mysteries of the human mind and of nature. He said that grammar, literature and art, mathematics, geography, and history were the “five windows of the soul” necessary for children, particularly the children of the working classes, to successfully participate in culture and to learn more about themselves and nature.

In spite of such opposition, the manual training movement continued to grow into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, manual training methods based on the Swedish Sjölyd system—a craft model based on Swedish folklore and craft traditions—were introduced. Significantly, the Sjölyd system extended manual training to children at the elementary level.

Ultimately, manual training received wide support because it was believed that these schools would provide the technical training necessary for workers in modern factories, while at the same time instilling a sense of industriousness and pride in one's work. In doing so, the needs of the industrial system were reinforced, along with the creation of compliant workers and citizens.

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See also American Education, Themes in the History of

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans; Chapter 8, The Education of Native Americans; Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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MARXISM

An “if-then” supposition is helpful in considering Marxist thought in relation to schooling and education. If one thinks that it is possible to construct effective modes of inquiry in spite of the difficulties human beings confront as they seek to understand themselves, each other, communities, societies, the world, and beyond, then Marx and some Marxists may be relevant to students of teaching and learning. As a child of the Enlightenment, Marx believed that the quest for certainty conducted by religionists and their secular allies was ineffective and even dangerous. Instead, his position was that it is possible to use critical rationalism that is grounded in concrete empirical inquiry to form hypotheses that can then be translated into practice. His emphasis was on collective action. Although there are important differences between American pragmatist philosophy and Marx, John Dewey's term *warranted assertibility* describes Marx's position with regard to human abilities to understand “facts,” if not “truths,” about themselves and their environment. This entry looks at how Marxist philosophy viewed human agency and the role of capitalism, as well as the views of some Marxist thinkers on education.

Capacity for Change

Marx's philosophy is central to bona fide education because the latter must be based upon trust that students' cognitive abilities are not just so many

words and ideas that have little or no correspondence to what is being described, if not mastered. In these postmodernist times, many philosophers and educators insist that words and ideas are just opinions that are not connected to *what* is talked and thought about. In their view, people are reduced to participating in dominant discourses based on power, not on any superior correspondence to what they seek to describe.

As a philosopher, Marx belongs to a tradition whose contributors hold that systematic inquiry enables people to understand systemic and structural phenomena. Marx believed that finding underlying structures assists in understanding the everyday occurrences that people experience. Similar to other humanists, Marx placed human beings and their welfare at the center of his concerns.

Although some charge that Marx was a determinist, he viewed history as open to human volition. In fact, his version of “historical materialism” can be described quite simply. If people make their own histories through human agency—perhaps neither under conditions of their own choosing, nor just as they like—then this position, or fact, is relevant to contrasting claims made in today’s society and schools. The radical conservative claim is that whatever conditions people face, it is possible and necessary to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. A radical determinist view—perhaps epitomized by B. F. Skinner—asserts that environment is everything; in other words, there can be no successful agency or volition against these odds.

Marx’s middle position is useful to educators who realize that environment, social class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors make it difficult for some students to succeed, in contrast to others who have inherited advantages. These teachers understand that the school and society must become level playing fields. Some of them act on their convictions both within the schools and out in the larger society.

Marx’s conception of correspondence is not similar to idealist or even realist philosophers’ version of it. The Marxist view is based on humans’ ability to change what they study as well as themselves as they do it. There is no correspondence to alleged supernatural constructions of reality; instead, Marx insisted that the human and physical world has been created through people’s labor. If this is the case, then the status quos

into which people are born can be overcome as a result of critical analyses, hypothesis formations, and collective human action.

The Role of Capitalism

In the Marxist view, the capitalist system is historical, not a universal given; it was constructed by the labor of many people over time. It is logical to assume that what has been constructed can be deconstructed and replaced by a new, more equitable, democratic society and school. Education is central to these liberating actions. Moreover, this kind of education is possible only if it is assumed and corroborated that educability and intelligence are widespread in every population. Because Marx believed that human consciousness and ideas were developed through labor as people wrestle with seemingly recalcitrant matter and structure, he concluded that history is not just about the rich and powerful, but instead about ordinary people who have struggled to overcome injustices in the name of “bread and roses” for all.

If Marx’s philosophy is credible, then social and material structures and barriers that are encountered need not be viewed as “just the way it is.” Hegemony is used by the powers that be to convince subaltern and oppressed people that the status quos are not only good for everyone but also part of the very nature of things. It is proclaimed that there are no alternatives to these “natural” and “universal” laws and conditions. During these times of economic, political, social, and educational reaction, some seek to convince people that poverty as well as massive school failure represents natural and even inevitable occurrences. Marx and the best Marxists—among others—disagree. They argue that the capitalist *system* is the most causal with regard to the state of the U.S. government, civil society, culture, and schools. As a result of this argument, Marxists insist that the system itself must be overcome in order to achieve education aimed at more democratic empowerment for everyone, social justice, respect for and even embracing diversity—and the potential for more people acting altruistically, if not “caringly.”

Marx saw modernism—in which capitalism is embedded—as a problem to be solved. Although he despised the capitalist system, he is somewhat comfortable with the dynamics it projects into roiling

modernist societies. Marx, through his writings, is a great portrayer of modern times. Many Marxists do not accept the term *postmodernist* because capitalism is still dominant. Marx is comfortable with keeping various and even contradictory ideas, beliefs, and desires in mind instead of retreating to absolutes and indefensible certainties.

Marx wrote little about education because he realized that in the capitalist countries during his lifetime, it would be virtually impossible to have schools that were responsive to the democratic imperative because of the capitalist imperative's overwhelming power.

Secular public schools might seek to establish facts that are warranted to assert, rather than so-called truths. In doing so, Marxist thought would provide valuable tools. Marx's great "energizing myth" was developed from his theoretical and empirical studies. It is characterized by verbal pictures of the working-class's emergence onto the historical stage. This occurred because of its wresting power from oppressors—the capitalist-based ruling class. This possible victory was presented as the fulfillment of bona fide democracy as the proletariat endured and overcame the fierce contradictions that capitalism forced on the modernist period.

Marxist Thinkers

Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci, Marxist theoretician and activist, did focus more on formal education in the Italy of his time. He understood well the role of schooling in assisting nondemocratic capitalist hegemony in his country and elsewhere; however, he realized education's liberatory potential. His life is an example of how even one who is wretchedly poor can use hegemonic schooling to figure out how things could be different and better. Gramsci's political-educational project sought to develop "organic intellectuals" from among the working class who would have the ability and determination to provide leadership so that working people could see through the hegemony under which they suffered. He and his comrades' goal was to deconstruct the capitalist order and rebuild a new one that would be deeply democratic and based on a "new humanism."

As a member of the working class, Gramsci knew that studying was hard work. However, most Italian youth were already working hard on job sites; therefore, if it could be demonstrated that there are continuities between physical and mental labor, then the deprived youth could become more confident of their abilities and potential. Gramsci sought to demystify academic work so that it would no longer be viewed as an activity that only upper-class students could accomplish.

Gramsci knew that everyone has a culture and intellectual prowess; moreover, people all operate in various contexts that are comprised of ideas and portrayals of how things became and are and how they might/should be changed. He respected what working-class youth already knew. Gramsci started from the student perspective and, like Dewey, viewed the learning process as movement toward self-realization within the actual social and physical worlds. Gramsci's belief in people's abilities and further educability is crucial to his insistence that the main goal of education should be self-governance in a democratic, just society. Democracy means rule by the people. Gramsci held that the capitalist system and its class-state governance made bona fide democracy impossible.

Marshall Berman

Marshall Berman writes about the "Popular Front" in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s. He suggests that its greatest achievement was creating images of genuine democratic community. Berman refers to Studs Terkel, an American leftist critic, as living in and epitomizing the vast mural. This ideal community was not like the New Jerusalem of the Puritans or the Populist ideal of an agrarian past. Instead, it was modern, industrial, and ethnically and racially diverse, and it had room for even more people who wanted to join those who had already pushed their way onto the historical stage—one that had formerly been occupied by their self-appointed "betters."

As Berman interprets him, Marx views the worldwide working class as a community waiting to happen. Creating and joining unions is portrayed not just a feature of special-interest politics but as a necessary—if

not sufficient—activity that helped to educate the human race. This education would help people discover who they are and to confront the descriptive “what is” with the normative “what could/should be.” Marx and Gramsci believed that the vast working class of the world would understand—would get it—“by and by.”

Richard A. Brosio

See also Philosophy of Education

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MEDIA LITERACY

Media literacy is a new and important area within the interdisciplinary movement of new literacy studies (sociolinguistics, mass media, curriculum, and cultural studies, etc.). In this context, media literacy goes beyond reading and writing texts to also include (in a Freirian sense) reading and writing the world. As a new area of inquiry, media literacy involves (a) understanding how corporate for-profit media work, and their impact on educational, social, political, cultural, and linguistic practices; (b) understanding that educators, parents, and citizens need to be media literate to be able to participate in and for a democratic society; and (c) developing strategic abilities for searching, supporting, and/or creating independent, nonprofit alternative media.

There are several approaches to media literacy. Some draw on theoretical frameworks (cognitive, moral, ideological, etc.), and some on media analysis (advertising, news, content). The lack of media literacy potentially prevents citizens from effective participation in democratic systems. Democracy, as a freely elected and responsible government by popular consent, cannot exist without informed citizens.

Therefore, the existence of independent media is a *sine qua non* for maintaining a democracy.

Evidence suggests that in the United States, corporate media are, in fact, becoming adjuncts of government to advance their common agendas and to develop policy that favors their interests. Consequently, corporate media are becoming unprecedentedly large (five major conglomerates) and diverse in their media businesses (many media modalities: radio, TV, film studios, magazines, etc.). The obvious consequence is that democracy becomes poorer—what some term a “capitalist ‘democracy,’” one involving consumer choice more than genuine democratic participation. Chomsky sees this process as an “assault on democracy” in which powerful corporate and essentially totalitarian entities linked to powerful states function in ways that are largely unaccountable to the public.

In this context, the technological revolution in communications is paradoxical. It provides the possibility for facilitating communication among people but also makes possible forms of domination and control by facilitating the hegemonic conjunction of market, military, and political interests through the creation of consensus and dissensus.

More than just “representing” reality, corporate-controlled media increasingly construct reality—a reality convenient to their interests and their corporate and political allies. Ben Bagdikian points out that today, in the age of the communications superhighway, people live in two worlds: a “flesh-and-blood” world and a media-constructed world. As the latter becomes more ubiquitous, the first world becomes more illusive.

Understanding how media work implies also that we are aware of the psychological impact of media programming. In this context, authors such as Carlos Cortés document how media teach about cultural diversity and how consumers learn not only content information, but values, attitudes, sentiments, looks, perceptions, and culture. Noam Chomsky has pointed out in much of his work that a critical understanding of corporate media requires “intellectual self-defense” in which we become aware of our susceptibility to be influenced by propaganda and ideological control.

In the era of corporate media, TV and the Internet in particular are shaping students’ minds and learning

experiences, both inside and outside the school. Chomsky argues that TV works in tandem with schools to indoctrinate students and therefore prevent them from asking questions that matter in their lives. Nonetheless, most of the media's curriculum remains hidden and unrecognized. But this is not an obstacle for affecting the consumer. Actually, as Lilia Bartolomé and Donaldo Macedo point out, mass media educate more than teachers and parents combined.

Television as a media form is not limited to commercial broadcast programming. Alex Molnar, for example, has documented how Channel One has entered schools, often against the will of teachers and parents. He shows how the imposition of Channel One is largely unfavorable for schools and inappropriate for students who become *captive* consumers. This type of contract leads researchers such as Molnar to argue that the real purpose of Channel One is not to serve students but to indoctrinate them in a mercantilist and materialist mentality under the guise of "curriculum improvement."

David Sholle provides several guidelines for relevant, local, and effective critical media literacy: (a) unwrapping the myths and excluding discourses; (b) placing media analysis into a theoretical and historical context to confront market-driven production and consumption; (c) connecting text and imagery with students' experiences so as to allow them to express their allegiances, pleasures, and understandings; (d) helping teachers to operate as facilitators of critical media literacy by steering discussion to students' literacy practices and targets of media propaganda; (e) facilitating students' active engagement in remapping and expanding their views and positions for the purposes of strengthening democracy; and (f) building counterhegemonic strategies for oppositional practices.

In conclusion, media literacy is a pedagogy of questioning that is indispensable to democracy. To be media literate is to read critically and understand the texts and reality constructed in media sources, and in turn the power relations, myths, and types of control they assume. Not to have our students become media literate is ultimately undemocratic and contradicts the likelihood of a sustainable and just society.

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See also Corporate Involvement in Education; Technologies in Education

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MEDICAL EDUCATION

The major features of contemporary medical schools took shape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What occurred at that time thoroughly transformed medical education. Subsequent developments rarely had the same far-reaching effects as the changes put in place from the 1870s through the 1920s.

Early Medical Schools

Before the 1870s, most U.S. medical schools supplied only part of the education necessary to be a competent physician. The typical curriculum featured one year of courses in six to eight subjects. The instruction was didactic. A lecturer occasionally demonstrated procedures for the class to watch, but few instructors let their pupils carry out the tasks. Students spent little, if any, time in laboratories or with patients. To learn by doing required securing an apprenticeship, summer schooling, European study, or private instruction. What the medical school offered was a series of lectures from faculty who usually owned the school, concentrated on their private practices, and saw research and writing as optional rather than mandatory.

In contrast, medical education in France and Germany was more rigorous. In those countries, medicine was studied as an experimental science best grasped through investigation in the laboratory and service on the hospital ward. In exchange for free care, impoverished patients filled the hospitals where faculty undertook research and taught students. A year or two of European study capped the education of many ambitious American doctors, and they brought home the conviction that their colleagues should emulate the spirit of painstaking experimentation that pervaded the great medical centers of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.

Another source of dissatisfaction with the patchy American medical curriculum stemmed from the surge of discoveries in the late nineteenth century. Advances in medical knowledge made the short course of study seem wholly inadequate to understand the germ theory of disease, vaccines and anti-toxins, precise tests of bodily fluids and tissues, and other diagnostic and therapeutic breakthroughs. Medicine as a profession acquired a firmer and deeper knowledge base, even if many diseases were not yet fully understood. The greater authority and prestige of the profession elevated the standing of the better schools and pressured the weaker ones to improve or close.

The rise of research universities offered a third reason for revamping traditional medical education. As several dozen prominent colleges added graduate

divisions and professional schools in order to become universities, they reassessed their relationships with local proprietary medical schools. What had been a casual connection often became a formal affiliation. Mergers appealed to the cadre of medical reformers who believed that the profession would never flourish in the absence of research careers for talented physicians. For the universities, the link was another way to establish their legitimacy as the best regional sources of theoretical and practical knowledge.

Turn-of-the-Century Transformations

By the 1880s, several medical schools stood apart from others as models of what was possible. At Harvard, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, the three-year curriculum included extensive hands-on work in laboratory science courses taught by full-time faculty. The clinical courses took small groups of students to the bedside and to outpatient dispensaries. Written examinations replaced perfunctory oral exams, and instructors gradually began to test students on the practical work they did in laboratories or with patients. Entrance requirements also stiffened, with graduation from a good high school expected and some college coursework encouraged.

In the 1890s, the new standard bearer, Johns Hopkins, adopted a four-year curriculum and required a bachelor's degree for admission. Above all, Hopkins led the way by virtue of extensive clinical opportunities in its teaching hospital. The senior faculty in the school controlled the major divisions of the hospital, where students served as clerks responsible for many aspects of patient care. In most hospitals, the board of trustees limited faculty involvement and instructional activity. Often, they regarded educational work with suspicion, and understandably so in an era when most medical students were meagerly trained. Hopkins and then other schools demonstrated that well-taught students and their faculty mentors enhanced patient care. Academic physicians were increasingly respected as the best physicians, and properly supervised students were desirable assistants. Previously seen as a branch of public welfare, the hospital redefined itself as the best place for anyone to receive state-of-the-art treatment.

Lack of money slowed the pace of change at many schools. The vision of good medical education was in sight long before the funding was in hand. Learning by doing cost much more than learning by listening. The student/teacher ratios fell markedly whenever large lecture classes gave way to small group instruction. Unlike part-time and adjunct faculty, full-time faculty were expensive. The space and equipment necessary for laboratory science were also costly. Without the support of local donors, state legislators, and rich philanthropists like J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Edward Harkness, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, the transformation of American medical education would have been impossible. Benefactors shunned the proprietary schools, and by 1930, all for-profit medical schools had either closed or affiliated with a university.

Another ongoing challenge was the shape of the curriculum. There were constant discussions of how much time each subject deserved and when it should be taught. Those debates intensified as new fields such as biochemistry, immunology, and preventive medicine emerged. State licensing boards often stipulated how many hours to allocate each subject, but that rigidity provoked outcries about overburdened students with no free time to read, write, or study. How to link the first two years of basic science with the final two years of clinical study also baffled most instructors, as did the matter of special provisions for the very best students. Over time, most medical educators acknowledged the impossibility of covering everything and sought instead to cultivate habits of mind that would equip the young doctor to continue to learn after graduation. Through learning by doing, cross-disciplinary connections, and lifelong education, medical education embodied central tenets of progressive education, the vision of active learning designed to enliven American elementary and secondary schools.

By the 1920s, the enduring features of the modern American medical school had taken hold. No one questioned the value of teaching hospitals, university affiliations, faculty research, and hands-on learning. Medicine had become one of the most respected professions in the country, and the public no longer tolerated third-rate schools where an unprepared student could graduate quickly and easily.

The Price of Prosperity

Not everyone benefited from the improvements in medical education. The longer course of study excluded some working-class youth who could not afford four years of tuition as well as an unpaid fifth year for a hospital internship, which became common after World War I. As the medical schools' budgets soared, only one women's medical school survived, and female enrollments elsewhere rarely exceeded 5 percent until the 1960s. The two schools for blacks barely stayed alive. Jewish students also suffered. When applications exceeded spaces in the 1920s, many schools discriminated against Jewish applicants, accepting only a few each year. Furthermore, as the number of medical schools declined from 1900 to 1930, the number of doctors per capita fell, with rural areas unable to attract as many new doctors as the cities, where lucrative practice as a specialist drew many graduates.

Even so, medical schools became one of the strongest branches of the university, and throughout the 1930s and 1940s, they flourished. Enrollments and endowments held up despite the economic and military turmoil in those decades. Research generated a steady flow of useful discoveries, including antibiotics and vitamins. Faculty salaries were far below what talented physicians could earn in private practice, but academic careers continued to attract many of the best doctors.

As support for research continued to rise throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the composition of the faculty changed. There were more specialists, including many PhDs. The size of the typical faculty expanded more rapidly than the student population, with some departments larger than the entire school had been twenty years earlier. Because promotion and tenure hinged on excellent research, many instructors gave less time to teaching. The overall shape of the curriculum remained unchanged, although a few schools created new courses around particular organs and diseases, and several others either shortened (the six-year BA/MD) or extended (Stanford's five-year MD) the traditional four-year time span.

What also altered the nature of faculty work was the dramatic increase in third-party payments for patient care. Private insurance as well as federal

Medicare/Medicaid dollars reimbursed teaching hospitals for patient care that had been pro bono work. As a result, the fraction of faculty time devoted to patients rose sharply. The prosperity enlarged the size of the typical faculty, with nearly all the growth in the clinical ranks. From 1965 to 1990, patient care revenues rose from 6 percent to nearly 50 percent of medical schools' annual income. Faculty salaries increased rapidly, approaching the earnings of colleagues in private practice. The size and scale of most medical schools, from the 1970s on, was immense, with annual revenue often more than \$100 million. In contrast, only nine schools in 1910 had budgets over \$100,000. Although cost containment efforts by insurance companies from the 1980s on, coupled with less robust growth in federal funds, forced modest retrenchments here and there, the overall financial health of medical schools usually matched or exceeded that of other professional schools in the university.

With research projects and patient care burgeoning, the task of teaching students became less central to the school's work. Many senior faculty preferred teaching postdoctoral students and research fellows, delegating other instruction to adjuncts, interns, and the growing number of residents pursuing a specialty. The camaraderie between professors and students that marked turn-of-the-century schools diminished; the heavy workload and ensuing sense of exhaustion and stress did not. The rigorous expectations did not discourage a wider range of applicants from seeking and winning admission. The old restrictions on Jewish students ended after World War II, and in the 1970s, the number of female and minority students increased sharply. Financial aid allowed more working-class students to attend. Foreigners served as interns and residents, and some college seniors who were denied admission went abroad to inferior schools and then reapplied to an American school.

Counterbalancing the lower priority of teaching was renewed interest in curricular reforms. The familiar challenges of an overburdened curriculum, endless memorization of facts, and weak articulation of the basic sciences with the clinical work sparked a variety of innovations: fewer hours devoted to laboratory exercises, more emphasis on problem solving, and new opportunities to see patients and their families in the

first two years. Many schools added instruction on interpersonal relations to encourage empathic concern for all aspects of patients' well-being. As another sign of interest in educational improvement, most schools established divisions charged with the evaluation of teaching. Throughout their history, medical schools benefited from the keen American faith in science. The respect for physicians extended to physicians in training and their instructors. A good medical school was cherished by the community as a reliable sign of local vitality, not weakness. The ability of the profession to retain that trust will be necessary in the future to sustain the remarkable record achieved since the 1870s.

Robert Hampel

See also Nursing Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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MENTAL RETARDATION AND EDUCATION

A press release dated February 20, 2007, announced that the American Association for Mental Retardation (AAMR) was changing its name to the American

Association for Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (AAIDD). Proponents of this change have argued that preference for the term *intellectual disability* over *mental retardation* echoes the preference in the organization to embrace a social-ecological rather than a medical/individual-deficit framework, one that they claim is less offensive to persons with intellectual disabilities.

The term *mental retardation* has thus joined the ranks of other pejorative terms such as *imbecile*, *idiot*, *moron*, *feeble-minded*, and *retard*—terms that nevertheless still persist in contemporary culture to refer to individuals who are perceived as lacking intelligence, autonomy, and personhood. For students with intellectual disabilities, it still remains to be seen how this change in terminology will affect their educational and social experiences in U.S. public schools, where the almost century-old debate over how and where to educate these students still persists. This entry recalls the history of the debate and summarizes current thinking.

Historical Record

Although disability studies have offered different ways to conceptualize difference in educational and other contexts, intellectual disability continues to be theorized via a deficit model where persons with intellectual disabilities are characterized as having significant limitations both in intellectual functioning and in adaptive behavior as expressed in conceptual, social, and practical adaptive skills (the AAMR definition). On the other hand, sociologists such as Bogdan and Taylor, Braginsky and Braginsky, and Mercer have argued that the term *mental retardation* is a defective and crude metaphor that tends to club together disparate and amorphous behaviors and conditions to define in absolute terms the pathology of mental retardation. Although not denying that there may be “real” differences in intellectual ability among individuals, they argue that measures of these intellectual differences, such as IQ and adaptive behavior scales, offer only an imprecise and often restricted sample of the wide range of intellectual functions and behaviors. Moreover, they argue that linking the social construct of intellectual disability with biological inferiority is a modern myth derived from social practices that draw

on pathological/behaviorist discourses to exert social control on bodies and minds that refuse such control.

To explain why Western society, unable to effectively regulate difference, has sought to expunge or at least distance itself from it, philosopher Etienne Balibar uses the term *prophylaxis*—the need to preserve one’s own identity from all forms of mixing, interbreeding, or invasion; this creates the icon of the “other body,” which must be excluded from “normal” life. Thus, since the early twentieth century, people with intellectual disabilities—often described as morons, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded—were sometimes exposed to the violence of eugenics, seen as a parasitic and predatory class that was a menace and danger to the community. These same ideologies interpenetrated the educational discourses of the early twentieth century, when the enforcement of compulsory education laws forced common schools to educate immigrant children who were not so easily socialized into accepting the prevailing norms. Rather than explaining these difficulties as societal (e.g., poverty, illiteracy, etc.), the schools located these difficulties in the child, who was described as physically, morally, or intellectually defective.

Thus, the first special education classes contained over-age children, so-called naughty children, and the dull and stupid children for whom school had little or nothing to offer. The introduction of special education classes constructed a bifurcated school system—one for “special” students with educational handicaps and one for “normal” students—what can be seen as a thinly disguised way to preserve the status quo. Those students with moderate to severe intellectual disabilities, unable to effectively transform themselves into what society saw as productive citizens, were often segregated in large, state-run institutions situated on self-sustaining campuses.

The 1954 *Brown* decision and 1960s civil rights legislation made disabled people, their families, and their advocates increasingly aware of the injustice of exclusion based solely on physiological/intellectual differences. They contended that educational segregation on the basis of disability was also an unconstitutional practice. Similar to *Brown*, two landmark cases of 1972, *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens (PARC) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* and *Mills v. Board*

of Education, were instrumental in gaining passage of the Education of All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA) in 1975, also known as P.L. 94-142. The law said that students with intellectual disabilities have a right to a free and appropriate education in the least restrictive environment. In 1990, P.L. 94-142 was reauthorized as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, a more comprehensive law that not only provides supportive funding to the states but also governs how students with disabilities will be educated.

Current Debate

More than twenty-five years after the passing of EAHCA, the debate about how best to educate students with intellectual disabilities still persists and is represented by two camps loosely defined under the rather misleading labels of “positivists” and “post-modernists.” Scholars such as Kaufmann, Sasso, and Gerber are among those described as the positivists; they have argued that the most valuable knowledge about pedagogical practices for students with intellectual disabilities resides within the social science-based disciplines and should be based on scientifically validated research before widespread distribution. They are critical of postmodernist scholars, describing them as “dangerous” and accusing them of espousing bad education reforms and ineffective professional practices that include inclusive education, whole-language literacy, and constructivist instructional practices.

Disability studies scholars, in concert with the disability rights movement, have steadfastly supported inclusive policies and have argued that the perceived problems in special education have more to do with how the concepts of disability and inclusion have been interpreted than with anything else. Danforth and Rhodes, Brantlinger, Taylor, and Gallagher, among others, have argued that the failure to question and deconstruct the category of intellectual disability contributes to the devaluation and stigmatization of students with disabilities. They argue that most special education programs operate from a deficit model, where the consumer (i.e., the student with a disability) is perceived as having some inadequacy, shortcoming, failure, or disease; using this model limits the educational possibilities for students with disabilities.

Taylor rejects even a progressive concept like the least restrictive environment, which holds that special education students should be educated in an environment as close as possible to the mainstream classroom. That standard does, in fact, legitimize restrictive environments, sanctions infringements of the rights of people with disabilities, and directs attention to physical settings rather than to the services and supports people need to be integrated into the community, he says.

Therefore, in the current context of the continuing debate, interpretation of the social construct of intellectual disability and the least restrictive environment determines the form of educational experiences and social possibilities for students with intellectual disabilities.

Nirmala Erevelles

See also Least Restrictive Environment; Special Education, Contemporary Issues; Special Education, History of

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MENTORING, YOUTH

Youth mentoring is practiced in a wide range of social institutions, such as schools, churches, local

businesses, and community organizations. It is commonly described as a relationship where a nurturing, nonparent adult (mentor) provides social and/or academic assistance to a youngster (mentee) who may be at risk. Programs are both community- and school-based, using both professionals and volunteers. This entry describes various mentoring programs and summarizes assessments of their impact.

What Is Mentoring?

Mentors can be aunts, uncles, clergy, coaches, teachers, and other adults. Mentors share one of two types of bonds with mentees. The first is described as emotionally open and committed. In this arrangement, the mentor is like a family member and is engaged in multiple aspects of the mentee's life. In the second bond, the mentor is more of a friend, with more limited openness and involvement. Regardless of the type of bond, youth mentoring is a form of social interaction that has a give-and-take quality, whereby both mentor and mentee learn from one another.

Traditionally, youth mentoring has focused on those children and adolescents who are considered to be at risk or "underserved." Associated with these categories are academic failure, dropout, limited parental involvement, drug and alcohol abuse, and high exposure to violent surroundings. These deficits, combined with limited community resources (e.g., youth facilities, athletic clubs, and violence prevention programs), as well as the breakdown of the traditional family unit, have been thought to produce a feeling of social detachment among youth. Sociological research has noted that the absence of loving and supportive families negatively affects children's behavioral development, leading to antisocial, aggressive, and even violent outcomes. Mentoring seeks to address this by fostering meaningful relationships with youngsters that enable them to thrive despite the daily obstacles that they encounter.

Many mentoring programs are geared toward helping youth cope with difficult social and economic circumstances. Programs like Community for Youth (Washington), Mentor/Mentee (Arkansas), Project 2000 (Washington, D.C.), and Youth Outreach Services (Illinois) reach local populations, whereas larger

organizations such as the National Mentoring Partnership, America's Promise, and Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America (BIGS) operate on a national scale. BIGS, established in 1904, is America's largest youth mentoring association, operating in forty-one states and matching 70,000 young people with adult mentors.

Content and Structure

Most programs, depending on the needs of their population, employ curricula and resources that emphasize academic achievement, social competency, rites of passage, child rearing, career training, health education, spiritual development, and arts education. Despite this mixture of programming, the main objectives of youth mentoring are to enhance academic performance, build parental and peer relationships, and promote self-esteem and self-worth.

Mentoring can be highly structured or loosely arranged depending on the format under which it occurs. There are generally two kinds of mentoring formats: the community-based model or the school-based approach. Organizations like BIGS typically use the classic community-based model, which brings mentors and mentees together one-on-one. Mentors and mentees will often engage in some form of recreational activity that also provides them a time to discuss pertinent life issues. These interactions may occur on the weekend when mentors have free time. Volunteer adults are usually matched with youngsters based on shared cultural background, gender, economic status, life experiences, and spoken language. Mentors undergo an intense screening process because much of their time with the child or adolescent goes unsupervised. One-on-one interactions can be long- or short-term, depending on the bond and chemistry between mentor and mentee.

As youth mentoring programs have proliferated over the years, the school-based approach has become an increasingly popular alternative to the community-based model. The primary advantages of school-based mentoring are that it is cost-effective and can operate in a peer group format. These programs, and the schools with which they collaborate, often share classroom space, photocopying materials, audio-video equipment, and staff assistance in order to

minimize expenses. Furthermore, because young folks spend a significant portion of their day in schools, a school-based mentor (or a team of mentors) is able to connect with a larger group of students within a single space and time. Unlike volunteers in the one-on-one method, school-based mentors have the option of working as a group dynamic, where a single student or a small number of students can find support, advice, and guidance in a mentoring session.

Outcomes

Youth mentoring outcomes vary and depend on the longevity of the mentor-mentee involvement. Mentoring research has observed that children and adolescents in mentoring relationships, lasting twelve months or longer, show improvements in both academic and behavioral outcomes. Those in more brief interactions report a smaller degree of impact. On the whole, youth matched with mentors show a decrease in the following behaviors: stress, alcohol and illegal drug use, truancy, peer violence, and recidivism among juvenile offenders. Youth mentoring has also demonstrated an influence in building resiliency; character and competence; and a sense of connectedness with school, peers, and family.

Although youth mentoring is widely praised for its positive impact on the lives of young folks, it has also been criticized for the moralistic approach that it takes in trying to “fix” the deficits of socially detached, and even socially excluded, youngsters. Terms like *at risk*, *high risk*, and *underserved* focus more on stigmatizing and grouping individuals rather than addressing the larger structural forces that create these prescribed categories. This facet of youth mentoring is frowned upon as it does not seek to truly empower young people or contest the status quo.

Critics of this deficit model suggest that, in addition to passing on knowledge of how to be resilient, mentoring must also engage youth in examining human rights and social inequalities, as well as becoming agents of social change. A number of smaller, less-recognized youth mentoring programs have been established with this goal in mind: The Free Child Project (Washington); The REAL Youth Program (Illinois); Youth Serve (California); and Youth Service

Project (Illinois). These organizations implement a variety of curricula that explore race and ethnic identity; sexual minority adolescents (gay and lesbian); and socially and culturally relevant issues related to social justice, democracy, and antiracism.

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See also Sociology of Education

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MEXICAN AMERICANS AND ACCESS TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In the early 1900s, large numbers of people crossed the border from Mexico into the United States. These new immigrants found a country where brown skin and lack of skills were not welcome. Public swimming pools were closed to them, education was separate and not equal, punishment was common for speaking Spanish in school or on the playground, and Mexican culture was denigrated. Access to equal educational opportunities for Mexican American children has been the subject of many court cases since that time. This entry describes the initial situation and the court cases that have sought to gain equity.

Historical Background

In the period from 1921–1930, when 3 percent of Mexico's population had moved to the United States, the strains of the Depression in the rural areas where

the immigrants sought work influenced the attitude of communities already so burdened financially that they had difficulty supporting their own children. As in John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, the Mexicans came to the United States as did the Okies going to California—looking for a better life, but they found just the opposite.

Education for the Mexican American children stressed “Americanization,” cleanliness, vocational skills, and learning English, although there were some bilingual classes. The number of Spanish-surnamed children in the graduating classes continued to be significantly less than the numbers of that same cohort in the first grade. Until the latter three decades of the twentieth century, Mexican American schools existed. Separate classrooms were also common. The abuse of IQ tests led to segregating Mexican American children in special education classes. The few who reached high school were not encouraged to go to college. Although there has been improvement in the number of Mexican Americans graduating from high school, the dropout rate is still high.

Court Action

After World War II, litigation began that would start to force equity in educational opportunities to these children. The ruling in California's *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946) stated that Mexican Americans could not be segregated in school. In 1943, Sylvia Mendez was denied admission to a White school because she was Mexican American. By law, schools for Mexican Americans were separate. Also, they were not equal. The Westminster school district superintendent stated during the court hearing that Mexican Americans were segregated because of their lack of English and because of their lack of personal hygiene. In the final decision, the judge ruled that the children had been denied due process and equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. After this ruling, legislation was passed repealing all segregation laws affecting Mexican Americans. The legislation was signed into law by Governor Earl Warren, who later served as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court when *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided.

This case influenced attorney Gus Garcia and Dr. George I. Sanchez, who had written about the use of IQ tests to segregate Mexican American children. Dr. Sanchez and James DeAnda visited the schools in the Colorado Common School District in Texas, where they found such inequities between Anglo and Mexican American schools as busing for Anglos but not for Mexican Americans, separate and inferior schools or classrooms for Mexican Americans, and band only for Anglos. An agreed judgment was reached whereby the Texas State Board of Education passed a formal policy, giving credit to Garcia and Sanchez, that stated that children could not be segregated on the basis of their Spanish surnames. This policy was used in later court cases.

In the early 1950s, another case strengthened the cause for equity. This case involved a jury selection case. *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954) argued that over a period of twenty-five years, the community had never had a Spanish-surnamed person on the jury list; they charged that this was denying equity. This inequity would naturally expand to include all aspects of the community, including education. The case was lost on the local and state appeals level but was won unanimously when it was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court two weeks before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). *Hernandez* was the first case concerning Mexican American rights to go before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Throughout the 1950s, court cases continued to be fought on local levels to provide equity. During the latter part of the twentieth and early part of the twenty-first centuries, equitable treatment for Mexican American children has been sought by the American GI Forum, The League of Latin American Citizens, the Civil Rights Act, the Bilingual Education Act, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), the United Farm Workers organization, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, and the increasing numbers of Mexican Americans holding public office and sitting on school boards. The voting power that Mexican Americans now have as the largest minority group may strengthen their position in matters of equity.

Martha May Tevis

See also Multicultural Education; Politics of Education

See Visual History Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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United States. These workers represent a large percentage of the overall farm labor pool, accounting for an estimated 56 percent of all U.S. farm workers. Despite the fact that this agricultural workforce is a vital source of labor for this industry, nearly 75 percent earn less than \$10,000 per year, a level well below the poverty line. In addition, these workers receive extremely limited employer benefits, and many receive none. This entry looks at the problem and some efforts to address it.

Lacking Education

The majority of migrants enter the United States with low levels of education. The median educational level of migrant workers from Mexico is at the sixth-grade level, and only 15 percent reported as graduating high school. In addition, only 21 percent of these workers reported receiving an education in the United States. Small numbers of these workers (approximately 3 percent) attend college or a university, or receive any vocational training. Research indicates that the possibility of a migrant attending classes in the United States at a college or university is directly related to the level of education he or she achieved in Mexico; the higher the level of education achieved in Mexico, the greater the chances that the individual will seek educational training in the United States. Because of the low levels of education achieved in their home country, many migrant workers (approximately 20 percent) are rated as completely illiterate, and another 38 percent are functionally illiterate.

Like their adult counterparts, the children of this population sector are also at risk for achieving low levels of education. Although the majority of the children of these farm workers were born in the United States (approximately 73 percent), they are more likely to drop out of school or lag behind their peers. For those children of migrant workers who followed in their parents' footsteps and worked on farms, the prospects of educational success are even more dim. Among this group, nearly one third fall behind or drop out of school. Because of the combined effects of poor or nonexistent health care, poor nutrition, poverty, and high absenteeism from school, the

MIGRANT EDUCATION

With the continued and increasing growth of the immigrant population in the United States, the education of migrants has been an area of increased attention among various sectors of the U.S. educational system. The majority of migrants in the United States are seasonal agricultural workers from Mexico with their primary residences outside of the

children of migrants are considered one of the most disadvantaged populations in the country.

Although for many years the location of migrant work was primarily located in states along the U.S.–Mexico border, many migrants are now entering and working in regions that are deep within the country. Migrant populations deal with significant discrimination, and because of their lack of education and permanent residence, they often have difficulty in terms of being treated equitably.

Offering Help

To assist this population, the U.S. Department of Education developed the Office of Migrant Education to provide services and other forms of assistance to the children of families who migrate to the United States. Some of these services include Title I Migrant Education Program, which provides grants to state educational agencies specifically for migrant children; Migrant Education Even Start, which is designed to improve overall family literacy through a unified program; High School Equivalency Program, a program that helps the children of migrant farm workers receive their General Education Development certificate.

The rules for benefit eligibility are restrictive. As an example, in order for migrant children to receive U.S. government services, the child must have relocated from one school district to another in the United States within a three-year time frame to obtain seasonal or temporary work in fishing or agriculture, or they had to accompany a guardian or parent seeking this type of work.

Other recent efforts to minimize the marginalization of migrants and their children include the tracking of students and their school records across different school districts and regions as parents move to seek new work, as well as the development of stronger labor and advocacy groups that address migrant needs.

In spite of these efforts, the situation is still problematic as this sector continues to grow. As recently as 2002, an estimated 819,000 migrant children lived within U.S. borders.

William Deese

See also Economic Inequality; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity

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MINORITY DISPROPORTIONALITY IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

In the United States, minority disproportionality refers to a pattern in which certain minority groups are placed in special education programs at rates disproportionately higher or lower than their presence in the student population as a whole. Special education programs are conceptualized as specialized instructional programs designed to meet the needs of students with disabilities. Thus, minority disproportionality suggests that certain ethnic groups display disabilities in unexpectedly high proportions. This pattern has been seen as problematic because it raises concerns about equitable conditions and/or educational treatments for children from historically oppressed or marginalized groups. This entry examines the data and their social and cultural context.

Representation Data

Both over- and underrepresentation patterns have been noted in special education, indicating that some groups may be at particular risk for being falsely identified as having a disability (false positives), and others may be at risk of having disabilities that go unnoticed and untreated (false negatives). For example, whereas African American students are overrepresented in programs for mental retardation and emotional disturbance, and Native Americans in programs for learning disability, Asian students have

been underrepresented in all disability categories and overrepresented in programs for the gifted. White students are underrepresented in programs for mental retardation but generally proportionately represented across the other disability categories. Although both over- and underrepresentation may indicate inequitable circumstances, overrepresentation has generally received more attention because of its potential for undue stigmatizing of already stigmatized groups and because special education programs have not consistently proven to be effective.

There are two kinds of scores used in determining disproportionality—a composition index and a risk index. The composition index compares the group's proportion in the entire population with its proportion in special education programs. For example, as African American students represent approximately 17 percent of the entire school population, they represent approximately 33 percent of the population of programs for mental retardation. The risk index examines the rate of placement within an ethnic group and compares it to the rate of placement within another group. For example, 2.64 percent of all African American students are in mental retardation programs, compared with 1.18 percent of all White students.

There are two key aspects of disproportionality that present importance nuances of the overall picture: Variability in patterns of placement across disability categories and variability across place and time.

Variability in placement rates across disability categories highlights the role of professional judgment in disproportionality. Of thirteen disability categories used in the United States, minority overrepresentation has been noted consistently in three categories—mental retardation at the milder end of the spectrum, learning disability, and emotional disturbance. These categories are determined mainly by the clinical judgment of psychologists and educators, as opposed to those categories that represent verifiable biological anomalies or physiological impairments. The latter types occur much less frequently, for example, hearing, visual, or physical impairments, and multiple disabilities marked by severe cognitive limitations. The subjective nature of the clinical judgment categories suggests the possibility of biases resulting from historically based negative stereotypes of marginalized

groups, which may be compounded by continuing inequities in educational opportunity.

The validity of the categories themselves is called into question by the widely varying rates of disability designation over time and across school districts and states. For example, in the learning disability category, the risk index for African Americans in 1998 ranged from 2.33 percent in Georgia to 12.19 percent in Delaware, whereas the index for Hispanic students in these two states ranged from 2.43 percent to 8.93 percent. In a similar vein, the overall use of these disability categories for all students has changed dramatically over time. For example, the risk index for a designation of learning disability increased from 1.21 percent in 1974 to 6.02 percent in 1998, while the risk index for mental retardation diminished from 1.58 percent to 1.37 percent. To summarize, there is considerable overlap in the definitions of these disabilities and much room for ambiguity and variable interpretation.

Social and Cultural Context

The issue of disproportionality in special education reflects both historical and geographical dimensions. In many developed societies, the low educational achievement of historically oppressed or marginalized minority groups is notably problematic. In these educational systems, a pattern of low performance often intersects with the line drawn for the designation of disability. In other words, for those disabilities that have no biological proof and that are manifested mainly in academic achievement and behavioral patterns that lie outside of the society's norms, the line between low performance and disability is elusive. Nevertheless, a designation of disability, no matter how socially constructed, can seriously limit children's educational and social careers and can do irreparable damage to their sense of identity.

Cross-cultural comparisons suggest that in societies where specialized services are based on a strictly categorical framing of disability, disproportionality may be more likely. For example, it is much more noticeable in the United States than in Spain, where the categories are more fluid. Nevertheless, what is consistent is that overrepresentation generally occurs in regard to ethnic minorities with a history of explicit

marginalization. One such group is Gypsies, whose history of exclusion across Europe is well known. Identified in Eastern European countries as the Roma, these groups have charged educational authorities in the Czech Republic and Slovenia with discriminatory placement of their children in special education programs. In the former case, in 1995, although the Czech courts ruled that discrimination could not be proven, it was established that 50 percent of Romani children were in special schools as compared with 1.80 percent of non-Roma students.

The concept of disability seems to be a human universal by which individuals are compared to normative patterns of development and learning. However, societies vary in their cut-off points for normalcy and in the social value accorded to individuals who fall outside the norms. In the United States, the centrality of schooling for individual success and social status has resulted in a form of disability categorization that is likely to affect those at risk of academic failure. It is not surprising that those who have been the most disenfranchised are at the greatest risk. Indeed, the intersection of minority status and school-based disabilities represents but one of many detrimental arenas in which minorities are overrepresented in the United States. Disparities in health care, housing, and employment are all part of the portrait of inequity of which special education is but one slice.

Elizabeth Harry

See also Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity

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MINORITY STUDENT ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Although college enrollment rates have swelled over the past thirty years, minority students tend to be less likely to matriculate and persist in college. As the relationship between college degree attainment and economic mobility continues to strengthen, it becomes imperative to understand the accessibility of higher education, especially for underrepresented minority groups. This entry explores factors affecting minority student participation and opportunity in the higher education arena.

Roots of Access

Tracing back to its beginnings, higher education in the United States was reserved for an elite few, typically White males from privileged backgrounds. As a result, minority students found alternate paths to higher education through such initiatives as the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Although the 1954 landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education* focused on elementary and secondary public school education, it underscored the inequity of educational opportunities for students based on race.

Campaigns such as the civil rights movement and public pressures pushed colleges and universities to address racial concerns on their campuses. Over time, the doors of higher education slowly opened to include a more diverse population. Today, however, some

colleges and universities still continue to struggle with diversification of their campuses. As such, the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights functions as an agency to ensure and enforce nondiscriminatory educational practices.

To support and encourage minority student participation in higher education, affirmative action policies were designed to counteract the past effects of racial discrimination and recruit underrepresented groups of students to colleges across the country. These policies, however, were met with much controversy. Over time, the public tested the authority of affirmation action in the courts. In the 1978 case, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the Supreme Court determined that race could be a factor taken into consideration when assembling a student body. The Court, however, rejected the use of quotas to implement affirmative action policies.

In 2003, the Supreme Court upheld the decision that race could be a factor considered for admission purposes in a case against the University of Michigan Law School, *Grutter v. Bollinger*. That same year, the Supreme Court also ruled in *Gratz v. Bollinger* that the University of Michigan's Undergraduate Admissions Office could not award students admissions points simply based on race. Ultimately, the Supreme Court's message encouraged colleges and universities to assemble a diverse student body without using formulaic methods.

Choice and Benefits

According to the College Board, students who graduate with a bachelor's degree earn annual salaries that average \$20,000 a year more than high school diploma recipients. Current literature also suggests that attainment of a bachelor's degree is associated with lower unemployment rates, fewer incarcerations, increased voter participation, greater tax contributions, and positive health-related behaviors. The benefit of higher education extends not only to individuals, but also to the greater society. That is, investment in higher education is both a private and a public endeavor.

Inadequate academic preparedness and/or lack of opportunities for college preparation in high school

can inhibit minority students from transitioning into college. Governmental support and outreach programs that address these issues, however, tend to be subject to cutbacks and elimination every budget year. Especially for minority students from urban areas, the accessibility of guidance counselors is low, and these students often do not have the necessary information regarding the college process when making their future career and educational goals. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, in 2004, 35.6 percent of the high school dropouts were Hispanic and Black students compared to 6.8 percent of White students. Conversely, 72.2 percent of bachelor's degree recipients were White, non-Hispanic in 2003–2004. This achievement gap also persists at the graduate and professional school level.

For a large proportion of college-going students, escalating tuition and costs present a barrier to enrollment and persistence. The Higher Education Act of 1965 attempted to relieve some of the financial strain that students and their families faced. After its peak in 1976, however, governmental funding for low-income students weakened. That is, the percentage of tuition covered by the Pell Grant dropped over time as the government could not keep pace with rising tuition prices. In its report, titled "Empty Promises," the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance found that a high-achieving, low-income student was as likely to attend college as a low-ability, high-income student. The data in their report largely underscore the inequity in opportunity based on family income. In addition to inadequate academic preparation and insufficient funding, critics also point to admissions policies that favor students from White, privileged backgrounds (i.e., early decision/admissions programs) as barriers to access.

Future Trends

The authors in D. H. Heller's *Condition of Access* predict that the population of potential college-going students will continue to grow and include a greater number of low-income and minority students. Today's job market requires a more skilled and credentialed workforce. Students who do not have equal access to educational opportunities will be at a disadvantage.

In a democratic society, all students should have the opportunity to succeed in the academic arena. Fundamentally, access to higher education is a reflection of societal values and attitudes. Investment in access not only supports the cause of social justice, but also is a path to secure the future of our country, both financially and socially.

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See also Achievement Gap; Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Civil Rights Movement; Educational Equity; Race/Ethnicity

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MISEDUCATION

The term *miseducate* was coined by African American historian and educator Carter G. Woodson with his 1933 classic work, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. His premise was built around the notion that one's education should have redemptive value, for both the individual and the group with which the individual identifies. Miseducation is particularly problematic for oppressed groups, who are led to believe that an education will help them overcome their oppressed status. The fact of the matter, he thought, is that the (mis)education they receive from the oppressor tends to reinforce their oppression, alienates them from

their communities, and has more redemptive value when used in service to the oppressor. The effect of receiving a (mis)education is continued oppression and suppression of individual and group agency and self-determination.

If the word *miseducation* is considered more broadly, beyond Woodson's conceptual interpretation of the term to indicate its effects on oppressed people, then the word can be defined in more conventional terms. When major dictionaries such as Webster's do not formally define terms like *miseducation*, then the meaning of the prefix *mis* can be attached to the word *education* to indicate an education gone bad or wrong. This type of education is one that misleads the student to believe erroneous and inaccurate information or fail to acquire requisite literacy. Curricula designed to minister to various social, political, and religious agendas with minimal focus on social or scientific research evidence are more inclined to miseducate students. However, when members of the dominant group are miseducated, their dominance is reinforced. The redemptive value of such an education is that it serves their interests and allows them to continue to enjoy the privileges and benefits of a hegemonic social order.

Since the appearance of Woodson's work, anyone wishing to challenge the value of various types of education, especially those who use top-down curricula sanctioned by powerful bureaucratic structures, adopt the term *miseducation* to express their dissatisfaction with such systems. For example, Noam Chomsky views schools as tools of miseducation and refers to them as institutions of indoctrination and obedience. Instead of schools creating independent thinkers, Chomsky believes they have been used historically as institutional systems to promote control and coercion among the citizenry.

Jane Roland Martin takes a "cultural wealth" approach to the issue by challenging cultures to preserve and transmit their cultural assets but not their cultural liabilities. Violence; racism; ethnocentrism; and religious, gender, and nonconformist sexual orientation hatred are cultural liabilities that hinder movement toward development of a more inclusive, democratic definition of culture and citizenship. Should society expand the concept of educational

agency to include all groups and institutions, then the miseducated oppressed can be educated for first-class citizenship. Conversely, miseducated dominant groups can then be expected to denounce false notions of inherent superiority and advocate equal educational opportunity for everyone.

Others who weigh in on the miseducation phenomenon include David Elkind, who finds that early instruction is often miseducation, not because it attempts to teach but because it attempts to teach the wrong things at the wrong time, that is, at too early an age. Indeed age-inappropriate instruction can be problematic, especially when it involves matters of sex and sexual orientation. Activist Laura McPhee voiced her concern about sexual miseducation; because it omits vital information in its curriculum, it can leave children at risk for sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, and abuse.

James D. Koerner disparaged teacher education courses as another form of miseducation, calling them intellectually unchallenging and professionally useless. He advocated that pre-service teacher preparation place more emphasis in academic content areas. This is an ongoing controversy that has expanded to include the educational preparation of school and district leadership. Arguably at the center of scholarly debate is the importance of the right knowledge, skills, and dispositions for effective teaching and leadership. Paul Goodman's 1964 critique of American education admonishes a school system for being too cozy with mass media. He observes students who appear systematically conditioned to follow the train of others' thoughts and never come to learn or know anything about themselves or how to creatively construct knowledge from elemental learning tools.

Finally, pop culture's most celebrated testament to American miseducation was music artist Lauryn Hill's 1998 debut solo album, *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*, which received five Grammy awards, including Best Album, and was named by the television network VH1 as the thirty-seventh greatest album of all time. It also made *Rolling Stone* magazine's list of the 500 greatest albums of all time at number 312. Hill, who confesses much respect for academia, says the title should not be taken too literally. The songs reflect things learned outside of school and outside of

what society deems appropriate and mandatory. School systems that favor blind patriotism over critical discourse run the risk of miseducating oppressed as well as dominant groups, because both fail to get an education that encourages service to our collective best human potential.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also African American Education; Antiracist Education; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation; Education, History of; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Hegemony; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Literacy in American Culture; Popular Culture; Postcolonialism

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MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

Mixed methods research is based on systematically combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. Mixed methods have a long history of use in sociology and, perhaps to a lesser degree, in anthropology and are thus relevant to the study of social and cultural foundations of education. This entry describes several principles of mixed methods research; contrasts qualitative and quantitative data; notes several paradigms attributed to mixed methods research; sketches the process of mixed methods research design; details one kind of design; and provides a simple, yet illustrative, example.

Several Principles of Mixed Methods Research

The potential complexity of mixed methods research makes it necessary here to merely present several principles of mixed methods research. A first principle is to mix quantitative and qualitative methods in a way that makes their strengths complementary and their weaknesses nonoverlapping. Mixing alone is not enough.

Assume that a typical research study involves three stages: specifying research objectives, collecting data, and analyzing the data. In mixed methods research, there is a qualitative phase and a quantitative phase; within each phase, the methods used are of the same type, either qualitative or quantitative. The two phases can be carried out sequentially or concurrently.

Practitioners sometimes assume that the methods selected for data analysis dictate the type of data that must be collected. A second principle is that how data are collected is not logically dependent on how data are analyzed. If the phases of a mixed methods research study are sequential, which is often the case, then the data analysis stage of one phase will serve as input to the data collection stage of the other; that is, the qualitative (quantitative) phase will provide input to the quantitative (qualitative) phase.

Quality control procedures should ensure that the data collected are not contaminated. Once the data are collected, it is necessary to ask how accurately and how reliably they represent the phenomena of interest. A third (obvious) principle is that if the data collected are of poor quality, no amount of subsequent analysis can extract meaningful results.

Data: Both Qualitative and Quantitative

Oddly enough, many accounts of mixed methods do not explicitly distinguish between quantitative data and qualitative data. The former are most broadly defined as categorical in nature: that is, each datum is assigned to a category and can thus be counted. Qualitative data can be defined as textual in nature; written and spoken words, utterances, and even images can be regarded as qualitative data. Although this distinction is helpful, the illustrative example given below suggests that it is not as precise as one might think.

Combatants during the “paradigm wars” of educational research history could declare their allegiance monosyllabically: QUAL or QUAN. For some methodologists, and many practitioners, the two paradigms were incommensurable. Those accepting the possibility of mixing advanced either foundational or pragmatic justifications of mixed methods research. The widening acceptance of pragmatism in mixing has led to a wide array of mixed methods research designs.

Designing Designs

The phrase “research design” refers to a plan for addressing a set of research questions. In the context of mixed methods research, such a plan identifies the emphasis given to the phases and their ordering in time. If the qualitative (quantitative) phase is emphasized and is first, we have a QUAL → quan (QUAN → qual) design. Other combinations are possible depending on whether either paradigm is emphasized and whether the phases are carried out concurrently. Despite their usefulness, such taxonomies can distract researchers from the creative act of designing, which involves recognizing how purposes, conceptual frameworks, methods, issues of validity, and research questions interact.

The purposes of a study can be practical, intellectual, and personal. If the purpose of a study is to test a theory, this will constrain the kind of research question that the study can address. If the study purpose is to determine how strongly two variables are related, this will also constrain the types of admissible research questions. The purpose(s) of a study also constrain the kinds of conceptual framework that can inform the study.

Some theory or collection of theories provides a conceptual framework for the study. Broadly speaking, the conceptual framework for a QUAL study is likely to involve a process-oriented theory, whereas a QUAN study is likely to involve a variance-oriented theory. Whereas process-oriented theories aim at causal explanation, variance-oriented theories aim at causal description.

There is, of course, the question of which methods and procedures will actually be used. Will the data collected be categorical or textual? Will the data be analyzed using qualitative or quantitative methods? Will qualitative (quantitative) data be “quantitized”

(“qualitized”)? How these questions are answered can affect the accuracy/reliability of the results produced in response to the research questions of the study.

Unfortunately, the conclusions of a study can be wrong. Various types of validity (and, therefore, invalidity) have been enumerated for both QUAL and QUAN research methods. These standards can be summarized in the form of questions: Do the data meet the minimum criteria of acceptability/trustworthiness? Do the data adequately represent the theoretical phenomena being studied? Do the inferences made based on the data meet minimum standards of credibility/defensibility? The standards appropriate to each phase should be considered separately.

Research questions mediate the other four components of a mixed methods research design. By itself, a research question pertaining to the variability of the data may not shed much light on the processes that generated the data. Similarly, a research question pertaining to the meaning that an individual assigns to an utterance may by itself do little to explain why some individuals generate more utterances than others. For a sequential mixed methods research study, which is the focus of this entry, the research questions for the second phase should logically presuppose those of the first phase.

A Simple Design

The purpose of this section is to illustrate a relatively simple QUAN → qual design. In almost any small, task-oriented group, some members initiate conversation, and some respond to a conversational prompt, more often than others. Perhaps frequent initiators (responders) express particular kinds of speech acts such as commands (agreements). Perhaps there is a relationship between the social status of group members and the types of speech acts they employ in conversation. The remainder of this section is a sketch of a possible mixed methods research plan.

The *purposes* of the research are twofold. First, evaluate a model of social status and task participation in small, task-oriented discussion groups. Second, explore ways in which that model might be improved using conversational data. These purposes might be regarded as QUAN and qual, respectively.

The *conceptual framework* has two components: the theory of status characteristics and the theory of conversational analysis. The former describes a social psychological process by which people come to hold performance expectations. When people interact, they bring with them status characteristics such as education level, gender, age, and native language. People use status characteristics in evaluating their work and that of others; they form expectations for their performance and that of others. Status characteristics theory is most readily labeled as a kind of QUAN theory because of its quantitative form and previous testing in an experimental setting. Conversation analysis, which is usually regarded as a kind of QUAL theory, focuses on the conversational mechanisms by which turns are allocated in various types of speech interaction. Thus, the conceptual framework has both a QUAN and a qual component.

Several *methods* are employed. Previously collected conversational data from each of twenty-three group meetings will be used. In the QUAN phase, each actual conversation is compared to several simulated conversations. Each simulated conversation is generated using a computational model that reflects the status characteristics of the meeting participants. The computational model controlled by several quantitative parameters that shape how often simulated social ties form between simulated participants. With different parameters, each simulation of a meeting is likely to generate different simulated conversations. The “best” parameter values are those that result in simulated conversations “most like” the actual conversation. A simulated conversation that involves the same sequence of speakers addressing responders as the actual conversation is “most like” the actual conversation. An automatic search process finds the best model parameters for each meeting, which concludes the QUAN phase. In the qual phase, those conversational turns associated with the formation of a simulated social tie are examined to see which types of speech acts actually occurred.

The design makes use of speech data obtained from a naturalistic setting. Such data are often considered to have high causal *validity* because they have the potential to better represent the processes involved in the situation under study. Hence, the speech data

provide a firm foundation for quantitative analysis. That analysis is based on a simulation model that itself generalizes findings of status characteristics theory previously obtained in experimental settings. Hence, the simulation provides a moderately high level of generalizability. Finally, because the (simulated) social networks evolve over (simulated) time, it is possible to represent for each meeting the process by which a status order emerges (in which a social tie has formed for each pair of actors) and a conversation develops within a small, task-oriented group. The design offers moderately high generalizability and high causal validity, which neither the QUAN nor the qual components can provide alone.

These four design components are organized around the following *research questions*. For each meeting, what parameter values produce the closest match between the actual conversation and simulated conversations? Does the model represent some meetings better than others? What types of speech acts accompany the formation of simulated social ties? Clearly, these research questions are linked to the purposes, conceptual framework, methods, and validity issues pertinent to the study.

Those who write mixed methods research plans must take care to state as early and as clearly as they can that mixed methods research is involved. Otherwise, the reader may make inferences about the clarity and value of the research design based on an assumption that the research methods involved are either quantitative or qualitative. Similarly, readers of research plans should be sensitive to the possibility that indicators of methods often seen in QUAL or QUAN research may simply be components of a mixed methods research design.

Pros and Cons

Of course, mixed research has its own weaknesses. It can be time consuming, expensive, and difficult for a single researcher to execute, and it can present difficulties concerning how to carry out the data analysis task in a phase-one type using data obtained in a phase of a different type. Set against these weaknesses is the claim that a broader and deeper set of research questions can be addressed and potentially answered. Methodological

correctness aside, mixed research methods may also aid in the discovery of new meanings and new relationships, presumably one of the aims of those interested in the cultural and social foundations of education.

Roy Wilson

See also Educational Research, History of; Qualitative Research

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MODELS AND METHODS OF TEACHING

From the educational practices of Mesopotamia to current interest in technology infusion, a variety of ways to teach have been developed over the centuries. Models and methods often reflect the society's goals for education and its other values. Whether the student is an active partner in the process also varies over time. This entry summarizes the history of teaching methods and examines more closely two primary strands: traditional teaching and progressive teaching.

Historical Record

Models and methods of teaching, or different educational practices, date back to the preliterate societies

in ancient Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq). As city-states flourished (c. 3000–500 BCE), three major civilizations—the Sumerians, Akkadians, and Babylonians—developed the framework for the teaching of literature, writing, mathematics, and astronomy. Indeed, it was in the ancient Babylonian city of Ur that the tenets for the “traditional” or didactic model of teaching and learning are evident. Clearly, the Babylonian school curriculum centered on the memorization of literary works, emphasis on cuneiform script, and the focus on mathematical achievement; the teaching methodology was one of drill and practice reflecting the basic levels of what modern-day educators will identify as Bloom’s Taxonomy—knowledge, comprehension, and application.

Around the sixth century BCE, the Greeks established questioning and experimentation as educational practices in their quest for the foundations of a democratic system of government. In China (c. the fifth century BCE), Confucius focused his teaching methods on ritual and discipline toward formulation of ethical conduct and a cohesive social structure. Socrates, the Greek philosopher, affirmed the art of questioning as the essence of intellectual reasoning or *logos* (Greek for logic). The Socratic model became the catalyst for two eminent building blocks in the history of teaching and learning—empiricism and critical thinking. These constructs were to constitute the higher-order thinking skills in the Western mind and, thus, align with Bloom’s higher-order thinking skills—analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Aristotle emphasized empiricism and critical thinking in his Lyceum (school), and his legacy transcended through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment to the present day.

The methods of teaching in the twenty-first century are grounded in the classical or traditional practices of the ancient world and the modern-day progressive theories of Bloom, Dewey, Freire, and Perry, to name a few.

Classical or Traditional Methods

Examples of classical education include that of the Egyptian school, the rhetorical school during the last period of the Roman Empire, and the Confucius school. In Egypt, education and writing (hieroglyphs) were interdependent as the aim of societal literacy

was the preservation of religious texts by the scribes (priests). In this context, teaching was focused on the writing of moral essays in preparation for the development of a disciplined mind. In Roman education, participatory citizenship was the main objective of a teaching methodology where students learned the art of rhetoric through speech exercises that focused on the recitation of poetry and the characterization of historical figures such as Ulysses. In China, Confucius focused his teachings on the symbiotic relationship between ethical conduct toward an acceptable social order and political philosophy and the individual’s existence. Confucius promoted the idea of relying on classical works and influenced the development of comprehensive assessment that was to transcend through centuries.

In essence, the classical or traditional methods of teaching, then, focused on an integrative framework, where a “didactic” in lieu of a “critical” theory prevailed, through a teacher-centered learning environment in an effort to produce good citizens. In this context of teaching practices in the ancient world, it is worthy to note that these societies were homogeneous within themselves, notwithstanding the salient dichotomy between an upper and lower class structure and, thus, the absence of an egalitarian system of education.

A Progressive Pedagogy

In the *Yale Report of 1828*, Jeremiah Day, president of Yale University, launched the campaign to uphold the classical curriculum as an imperative for the “discipline and furniture” of the mind. Albeit the content of the Canon—great works of literature throughout the ages—serves as the knowledge base for the understanding of the human experience, the context of “how” and not necessarily “what” to teach is the topic of debate among all educators—from K–12 to post-secondary levels. Terminology such as “a constructivist approach to teaching,” “critical literacy,” “experiential learning,” “service learning,” and “student-centered learning” (to name a few) is commonplace as educators work to identify those methods of teaching that will develop critical thinking skills in all students in spite of a diversified student population across schools, colleges, and universities.

Whereas the didactic model of education tends to place the teacher at the center of the learning process, teaching that is “critical” focuses on the construction of a learning environment where students are active members through stimulation of intellectual curiosity, while respecting each other’s cultures as well as learning styles. Within this context, the teacher’s or professor’s repertoire of methodology or practices should be one where there is a balance between memorization of facts, as necessary, and the evaluation of constructs.

Some examples of critical theory teaching methodology include active learning, technology infusion, and experiential learning.

Active Learning. As in the schooling of ancient Roman times, poetry may be a powerful teaching tool toward conveying the relationship between the human experience and/or culture and a democratic society. In a critical theory or critical literacy platform—one where the teacher takes into account the diversity of learners—selected works (poems or prose) may be identified that allow students to connect their personal experiences to the work. In this context, students can work in small groups and analyze the issues behind the literary work, given a specific period in history. Such a methodology is reflective of John Dewey’s philosophy of progressive education, rooted in hands-on learning, as well as Paulo Freire’s pedagogy, which stresses dialogue.

Case study analysis calls for a collaborative, action-learning environment whereby the balance between knowledge base (content) and its application through discussions, vis-à-vis analytical writing, become essential for the ultimate evaluation of a problem or situation. Within this scenario, students must consistently practice Socratic questioning as they engage in individual as well as group reflection. Indeed, case study analysis can take the place of a formative-type assessment or continuous learning experience, while emphasizing student engagement, oral and written communication skills, and higher-level thinking.

Technology Infusion. Modern-day technology may be used effectively at the K–12 and postsecondary levels toward maintaining the balance between the “what” and the “how” to think. In the elementary

grades, for example, visual images serve to stimulate intellectual curiosity about different ethnic groups, forms of artwork, and so on. These images may provide the introduction to cultural awareness, which will later translate to questioning and reflecting about students’ own communities and, ultimately, the world around them.

At the university level, the use of “discussion forums,” where students must post questions in response to others within a synchronous (limited time-frame) context, will provide opportunities for prompt analysis, synthesis of information, and evaluation of an issue or problem. Such an exercise will require all students, in spite of the diversity in learning styles, to become active learners and think holistically about the role of technology as one of several interdependent factors that frame today’s global arena.

Experiential Learning. Perry’s theory of contextual relativism—the connection between an individual’s experience and the intellectual realm—is evident in experiential learning opportunities. The portfolio development approach used by some colleges and universities enables students to reflect on prior learning or work experience through comprehensive journal writing. This exercise calls for students’ self-reflection as they analyze, synthesize, and evaluate information.

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See also Classical Curriculum; Critical Literacy; Critical Thinking; Teaching Profession, History of; Trivium and Quadrivium

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MORAL EDUCATION

Adult moral agency encompasses several distinct capacities. *Moral discernment* is recognition of right and wrong. *Moral responsiveness* is the ability to feel moral emotions such as remorse, empathy, and admiration under appropriate conditions. *Moral judgment* is the ability to weigh conflicting moral claims and make reasoned choices in specific circumstances. *Moral action* is putting one's convictions into practice. Competing theories of moral development differ in how these capacities are conceptualized, the relative weights assigned them, and how they are studied. These differences generate distinctive educational implications.

The theories discussed in this entry represent two major intellectual traditions: the cognitivist tradition, which focuses on mental representation and evaluation, and the behaviorist tradition, which focuses on moral action and external influences on the agent. Although these research programs are different in emphasis, everyone concerned acknowledges that a full account of moral agency must include both action and judgment. For both traditions, the challenge is to address the aspect of moral agency that is not its primary focus.

The Cognitivist Tradition

The cognitivist tradition originates in Jean Piaget's study of children's moral reasoning in the mid-1930s. Beginning in the late 1950s, Lawrence Kohlberg extended and elaborated Piaget's model. Kohlberg's five-stage developmental theory has spawned a rich research literature, but it has attracted widespread criticism as well, especially for its alleged overemphasis on moral judgment at the expense of action.

Piaget: Moral Development as an Aspect of Cognitive Growth

In the 1930s, Jean Piaget questioned children about invented rules for marbles. Younger children, he reported, objected that the new rules weren't part of the game. This moral orientation he characterized as heteronomous: Morality and obligation were imposed from outside. Older children, by contrast, were autonomous in orientation. They did not regard rules as sacrosanct. They considered new ones and evaluated them based on their fairness.

Piaget attributed these differences to two factors. First, interacting with peers and settling disputes without adult aid helps children understand the function of rules and recognize that they are negotiable. Second, older children have developed more complex cognitive structures. Whereas younger children see rules in terms of rewards and sanctions applied to themselves, older children are able to consider effects on other people and consequently can evaluate social arrangements in light of participants' interests.

Piaget's work challenged Émile Durkheim's influential view that moral development is the assimilation of a society's norms. In contrast to Durkheim's transmission model, Piaget conceptualized moral development as an active process in which the child begins to question rules and social expectations. This account anticipates constructivist learning theory and is widely reflected in current educational practices—for example, explicit teaching of sharing and turn-taking in preprimary settings and group problem solving by older children.

Kohlberg: Stages in the Development of Moral Reasoning

In the 1950s, Lawrence Kohlberg extended Piaget's approach by constructing a series of moral dilemmas and analyzing subjects' response to them (see Table 1). Kohlberg identified five stages of reasoning that he claimed characterized all moral development regardless of a person's beliefs. A sixth stage, proposed as an ideal endpoint of development, has not been verified empirically. The stages are holistic, encompassing all of a person's judgments, and invariant, with no possibility of regression or skipping stages.

Table 1 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

Preconventional (egocentric morality)	Stage 1	Rules obeyed because they are rules or through fear of punishment
	Stage 2	Morality of self-interest (cost-benefit analysis of actions)
Conventional (transactional morality)	Stage 3	Morality as a fair compromise of competing interests
	Stage 4	Societal rules endorsed because and to the extent that they benefit all
	Stage 5	Societal rules measured against abstract values (justice, humanity, freedom)
Postconventional	Stage 6 (unverified)	Societal rules measured against hypothetical ideal society based on equality and justice

In educational contexts, Kohlberg's work has prompted efforts to help students advance to higher levels of reasoning. Class discussion of moral dilemmas has indeed been shown to accomplish this, particularly if it is accompanied by extensive peer interaction. Kohlberg, however, became dissatisfied with the discussion approach. He concluded that a context of shared values and democratic procedures would foster development. In the late 1980s, he developed the "just communities"—small schools run democratically—which became a model for a variety of experiments in democratic education.

Gilligan's Critique of Kohlberg

In the 1980s, Carol Gilligan pointed out that Kohlberg's scale was derived from an all-male sample and that female subjects tend to score lower on it. She proposed that girls followed a different developmental path that emphasized care and attachment rather than the abstract principles of justice, which the moral dilemmas elicit.

Gilligan's claim has received little empirical support. When results of Kohlberg's studies are controlled for intelligence and educational levels, gender differences disappear. Gilligan's argument, however, could be reconstructed as a challenge to Kohlberg's claim that moral development is content-neutral. Even if women's reasoning is structurally similar to men's, they might reach different conclusions because of the priority they place on maintaining relationships. Nel Noddings's ethic of care and Mary Belenky's

connected teaching reflect the popularity of this view among educators.

Kohlberg's Model: Pro and Con

Other critics have questioned both the cross-cultural validity and the holistic character of Kohlberg's model. Although cross-cultural studies generally confirm the universality of stages, members of isolated, homogeneous communities score lower than cosmopolitan subjects, leading some scholars to charge ethnocentricity.

With regard to holism, there is substantial evidence that an individual's reasoning level varies in different contexts. Kohlberg's defenders have suggested that stages are additive: A subject can still reason at lower levels after progressing to higher levels. This response, however, raises the question of what role reasoning plays in moral agency. If two people act on the same Stage 2 reason, is the one who gives Stage 4 reasons in another context more highly developed? There is, indeed, some evidence that higher-stage thinking is as likely to be associated with rationalization as with moral decision making.

Cognitive developmental theory, in short, provides an excellent account of people's capacity for moral reasoning, but because of its neglect of action, Kohlberg's stage model is unsatisfactory as an account of overall moral development.

The Behaviorist Tradition

Behaviorism focuses on observable factors that affect how someone acts. The salient influence is usually

other people's behavior, particularly their positive or negative responses to an agent's conduct. This system of rewards and punishments, known as reinforcement, could explain transmission of society's norms, the process that Durkheim envisioned.

This is a constricted view of moral development. If behavior is conditioned by others, then people are like Piaget's young children—heteronomous, controlled from outside, not truly moral agents at all. They cannot exercise moral judgment. Theories in the behaviorist tradition all confront this challenge.

Bandura and Social Learning Theory

Social learning theorists acknowledge that reinforcement shapes conduct, but they contend that not all learning can be explained in this way. Many grade-school students, for example, learn and follow classroom rules without individual punishment or reward.

Albert Bandura introduced the term *observational learning* to explain this phenomenon. Observational learning includes two elements: first, modeling of behavior by another person and imitation by the learner; second, vicarious experience through reinforcement directed at others. Teachers rely on observational learning when they demonstrate classroom procedures and when they praise attentive children to encourage others to emulate them.

Does observational learning involve moral judgment? The agent must select which behavioral models to imitate and by which vicarious experience to be influenced—a freedom not afforded by direct reinforcement. But does selection involve moral evaluation?

According to Bandura, the selection process involves coding: the reduction of complex events to a few essential features for storage in long-term memory. So, for example, the experience of knowing one's friend cheated might be remembered as an event involving dishonesty, friendship, and some kind of effect (e.g., anxiety or relief). Depending on the effect, this memory would reinforce either honest or dishonest behavior.

Does coding entail moral judgment? Not necessarily. When a friend cheats, reinforcement effects are influenced by such nonmoral factors as whether the friend is caught, the friend's emotional state, and what punishment is applied. If the friend pays no penalty,

the effect on future behavior might be the exact opposite of what moral judgment would dictate.

Social learning theory explains behavior better than cognitive developmental theory. Research shows that vicarious experience does influence cheating, whereas the role of moral reasoning is unclear. Similarly, a study of people who rescued Jews during the Holocaust found that rescuers did not exhibit more advanced moral reasoning than nonrescuers; what distinguished them was that they lived in "embedded relationships" in which altruistic values were strongly reinforced.

The problem remains, however, that social learning theory explains moral action as the effect of social influence. It shows why people do the right thing, but not why someone would do the right thing for the right reason. Internalization research has attempted to fill this gap.

Internalization Research

Research on internalization of values builds on social learning theory but differs in several important respects. First, unlike learning, internalization occurs only when the agent acts independently, without surveillance or reinforcement. Second, internalization research is not content neutral. Correct, desirable, or worthwhile values are the primary focus. Third, the role of moral judgment is preserved. Social pressure alone can produce compliance, but not willing compliance.

Several different research programs contribute to this field. Attachment research investigates the bond between infant and mother and its effect on development. Parenting-style research examines the effects of authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting on children's social behavior. Self-determination research focuses on the different ways people adopt beliefs and commitments and how these contribute to healthy functioning. Although the family is a primary unit of interest in this field, research has also been conducted in schools, colleges, churches, and other settings.

Internalization during childhood can be described as a two-person interaction in two stages. In Stage 1, a mentor (parent or teacher) communicates a value to the subject (the child). In Stage 2, the subject decides whether or not to adopt the value and behave accordingly. The factors affecting internalization are characteristics of the mentor, the child, and their interaction.

To communicate effectively, the mentor must be clear, consistent, and sincere and must convey the importance of the issue. Modeling can contribute to the process, but the main emphasis is on explicit teaching and persuasion. Deciding whether or not to act on the value involves two factors: the subject's motivation and the subject's judgment of the propriety of the mentor's intervention.

Motivation can be negative or positive. Threats and power assertion by the mentor provoke resistance; humor and reason assuage it. The mentor can generate positive motivation through warmth, reciprocity, and stimulation of empathy for those affected by the behavior. Judgments of propriety turn on whether the mentor's value assertion is believable and whether it is perceived as well-intentioned.

Moral judgments appear in Stage 2 of the internalization process. Empathy, an element of motivation, contributes to moral judgment because it focuses on others' feelings and how one's action affects them. Deciding whether to believe a value assertion is a judgment about the rightness or wrongness of the action in question. To determine whether the mentor is well-intentioned, one must decide whether it really is important to consider others' interests rather than only one's own.

An excellent illustration of how internalization works in a school is Jane Elliott's brown-eyes blue-eyes experiment, documented in the PBS film *A Class Divided*. Elliott conducted a role-play exercise to teach third-graders the injustice of racial discrimination, an exercise based on eye color. All of the elements of the model—clarity, sincerity, warmth, reason, and empathy, among others—are clearly visible in the film. In a follow-up discussion, the participants, now adults, reported having acted throughout their lives on lessons learned in that exercise.

This simplified model describes internalization from toddlerhood through early adolescence. Beginning in middle adolescence, the focus shifts from whether to how values are internalized. Self-determination research has identified three distinct styles of internalization. Introjected values are experienced as internal compulsion, a feeling of obligation that is not welcomed and not felt as part of oneself. Values with which one identifies are felt as part of oneself, but not as an essential part, because they are

not integrated with other aims. Integrated values are experienced as an essential part of oneself, values one could not reject and still be the same person. Integrated values are most stable and conducive to healthy functioning. In general, with appropriate developmental adjustments, the factors that promote internalization in childhood promote integrated internalization in adolescence and adulthood.

Internalization, in short, maintains the focus on moral action characteristic of the behaviorist tradition, yet also makes a place for moral judgment. In this respect, it is the most comprehensive of the accounts of moral development reviewed here. Not surprisingly, it is also the most complex. The child's moral development depends not just on reasoning capacity or environmental cues, but also on relationships, social context, and the child's sense of independence and self-efficacy.

Does internalization offer a complete account of moral development? Does integrated internalization—the adoption and consolidation of values—represent achievement of moral agency? Some might object that integrated internalization places values beyond critical scrutiny and thus represents a restriction of agency rather than its culmination. One could argue, however, that the model does require scrutiny of values before internalization and also that adult moral agents do face restricted options, because they do not allow themselves to act contrary to conscience.

Research Support

The behaviorist and cognitivist traditions both have empirical support. Their central tenets—that reasoning and external influences contribute to moral development—could both be true at the same time. Convergent tendencies in these traditions reinforce their compatibility. Kohlberg's just community experiments tacitly concede that external influences shape moral reasoning, and thus social learning affects moral development. The prominence of reason in internalization models concedes that Kohlberg's research is not irrelevant to moral behavior.

The competing theories and heterogeneous research clearly establish that achievement of full moral agency is a complex process. The journey begins early in life and takes a long time to complete.

A great many institutions and aspects of education affect the outcome. Much is known about some of these influences on education, such as parenting styles, attachment, and effects of discussion on levels of moral reasoning. About others, knowledge is rudimentary. Internalization research, building on Bandura's work and borrowing from Kohlberg's, has given us a very general and somewhat tentative model of moral development, but even a cursory review of the educational applications makes clear that there is a great deal more to be learned.

Charles L. Howell

See also Values Education

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MORRILL ACT

The Morrill Act of 1862 was originally proposed by Congressman Justin Morrill of Vermont in 1857. Opposed by the southern states, this act passed both

houses of Congress in 1862, when the southern states had seceded from the Union. Abraham Lincoln signed the Act into law on July 2, 1862.

The Morrill Act gave each state 30,000 acres for each member of their congressional delegation based on the Census of 1860, guaranteeing each state at least 90,000 acres to sell. The intent was that states would sell the land and invest the money in order to use the profits to support the land-grant schools; sixty-nine colleges were funded as a result of this original Act. Military training was required of all male students at institutions funded by the Act.

Originally, the Act specifically excluded the southern states. The Morrill Act of 1890 provided for greater funding for the schools established by the 1862 Act and included the southern states. The Morrill Act of 1890 also led to the establishment of land-grant colleges for African Americans. This was important, because in the southern states, African Americans were excluded from the land-grant colleges.

Today, there are more than 100 land-grant schools in the United States and U.S. territories worldwide.

John P. Renaud

See also Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC)

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education is a relatively new and evolving field in American education. Although the major theorists in this field differ slightly in their approaches, there is a general consensus that multicultural education attempts to revise the mainstream curriculum to include diverse perspectives and education in the United States and posits that schools must be constantly reexamined to see that they are

properly serving all students. This is particularly true of those populations that have been historically underserved.

As a relatively new and distinct area in educational scholarship, multicultural education can have a variety of meanings even to educators in schools. This entry will give the reader a broad overview of the field of multicultural education and outline its major dimensions.

Historical Perspectives

Long before the term *multicultural education* was coined in the lexicon of American education, there were individuals such as George Washington Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and George Sanchez, who realized and publicized the lack of equity in American education. These historians/philosophers advocated that the United States needed to provide high-quality education for all of its youth, particularly its poor children and children of color. They also realized that the content of education was significantly different depending on society's views for the future of these children. These historians/philosophers realized that the education received by poor children and children of color in their generations did not allow them to examine their position in American society nor give them the academic tools to analyze equity issues in education or society at large.

Could Williams, Du Bois, Woodson, and Sanchez be regarded as early multicultural educators? Perhaps this is not true in the most literal sense, because multicultural education had not yet been defined as a distinct academic field. However, their ideas of an equitable and democratic education provided much of the intellectual foundation for a movement in U.S. education that would follow decades later.

All of these authors realized that the education available to most African American and/or Latino students of their day was not commensurate with the knowledge and critical thinking skills provided to most mainstream students. A question that they pondered was, Why? Public education, like any other aspect of public policy that has a cost attached to it, is directed by elected public officials according to the values they hold and the extent to which they see all

students as worthy of high levels of education. The decision to provide a high-quality education is affected by officials' views of race and ethnicity as well as the role they saw for students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in American society.

For the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, most African American and Latino students who were provided with a public education (some were not) received one that envisioned them as blue-collar or domestic workers in American society. W. E. B. Du Bois called for the top "talented tenth" of African Americans to be responsible for the socioeconomic movement of the race. However, opportunities for African Americans of the day to get elite educations like Du Bois's own Harvard Ph.D. were rare indeed. Carter G. Woodson's insightful questioning of public education is seen when he questioned the curriculum in the 1930s. Woodson argued that when African Americans were taught with a curriculum that portrayed them in inferior positions in society, they would find those places and stay in them.

When Woodson observed this in 1933, he knew the immense power of an educational system that viewed African Americans as second-class citizens, rationalized that view, and educated them to accept the prevailing social hierarchy of the time. In questioning that prevailing orthodoxy and asking that education value all of this nation's students, Woodson was acting in a similar role as that played by multicultural educators today.

In the 1940s and 1950s, other African American scholars, such as Allison Davis, followed Woodson and critiqued many of the prevailing views of the nature of intelligence testing and its implications about the abilities of African American students. After devoting a career to studying culture-fair intelligence and achievement tests, Davis observed that racial and ethnic differences in standardized tests were due to the tests themselves. Davis realized that lower average scores posted by African American students were not a result of innate differences, but of differences that arise from discrepancies in experience.

Another scholar whose early work influenced multicultural education was George I. Sanchez. Professor Sanchez, a native New Mexican, devoted his career to removing educational obstacles for Mexican

Americans. In 1932, Sanchez published an article attacking the notion that Mexican American children were inherently intellectually inferior to native English-speaking American children. Sanchez argued that environmental and linguistic factors were associated with the IQ scores of Mexican American children. This was not widely recognized at the time.

Sanchez continued his distinguished career researching African American education and headed a Rosenwald Fund project at Louisiana's Grambling University to equip teachers with the tools to incorporate the traditions and experiences of the local community in the education of rural African American students. Thus, Sanchez married the fields of Mexican American, African American, bilingual, and rural education.

Another group of progressive educators in the 1940s and 1950s concerned with equity issues were those involved in intercultural and intergroup education. Scholars such as Rachel Davis Du Bois, John Granrud, and Hilda Taba were key figures among intercultural and intergroup educators and promoted programs that linked schooling to the community. Intercultural educators focused more on immigrant cultures and the need to have immigrant children comfortable with their cultures of origin. Intergroup education sprung from race riots that occurred during World War II in Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and Beaumont, Texas. The goal of this movement was to increase tolerance in the nation, and intergroup educators enacted prejudice reduction programs in many schools. Although intercultural and intergroup education did not directly convert to multicultural education a few years later, these movements show other concerted efforts to bring about greater equity and social justice in American education.

A goal shared by many of the early scholars was to establish accurate information about ethnic groups and incorporate it into the school curriculum. In doing so, they hoped that this would help to dispel many of the myths and stereotypes that abounded about ethnic minority groups. Although these early scholars may not have exactly envisioned the contemporary field of multicultural education, their ideas of equity and social justice are core concepts of multicultural education today.

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement created some changes in American public education. Many civil rights activists and educators noted that the histories and contributions of American minority groups were largely absent from the mainstream curriculum. In many schools, these pressures resulted in courses focusing on one ethnic group (such as African American history or Hispanic literature) being added to the curriculum. However, these monoethnic or monocultural courses were almost always regarded as electives to provide an opportunity for students of a particular background to learn about themselves.

The incorporation of multicultural content into courses taken by all students did not begin in a significant way for another decade or two. True multicultural curricular change does not prevent specialized monoethnic or monocultural courses. However, multicultural curricular integration looks closely at the cultural, racial, ethnic, and gender perspectives presented to all students in the required core curriculum. This form of curricular change, although more far-reaching than monocultural courses, is more difficult to achieve because it requires an entire faculty to be prepared to deliver it instead of just a few specialists. It also affects all students, which means that more parents could potentially question curricular changes.

Dimensions of Multicultural Education

The major dimensions of multicultural education have been defined by James A. Banks, one of the leading contemporary scholars in multicultural education. He provides the following:

- Curriculum transformation
- The knowledge construction process
- Equity pedagogy
- Prejudice reduction
- Reforming school culture

Most topics relating to multicultural education may be subsumed under one of these categories.

Curriculum Content Integration

A school superintendent once observed that "it is easier to move a graveyard than it is to change the

school curriculum.” Many people are understandably vigilant of changes in the public school curriculum because there have been numerous attempts in American education to use the public school curriculum to influence young minds with hidden, and not-so-hidden, agendas. Meaningful integration of multicultural content into the school curriculum is a difficult task. The first problem is that many teachers lack academic backgrounds with a solid multicultural knowledge base. Thus, many high school English teachers have strong grasps of the writing of Hemingway, Faulkner, and Poe, but often lack a similar knowledge base regarding African, Asian, or Hispanic American authors.

Although this situation is improving, there is always the natural tendency for teachers to gravitate toward topics they know best. In elementary schools, Hispanic content is emphasized in late October and November, women’s content is the focus in March, and African American content is examined in February. This is in keeping with the designated months for teaching each of these subjects. The “one month in a school year” emphasis is an effort to highlight the content, but it also suggests that women and African and Hispanic Americans are not well integrated within the mainstream curriculum. A key concept in multicultural curricular change is whether change is occurring at the core or at the periphery of knowledge. Are central concepts in a subject being examined through various cultural, ethnic, and gender perspectives, or is the multicultural material confined to boxed inserts in textbooks? How is multicultural information related to the mainstream narrative?

Using the example of African American troops fighting for the Union in the Civil War, peripheral inclusion is given when teachers or texts mention that President Lincoln approved their use for combat in 1863. Lincoln had originally taken the opposite view. Teaching this event as a core concept in the Civil War would explain to students that White reserves for the Union Army were nearly exhausted when President Lincoln changed his mind. This infusion of African American troops bolstered the Union Army to the extent that the preservation of the Union was greatly advanced by Black men in blue. Most teaching about the Civil War does not emphasize the significance of this event.

Many schools include multicultural content in peripheral or cultural additive ways. Occasional heroes and holidays are mentioned in ways that are totally disconnected from the curriculum and certainly from evaluation. A multicultural curriculum guarantees that multiple perspectives will be included in how students see knowledge. This curriculum discourages binary thinking and encourages critical thinking skills. However, multicultural content is rarely found on standardized tests in schools today. Emphasis on standardized tests tends to marginalize any curricular content that is not on the standardized test. Material not covered by standardized tests may be viewed as superfluous, or perhaps worthy, but many schools may spend little time on multicultural content because it is not perceived as helping the school’s position when standardized test scores are compared across the school district or state. Thus, evaluative trends that tend to emphasize skills instead of knowledge create an academic climate where multicultural literacy is devalued. This could be changed if multicultural literacy became an integral part of basic literacy expected and evaluated in all students.

Knowledge Construction

In all societies, the public school curriculum is a sample of the universe of knowledge in each subject. Because it is impossible to teach all students all literature, mathematics, history, or science, it is very important to examine the decision-making process in every society. What determines the information, concepts, and perspectives taught to all students in the public school curriculum, and what facts, concepts, and perspectives are omitted and remain in libraries only to be discovered by the truly curious? This process is clearly guided by societal values. Often, societies minimize or omit from the public school curriculum knowledge that is not complimentary to a positive societal image.

It is understandable that people of any nation do not like to see themselves portrayed in a negative light, but omission from the curriculum of uncomplimentary topics can generate feelings of distrust among students if or when they learn about these matters later in life. A common reaction is, “If my schools and teachers kept this information from me, how can I completely

trust what I was taught?" Another reaction from students could be, "If my teachers didn't teach me this, was it that they didn't know, or they knew but kept it away from us on purpose?" Neither reaction by students toward schools and teachers is particularly flattering. The net result of these forces is that the stories of all American ethnic and cultural groups are not included in the narratives shared with all students.

This lack in information about some Americans, while information abounds in the curriculum about others, creates many misconceptions. Information voids are often filled with rumor, innuendo, and misinformation. To bring home this point, ask some people how much they learned about Hispanic Americans from the K–12 school curriculum. If they respond with Spanish explorers or early colonizers, remind them that these individuals were Spaniards, not Hispanic Americans. Four hundred years of the history of Hispanic Americans in the United States is hardly mentioned in the core curriculum. This is true in spite of the fact that Hispanic Americans are the largest minority group in the United States today. Their "story" is largely absent from what U.S. students learn.

In the United States, the process of analyzing which knowledge is worthy of being included in the school curriculum is a complex one. This process takes place largely in the political arena. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation injected the national government into the curricular process. Prior to NCLB, curriculum, testing, and accountability were largely state and local school board affairs. Since the law was passed, adequate yearly progress (AYP) has become the major goal of schools, and those areas of the curriculum that are measured in AYP (largely verbal and quantitative skills) receive a major share of time, resources, and attention.

All states set curricular standards for high school graduation that may be enhanced by local school boards. The resulting public school curriculum generally may be found in a state's curricular standards for subjects in K–12 education. National publishers, who create the textbooks and materials for nearly all U.S. students, take this information to create textbooks and other materials for the various markets for K–12 public and private education. John Goodlad, an eminent researcher in education, found that textbooks

provide about 90 percent of the curricular content in the average U.S. classroom.

There is little doubt that the values in a society are largely responsible for determining curriculum. As those values change, the curriculum may change to include topics that earlier values may not have supported. The converse may also happen. Values may change and cause a society to delete from the curriculum what was previously taught. One example of the latter might be "Americanism versus Communism" classes, which were common in the Cold War era.

American values in the twenty-first century are more receptive to having students achieve multicultural literacy about the United States than the values that were prevalent in the 1950s to support this concept. When educators take on the challenge to present viable multicultural concepts and information throughout the curriculum, they are automatically giving voice to many perspectives that previously were found only outside of formal schooling. Understanding how racial/ethnic groups have fared, how women have tried to gain an equal footing in this society, gives voice to struggle and perseverance. This suggests to students how recent some rights are; how difficult it has been to achieve them; and that citizens need to be vigilant and knowledgeable, but not complacent.

A common critique among those who oppose multicultural topics in the curriculum is that this change is injecting a political element into what students learn. This view assumes that the existing curriculum was adopted without any political considerations. This is very rarely the case because the decision of what to include or exclude in the curriculum could be interpreted as a political act. The position of most multicultural educators regarding knowledge construction and curricular change is that the curriculum should move toward greater inclusion, and the stories of all groups of Americans need to be known by the rest of the nation so they may be perceived as part of the "unum" and not simply the "pluribus."

Equity Pedagogy

This dimension of multicultural education speaks to what educators do in schools and the degree to which these activities provide maximum opportunities

for students to learn. Research in education has shown that the quality of the teacher is a significant variable in how much students learn. Therefore, which students have access to the highest-quality teachers is of great importance. Some school districts today are paying high-quality teachers bonuses to teach in low-income schools. However, the general pattern is that teacher turnover in low-income schools is much higher than in schools in more affluent communities. Although there are thousands of high-quality teachers in this nation who have chosen to remain in low-income schools to help the neediest students, the distribution of high-quality teachers in this nation's schools favors middle- and higher-income students. This is doubly ironic when one considers that children who start life with considerably less are expected to catch up to those who are more advantaged and to do so with less access to high-quality teachers.

In addition to the overall distribution of high-quality teachers, equity pedagogy also addresses what takes place in the classroom. Wait time, or the time that elapses between a teacher asking a question and recognizing a student for an answer, has been estimated at around one second. In this one second, the average English-language learner in the class is still processing the question, rather than thinking of an answer. Numerous studies on classroom discourse patterns indicate that teachers (most of whom are female) tend to favor male students over female students in recognizing them to speak in class as well as in giving high-quality feedback. Other studies have shown that teachers prefer middle- and upper-middle-class students over lower-class students. This shouldn't be entirely surprising, because most teachers come from middle-class backgrounds and are more familiar with middle-class culture.

When courts have had to get involved in the provision of equity pedagogy and equitable learning opportunities for students, they have almost always intervened on behalf of poor or minority students or students with disabilities. Students in these categories were not able to get appropriate redress through the political process that governs schools, so they resorted to the courts. Cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Lau v. Nichols*, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, and *Larry P. v. Riles* illustrate this point.

Rarely, if ever, have parents of middle- and upper-middle-class majority students had to resort to the courts to see that their children had access to equitable education in this nation's public schools.

It is important that teacher preparation, as well as teacher in-service activities, focus on elements of classroom practice where the reality falls short of the ideal. Teachers who are engaging in classroom practices that do not fully reach their students, typically do so unintentionally. Teaching is very demanding, and teachers develop habits that may go unexamined without careful reflection and continuing dialogue with students.

Practices such as girls receiving less feedback and fewer chances to speak in front of the class, inner-city students being rebuffed when they ask questions in class that are seen as "too direct," are but some of the many examples of how a student's background may affect the instruction and attention he or she receives from teachers. Multicultural education suggests that issues such as these, which are well documented by research, should be presented in teacher preparation and addressed in the daily operation of schools.

Prejudice Reduction

Understanding this dimension of multicultural education is critical in order to improve school climates. As mentioned earlier, during World War II, the intergroup education movement was begun to improve race and intergroup relations through public schools. One of the reasons for the demise of this movement was that it was seen as only for schools with "racial problems." Today, school administrators still may be reluctant to actually test the waters of their schools' racial and ethnic climate. It is not unusual for a principal to begin the first schoolwide meeting with parents by welcoming them and saying, "At this school, we treat all of our students equally." Yet how many schools have actual data to support this assertion? In how many cases is the principal's statement an assertion of what he or she wishes to be the case?

All learning environments have an "affective filter" that students must address in order to learn. This affective filter may have two students in the same classroom with widely different notions of how comfortable

they are. Likewise, students may experience a variety of academic climates as they change classes or environments during the school day. The fact that a school may have a multicultural student population does not mean that school is integrated. It may simply be desegregated. A frequent pattern in U.S. high schools is seeing students sitting together for lunch in the cafeteria in ethnically/racially homogeneous groups. Research into this pattern suggests that minority students are using this time to create a homogeneous and comfortable space where they can relax in an accepting atmosphere in order to face the rest of the school day.

Because educators know that a comfortable school and classroom climate is critical for optimal learning, why don't more schools make an effort to measure this and include these data in school accountability reports? It is not surprising that these data are rarely gathered in a systematic manner. Once these data are gathered, educational leaders must commit to addressing any problem areas found or face the criticism that the survey was an exercise in futility. If there isn't a serious commitment to address these issues, the safest path to take is not to document any potential problem areas and to underscore a commitment to diversity by citing numbers that document diversity in the student body, faculty, and staff.

There are serious consequences to ignoring the affective dimension of schooling. One of the most obvious is that many students react to feeling devalued in schools by resolving not to learn from those who are in charge. Even though it can be argued that students are only hurting themselves by refusing to learn from those who they feel do not value them, the desire for human dignity often trumps the need for knowledge. When students direct racial, ethnic, gender, or religious epithets to other students, those being slandered expect teachers or other school professionals to protect them. This often happens, but at times it does not. Students who know that a teacher heard the insult, but did nothing, generally assume that the teacher is in accord with the comment. Even when the teacher disagrees with the remark, but does nothing, students often conclude that they are not important enough for the teacher to intercede. It is not surprising that students in this situation would not be eager to learn from such teachers.

In extreme cases, lack of attention to classroom and school climate can have drastic consequences. A few years ago, a Haitian honor student in a Miami, Florida, high school was "passing" as an African American. Shortly before his high school graduation, a fellow student publicized that the Haitian honor student was indeed Haitian and not African American. Unable to deal with the revelation, the honor student committed suicide.

At the end of twelve years of public or private schools, students have been tested and graded in a manner that largely determines their academic futures. Grade-point averages are calculated, standardized test scores are collected, and students present their academic profiles to colleges, universities, or other institutions of postsecondary education. Implicit in this profile, although never explicitly stated, is that students all learned in a school that had highly qualified teachers, an advanced curriculum available, and a safe environment, and all students were treated with equal dignity. There are usually no allowances for students who felt like guests in their respective schools, while others felt like owners because the school culture was synonymous with their own. Equal academic performance is expected after twelve years from students who faced hostile school climates, as well as from those who felt quite comfortable during their school years.

In short, multicultural education asserts that careful attention to school and classroom climate is not an irrelevant frill. It is an integral part of providing an equitable education for all students and should be regarded as such in teacher preparation as well as in the daily running of this nation's schools.

Reforming School Culture

The term *school reform* can have multiple meanings. To some, it is a euphemism for more external testing and constraints on teachers in the name of raising educational standards. To others, including most multicultural educators, it means raising academic performance for all students, presenting a holistic curriculum that includes multicultural and global perspectives, as well as examining schools for equity. The concepts of quality and equity in education are complementary, not antagonistic.

Reforms that measure product, but ignore equity in processes, are frequently flawed. Some states have reported improvement in student scores in the state's high-stakes test but neglected to point out that the state's high school dropout rate was increasing. Thus, perceived gains reported by the test may simply be the results of a better prepared, but smaller, group of test takers. This is an example of a supposed educational gain that lacks equity.

At the level of individual schools, many use school advisory committees (composed of administrators, teachers, and parents) to make decisions involving school resources, events, and policies that were previously made solely by the principal. This is a step toward more democratic decision making, but not a guarantee that all constituencies of a school will be heard. Teacher representatives could be selected by their colleagues or appointed by the principal. Parents on these committees may come mostly from business and professional backgrounds. Rarely would one find parents of English-language learners as members of such important school committees.

Multicultural education advocates that the voices of all school constituents be represented in meaningful ways. Clearly, when multiple voices are heard, there is a potential for conflict to be resolved that isn't present when a school is run by a single autocratic voice that guarantees consensus. When schools are run by consensus, the question is, "Whose consensus?" More democratic decision making may always be criticized by pointing out that it is slower and more tedious than making autocratic decisions. But in the end, decisions in which the entire school community has participated through a transparent process have much more legitimacy and lasting value. Genuine school reform must take into account not only outcomes, but also equity in reaching those outcomes.

Another dilemma for educators who want school reform with equity is how to respond to situations where current school practices are not serving the best interests of students. Just because a practice is required by a district or state does not mean that the practice is sound, supported by research, or in the best interests of students. Many states require English-language learners to take the high-stakes test if they have been in U.S. schools for one year. They may be

allowed accommodations such as a bilingual dictionary. However, no research supports the contention that academic English can be learned in only one year, or that a bilingual dictionary appropriately compensates for this disadvantage, yet these students are still required to sit for the test. What does an educator say to a parent of an English-language learner who has to cope with a daughter or son who comes home crying after hours of frustration created by an invalid test given in order to satisfy a bureaucratic imperative?

Do educators who question the validity of this test risk being viewed as disloyal to the institutions that employ them? Should educators admit to parents that even average performance on the test is highly unlikely after only one year of learning English? Meaningful school reform must allow professional opinions that differ from current practices to be taken seriously. When critiques are offered, they should be regarded as honest efforts to improve school practices, rather than discounted as being outside the boundaries of the current political climate for educational decision making.

Genuine school reform must involve an honest dialogue about all issues, including material and intellectual resources. In most school districts in the United States, teachers with temporary or emergency credentials are concentrated in schools that serve predominantly low-income youth. Because a quality teacher is the single most important variable that society controls that affects student learning, how well does this pattern bode for students who are the most underprepared having the least access to high-quality teachers? How do school district or state policies support or combat this pattern? This situation is exacerbated during periods where demand for teachers exceeds supply. Issues involving the distribution of material and intellectual resources in public schools must be at the core of the dialogue if true multicultural school reform is to take place.

Misconceptions

Like other relatively new fields, multicultural education has become legitimized and accepted in American education over an extended period of time. The field is not without its critics, and some educators still have incomplete or erroneous notions of the goals of multicultural education.

A number of misconceptions about multicultural education abound in schools. When asked how she was implementing multicultural education, one teacher replied, "Last week I taught a unit on Mexico and Central America." This interpretation suggests that anything cultural is multicultural education. Indeed, this teacher may have taught a fine unit. However, she was engaging in global education. If she had taught a unit on Salvadorean, Guatemalan, and/or Mexican Americans, she would have been engaging in multicultural education because this is domestic content to a U.S. student. It is clear, however, that good teachers should engage in both global and multicultural education so that students may see the relationships between the two areas.

Another common misconception about multicultural education is that it is opposed to the Western canon of knowledge. Teaching about the United States accurately requires multicultural educators to be competent in, as well as teach about, the traditions, accomplishments, and history of European Americans. When this segment of the population represents about three quarters of the population of the United States and has been the major force in its history, ignoring or minimizing its influence would be nothing short of providing a fraudulent education. For example, multicultural education does not propose to replace Benjamin Franklin in the curriculum with Frederick Douglass. Rather, it proposes that U.S. students of all backgrounds should be knowledgeable about both historical figures. Multicultural education does not oppose literacy in the Western canon of knowledge, it suggests that all students need "Western literacy plus."

Just as American students learn about the role of Ellis Island in processing European immigrants, they should know that there is an Angel Island in San Francisco Harbor that did the same for Asian immigrants. Students learn that the United States was populated in an east-to-west fashion. This is accurate when describing the European immigrant migration across this nation. However, this concept does not explain Asian immigrants' migration, which was west to east, nor Hispanic immigration, which was mostly south to north. When multicultural educators suggest that concepts be explored from the perspectives of all participants in an event, a common critique is that this

exploration is "anti-West," and that these perspectives are "balkanizing."

Multicultural educators counter this critique by admitting that new concepts may be slightly disorienting at first, when contrasted with students' prior knowledge. However, when taught in the appropriate context, students benefit from having multiple perspectives rather than a single one. In short, multicultural education is not a subtractive model of education; it advocates that more knowledge is better than less knowledge. It also rejects the perspective that simple discussion of cultural and ethnic groups is inherently divisive. On the contrary, ignoring different cultural, racial, and ethnic group perspectives, when they are germane to a topic, could be regarded as a form of academic censorship through omission.

Any time students are taught anything that was not taught to their parents' generation, the potential for controversy exists. However, if strict generational precedent were followed by all schools, the school curriculum could never change. Another critique leveled at multicultural education is that it doesn't help students receive better scores on state or national standardized tests. Because nearly all standardized tests focus almost strictly on verbal and quantitative skills, this critique essentially says that building these skills is the sole purpose of education. Although these skills are important, it is also critical that U.S. students understand the diversity in their nation and the world.

Future Outlook

Many areas need to be addressed if multicultural education is to become more fully realized in U.S. schools. Institutionalization of multicultural education has been uneven at best. Only a few universities offer degrees or areas of concentration within degrees in this field. Most of the seminal scholars in multicultural education (Banks, Gay, Sleeter, Nieto, McGee Banks, Grant) are persons who earned degrees in other areas of education and developed expertise in multicultural education by devoting their careers to research and writing in this area.

Certain changes, like preparing multiculturally literate teachers, require considerable time to revamp

the teacher education curriculum and to place those teachers in schools. A policy change, like the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education diversity standard, has caused many teacher preparation programs to review their curricula to see if they were properly preparing teachers to work with diverse learners. Ensuring that teachers have a strong multicultural background in their subject areas is a topic that will take considerably more time. However, without a strong multicultural content background, curricular changes are likely to be superficial and confined to pedagogy. Teachers need to be able to apply multicultural perspectives to core concepts in various subjects before students can realize the power of commanding a topic through a multicultural lens.

In addition, advocates of multicultural education need to realize the fears and concerns of the opponents of multicultural education. When teachers present multicultural perspectives, many concepts that were previously ignored take on the legitimacy of curriculum. This new curriculum, although more inclusive, provides information, raises questions, and presents equity issues that were previously ignored. Such a curriculum has been criticized by opponents of multicultural education as possibly being polemic, so it is critical that multicultural education uses excellent scholarship when it raises new topics in the curriculum. To do less is to open efforts to broaden the curriculum to the critique that multicultural education subscribes to less rigorous academic standards.

Finally, multicultural education must be viewed as an effort that aims to improve the education of all students. As this is more widely understood, those who receive a truly multicultural education will be far better prepared to understand their diverse society and world as well as become full participants in democracy.

Carlos F. Diaz

See also African American Education; Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Multiculturalism, Philosophical Implications; No Child Left Behind Act; Politics of Education

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans; Chapter 8, The Education of Native Americans; Chapter 14, Immigration and Education

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MULTICULTURALISM, PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Historically, multiculturalism is a forty-year movement for social equality of subcultural groups based on race or ethnicity, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and physical disability. Beginning in the educational sector in the 1970s and expanding to the social and political arenas, multiculturalism has progressively challenged the dominance of racially White, Anglo-Saxon culture and raised questions about the meaning and significance of pluralism in American society. Questions raised by multiculturalism about equality and parity of culture have strong implications in philosophical areas of political philosophy and epistemology. In political philosophy, justly accommodating culture within liberal, democratic theories of government is the vexing puzzle that multiculturalism poses. For epistemology, multiculturalism calls into question the privileging of the Enlightenment epistemic norms of truth and universality of reason. This entry briefly describes the concept and its implications for politics and epistemology.

An Evolving Concept

Throughout its history, multiculturalism has been an evolving social phenomenon. At its earliest arrival into the American lexicon in the early 1970s, the term *multicultural* was typically used in conjunction with, or related to, education. Multicultural education began the 1970s as a series of ethnic/cultural pedagogical and curricular reforms in K–12 education. In addition to its presentation in the context of education, initially, multiculturalism was also a label for sociopolitical policies, practices, and initiatives foregrounding racial equality. In the next decades, multiculturalism underwent a series of adaptations.

In the 1980s, promoting diversity among subcultures rather than solely racial and ethnic groups was the focus of multiculturalism. This technical use of the word *diversity* refers to any group consisting of members different from the mainstream, defined as White, male, fully able-bodied, Anglo-Saxon people.

Multiculturalism as a movement became the voice of those arguing for a more inclusive society. Throughout the decade of the 1990s, multiculturalism promoted empowerment of members of society who were socially and economically disadvantaged. Social justice principles were generally the basis on which such demands were made.

Most recently, multiculturalism has come of age as constitutive of a series of guiding considerations in rethinking the foundations of American life and society for the broadest possible inclusion. Additionally, there are now clearly formal, academic, and theoretical strands of multiculturalism and informal, populist, and practical ones.

Multiculturalism is used here as the umbrella concept for policies, practices, and initiatives not only in education but also in various domains of civic and political life. It is the academic discourse of multiculturalism that is addressed here and within which one may identify clear theoretical implications of multiculturalism for both political philosophy and epistemology.

Implications for Political Philosophy

In political philosophy, there have been two definitive assertions of multiculturalism that are significant. One is that membership in a given subcultural group is salient to political relations in a way that merits recognition and support of identity beliefs and practices. This assertion conflicts with the dominant liberal political tradition of Western political philosophy. Premised upon the social contract as the inception of civil society, liberalism holds that political associations and the authority that attends them are legitimate to the extent that they allow a range of common liberties to which all citizens tacitly consent. The bases of the contract are conclusions implied by reason.

Because putatively neutral, socially naked persons enter into the contract, liberalism privileges the range of rights and duties accruing to persons in virtue of shared universal qualities. On the principled grounds of universal rationality, liberalism subsumes group practices and beliefs within the realm of individual rights, consigning expressions of cultural difference to the private realm. Within the political framework of individual rights, there are mutual constraints upon

persons' rights to freedom of expression. However, the rights of the others are not the only basis for limiting recognition of cultural beliefs or practices in liberalism; also salient are the interests of the cultural group member for whom the individual right of exit always supersedes the right of the cultural group to impose its tenets. Amy Gutmann, in *Identity and Democracy*, defends this conception of the relationship between group membership and democracy.

Multiculturalism challenges the specifications of liberalism in general and the nature of democracy in particular by questioning the firm separation between an individual and his or her cultural group membership in the realization of the social contract. This problem is one of pluralism, which raises questions about how difference should be treated in democratic society. Members of some cultural groups argue that an equal and inclusive society mitigates for the burdens of minority status.

In *Politics in the Vernacular*, Will Kymlicka offers a liberal defense of minority rights and also appeals to a valued liberal concept of human flourishing as the basis for special recognition of minorities. Multiculturalism maintains that educational institutions should accommodate cultural beliefs in some way. One specific example of such an accommodation is making allowances for more local religious influence in schools where the minority population so warrants. William Galston, in *Liberal Pluralism*, argues that liberal democratic society can allow a greater range of freedoms with regard to the public expressions of religious beliefs.

Whereas the first assertion questions the specifications of liberalism, the second definitive assertion of multiculturalism calls into question rationality discourse as the primary basis for the political. This challenge frames political claims within binary oppositions such as the oppressed versus the oppressor, the dominant versus victimized, and so on. Influenced by neo-Marxist critical political theory, these oppositions foreground well-entrenched social patterns of injustice that perpetually consign minority cultural groups to the social and economic periphery. Only by empowering the marginalized can a just state of affairs ensue. The implications of multiculturalism for epistemology are along similar lines of contesting well-established norms and meta-standards.

Implications for Epistemology

The philosophical discipline of epistemology concerns the criteria for knowledge and related concepts such as justification and belief. Epistemology, traditionally conceived, rests upon foundational premises of modernity. These premises include the knower as an objective, neutral enquirer reasoning from basic beliefs of perception, memory, or reasoning. Basic beliefs, which can be infallible, certain, or self-evident, logically support derived ones. Multiculturalism's thesis of inclusivity raises the issue of the significance of groups and group membership for standards of belief and truth.

One proposal of multiculturalist scholars is that inclusivity is a critique of traditional epistemological standards and suggests that there are multiple ways of knowing. If multiculturalism is correct, there would be culture-specific epistemologies. However, this proposal faces two disjunctive options. Either standards of belief and truth are relative to culture, in which case there could not be universal truth, or claims to epistemological plurality are actually moral claims couched in traditional epistemological discourse.

In the first case, multiculturalism would be subject to self-refutation of the general assertion that there are multiple ways of knowing. In the case of the latter, multiculturalism claims for equality, respect, and liberation from the hegemonic Western tradition are actually framed within liberal and modernist presuppositions about truth and the equality of all human beings. Harvey Siegel makes this argument in a seminal article, "'Radical Pedagogy' Requires 'Conservative' Epistemology."

Although multiculturalism claims were given further credibility as the movement incorporated post-modernist theories, in the later work of James Banks, a leading multiculturalism theorist, its scholarship has recently begun to distance itself from the logically refutable position on epistemological relativism. In contrast, at the level of practice of education, cultural relativistic presuppositions are still being made. One example is in the work of Donna Gollnick and Phillip Chin, *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society*.

The discourse surrounding the epistemological implications of inclusivity has had several offshoots into emerging disciplines. For example, women's

studies and feminist epistemology have addressed the gender-specific aspects of inclusion. There has also been an ongoing discussion about the implications of race in particular as well as the nexus of race and gender. Also, the field of social epistemology explores the bearing of social phenomena on epistemology.

The advent of multiculturalism has fundamentally advanced the promotion of equality across American society, transforming social and political norms. Its transformative role is exemplified in its impact on political philosophy and epistemology.

Sheron Andrea Frazer-Burgess

See also Cultural Pluralism; Democracy and Education; Educational Equity; Gender; Educational Equity; Race/Ethnicity

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MUSEUMS

In most countries, and especially in the United States, museums are a reflection of society. Usually, the buildings exemplify civic pride, serving as examples of architectural accomplishments. The public and political importance of a museum is signified by how it is funded and to what degree, as well as by the scope of its collections. The collections also provide evidence of the curiosity of the community's citizens to know and experience not only American culture, but the societies of other people, lands, and eras.

Today, more than any other time in its history, the museum in the United States is a place for education for everyone. This was not always so; early museums had exclusive private collections that were owned by and open only to the wealthy—those of the same race and social class. In this entry, this history of museums and their educational role is briefly described.

An Educational Role

Many early museums were viewed as sacred places for collectors where visitors would speak in whispers as they wandered from one gallery to another. Museums were largely for the wealthy, the cultured, and the elite. Thus, early museums reflected American society in their lack of openness to new ideas and new people. As the country became industrialized and welcomed new citizens, museums struggled to find a place within the changing society.

Over the past 200 years, the educational role of museums has been subject to considerable debate. From their earliest inception, there has been no consensus by those running American museums as to whom they should teach, or even for what reasons. But from their outset, museums have always undertaken to teach someone something. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the major objective of an increasing number of American museums was to educate, inform, and inspire the general public. More and more museums were open to those who did not have the benefit of an extended education. Through lectures, objects, and pictures, museums could teach an increasingly diverse population. This tradition of teaching from and learning with original objects continues to be a major emphasis of most museum education.

Fostering Equality

Museums are considered ideal institutions because they offer a type of social equality achieved through learning for all patrons. During the post-Civil War period, the museum movement's primary motivation was a need to instill literacy in the American public; growing numbers of immigrants did not know or appreciate the story of Western civilization, it was thought. Indeed, civic leaders depended upon public

schools and museums to promote a cohesive set of moral values for the community.

Working in the early decades of the twentieth century, John Cotton Dana, director of Newark Free Public Library and Museum, and Henry Watson Kent, the supervisor of museum instruction at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (both trained as librarians), saw museums as a powerful instrument for self-improvement, and in their work, each tried to reach all parts of his community. Seeing museums as places of active interpretation, the two men believed that it was the duty of these institutions to be proactive in inspiring popular interest.

By the end of the 1920s, the educational role of museums was de-emphasized, as was the goal of social equality. Increasingly, collecting was seen as an end in itself, and the completion and care of collections became the major professional concern for directors. Special staff members were appointed to develop educational services for schools and for adult visitors. The museum teacher arranged for loan services and school visits, while a guide lecturer provided adult services. Withdrawing from relationships with the public, museum directors relied on exhibitions as their main form of communication.

Recent Trends

By the mid-1940s, the horrors of the war and the threat of obliteration from the nuclear bomb helped museums to refocus on their educational responsibilities toward the public. Prosperity after the war also brought expansion. The social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s produced another set of demands for educational services from museums, resulting in hands-on learning in children's museums and science centers. Display methods became the focus of research and development for museums. Another outcome of the social turmoil of the 1960s was to put museums in the center of the cultural wars, a trend that continues into the present as traditionalists and multiculturalists fight over collections and their interpretations. Native Americans, along with African Americans and other historically disenfranchised groups, have increasingly come to demand a voice in

museum policies and practices and ownership of artifacts collected from their communities, as well as the right to have their historical and cultural stories told.

By the 1990s, the educational role of museums was once again emphasized—a direction that is expected to continue and grow in the future. The philosophy of lifelong learning, and the recognition that learning does not end with formal schooling, provides a theoretical framework for the role of museums and education into the twenty-first century. It is clear that in the future, museums must be increasingly responsive to the complex and diverse populations of the United States, responding to their needs through innovative educational programs and community engagement.

Museums are complex institutions, even more so today than in their early history. How and what they do is open to considerable controversy and debate. Among museum professionals, the essentialists decry the shift in focus away from scholarship and preserving and collecting; in opposition are the pragmatists, who understand that for museums to survive, they must embrace change.

Working to survive in a marketplace economy as largely nonprofit institutions, museums are forced to adopt the contradictory roles of being a place of memory in a country that thrives on immediacy and being an advocate for tradition in a nation of innovation. Accountable to more constituents than in the past, museums must operate as cost-effective businesses while also serving as educational resources, civic centers, and community partners.

Louise Anderson Allen

See also Cultural Literacy; Cultural Pluralism; Folklore; Libraries, History of

See Visual History Chapter 12, Frances Benjamin Johnston and the Washington, D.C., Schools

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MUSLIM STUDENTS IN U.S. SCHOOLS

The population of American schools includes learners whose educational experiences are diverse by variables such as race, gender, culture, and social class. Students who are observant Muslims in American schools introduce religion as an additional analytical variable. For Muslim students, the central presence of God in the individual's mind and heart is an important factor in shaping one's life.

The Western worldview might be problematic for Muslim youth and their families because a Muslim considers civil life to be embedded within a spiritual realm. In some cases, Muslim students face the challenge to maintain their religious identity in American schools. The conflict between the value system of the home and that of the school becomes more important when dealing with issues of regulating gender relations, dating, physical education, and sex education classes. Muslim students may be uneasy about sharing changing-room space, for example, because modesty is a major theme in Islamic teachings. Muslim female students who choose to wear the head cover (*hijab*) will be looking for a culturally sensitive educational environment.

Some other areas where religious values and the school environment may clash include school menus. For example, pork is included in most districts' menus. Because Muslims are prohibited from eating any pork product, labeling those items would help students to be aware of their choices. The month of Ramadan, when Muslims fast, occurs during the school year; many schools allow Muslim students to sit in the library during lunchtime so they won't be around food. In some districts, students are given a

time and space to perform their prayers while at school without disrupting their class schedule.

Some Muslims also have concerns about how American textbooks deal with the history of Muslims, the history of colonialism, and the Third World. Poor or inaccurate coverage of Muslims in textbooks disturbs Muslim communities in the West. Teachers may also have misconceptions regarding Muslim homelands that reflect negatively on students' pride in their heritage.

Helping teachers to eliminate their own stereotypes will have a domino effect on all the students who pass through their classrooms. Teachers should know that Muslim families generally consider education important, although because they vary in socioeconomic status, they also differ in educational experiences. Moreover, Muslim parents also want their daughters to be educated as a means of social mobility, growth, and financial independence.

The presence of young Muslims in American schools can have a positive impact on the school culture. For example, Muslim students have started school clubs that are geared not only toward serving their needs but also toward educating non-Muslims about Islam. Clubs such as Muslim Learning club, Muslim Student Association, and Islamic Culture club are but a few examples of Muslims creating their own space within public space. American schools tend to have pervasive cultures, allowing Muslim students to develop an educational identity and explore different meanings of the self, values, and an imagined future. These multilayered identities are fluid and dynamic, responding to the social context in which these young Muslims function.

Zeena Tabbaa-Rida

See also Cultural Pluralism; Rights of Students

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N

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) is federal legislation that was passed primarily to stimulate the advancement of education in the sciences, mathematics, and modern foreign languages during the Cold War era. While providing funding at all levels, the primary focus of the NDEA was on postsecondary education. The act provided institutions of higher education with funds for granting low-interest loans to students. The NDEA also gave federal support for improvement to elementary and secondary science, mathematics, and foreign language education.

In the aftermath of the launch of the Soviet *Sputnik I* satellite on October 4, 1957, the U.S. Congress declared the existence of an educational state of emergency requiring action by the federal government. The purpose of the act was to provide federal assistance to help develop those skills deemed essential to the national defense.

The federal system of the U.S. government does not allow for national control over curriculum, instruction, administration, or any other aspect of school policy. Thus, the federal role in education is largely limited to issues of funding. One key component of the NDEA was to enhance student loan funding at colleges and universities. Specifically, these funds were to be allocated preferentially to students who wished to teach in elementary or secondary schools and to students engaged in preparation in science, mathematics, engineering, or a modern foreign language.

Additional funding was given to strengthen science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction at the K–12 level, with funds to be made available to private as well as public schools.

Cory A. Buxton

See also *Sputnik*

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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The National Education Association (NEA) is the largest professional employee organization and one of the most powerful labor unions in the United States. It works to improve public education and attain higher salaries and better working conditions for educators and school employees through political activism, research, professional development, contract negotiations, and awards. The NEA represents over 2.8 million teachers, administrators, education support professionals, faculty members, education students, and retirees. It is a staff-supported, volunteer-based association with affiliates in all fifty states and in over 13,000 communities.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the NEA influences the political process at the local, state, and national levels. For example, the NEA seeks to “fix and fund” the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001; supports free, universal preschool; and opposes efforts to reduce public school funding through privatization (educational choice and voucher programs). It conducts large-scale research projects and provides access to comparative data on teachers, students, and schools. Members use this information to improve educational practices and promote increased funding for public education.

NEA professional staff members assist affiliates engaged in the contract negotiation process through which employee salaries, benefits, and working conditions (e.g., class size, school safety, preparation periods, grievance and transfer policies) are determined. The NEA’s Web-based Legislative Action Center highlights pending legislation likely to impact education. The NEA Fund for Children and Public Education, a political action committee, is funded by voluntary member contributions (not dues). The fund uses these contributions for political purposes, supporting candidates whose platforms and voting records reflect the association’s principles. Critics argue that the NEA impedes educational reform efforts, wields too much political power, and promotes causes that do not reflect members’ professional values and interests.

Organized in 1857, the NEA was first called the National Teachers Association. Zalmon Richards of Columbian College, George Washington University, was the association’s first president. The NEA was incorporated under a Special Act of Congress in 1906. Ella Flagg Young of the University of Chicago was the association’s first female president (1911–1912). The NEA was a “professional association” for nearly a century, opposing collective bargaining and the use of strikes to settle labor disputes. However, the NEA became a teachers’ union in the 1960s, after losing ground to a rival organization, the American Federation of Teachers, in large urban school districts.

The main policy-making group of the NEA is the Representative Assembly, comprised of more than 9,000 elected delegates. When the Representative Assembly convenes each year, it constitutes the largest democratic decision-making body in the world.

Noteworthy publications of the NEA include the *NEA Code of Ethics of the Education Profession*, *NEA Today*, and *The NEA Handbook*.

Jan Armstrong

See also American Federation of Teachers; Ethics Codes for Teachers

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NATION AT RISK, A

Historians specializing in the field of American education agree that the report *A Nation at Risk*, prepared by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, has had a significant influence on schools since 1983. This entry describes how the report was prepared, what it said, and how its impact has been felt for more than two decades.

Background

The Commission on Excellence in Education was created by Ronald Reagan’s Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell, in 1981. Bell believed that because of the low test scores of American students in international examinations and because of an apparent public uneasiness with schools, the time was right for a study that would provide recommendations for improving our schools and colleges. Despite a lack of enthusiasm for the project by the Republican administration, he was allowed to proceed with the study.

The commission contained representatives of business, colleges, and universities; teachers; school administrators; and school board members. In his

charge to the group, Secretary Bell instructed them to “review and synthesize the data and scholarly literature on the quality of learning and teaching in the nation’s schools, colleges, and universities, both public and private, with special concern for the educational experience of teenage youth.” They were also instructed to identify problems facing schools and seek successful programs to remedy the current educational deficiencies.

Contents

After their report was unanimously agreed upon by all the members of the commission, it was introduced to the public by President Reagan. The document began with an introduction that was widely quoted in the media, which stated that

Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged prominence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. . . . If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. . . . We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. . . . We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral, educational, disarmament.

Following this introduction, the report identified the following failures of the American education system:

- Our student test scores compare unfavorably with other nations
- Twenty-three million Americans are functionally illiterate
- The college entrance SAT scores have been declining since the 1960s
- Test scores of college graduates are dropping
- Businesses and the military are spending millions of dollars retraining employees and recruits
- American students are deficient in their knowledge in the field of science

The recommendation section of the report suggested the need to return to an emphasis on what the authors called the “new basics.” Specifically, the commission

called for a high school curriculum that includes four years of English, three years of mathematics, three years of science, three years of social studies, and a half year of computer science.

This section of the report also referred to the need for “rigorous” curriculum standards. It recommended that these standards be written in such a way that they are measurable and clearly articulate what students should know and be able to do. To ensure that the standards are being effectively taught, meaningful or high-stakes examinations should be administered to measure student learning.

The report also argued that schools and colleges should raise their expectations of students by having students increase time spent in the classroom and on homework. Another way of improving student achievement that the report emphasized is to improve the teaching profession. Better training and higher salaries for teachers were suggested. The authors also included sections addressing the importance of the role played by parents, school administrators, and school boards.

Ongoing Impact

For the most part, the media coverage after the issuance of the report was positive. After seeing the positive reaction to the report, President Reagan used school improvement as one of the major issues in the campaign for his reelection in 1984. Because of the impetus provided by the report, state governments were encouraged to seek ways to strengthen their education programs.

Not all of the reactions to the report were positive. Some critics suggested that blaming our nation’s economic problems on schools was unfair. Others charged that the commission was selective in its use of the data in order to justify a negative assessment of our schools. Despite the critics, states developed curriculum standards, high-stakes testing programs, and increased accountability for schools during the next twenty years.

Even with these and other reforms, as the nation entered the twenty-first century, test scores, especially in our cities, were not showing great improvement. During his campaign in the year 2000, George W. Bush

called for more vigorous federal leadership in the field of education. During the debate over reauthorization of Title I of the Elementary/Secondary Act of 1965, a new law was born. Called No Child Left Behind, the bill can be seen as a continuation of the reform begun by the *A Nation at Risk* report. Although it did not occur until twenty years after the report, it incorporated many of the recommendations offered by the commission. The law mandates state curriculum standards, high-stakes testing, school accountability, and improvement in the preparation of teachers. School districts that fail to make adequate progress in carrying out the objectives of the law will be faced with serious consequences.

It is impossible at this point in time to judge the effectiveness of the various reforms called for in the *A Nation at Risk* report. The testing required by the No Child Left Behind Act has just begun. Whether or not U.S. schools will be more successful in the twenty-first century remains to be seen, but it is clear that current reform efforts were in large part a result of the *A Nation at Risk* report.

William Hayes

See also Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; No Child Left Behind Act

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NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

The history of Native American education began before contact with European settlers, as tribes had their own traditions of passing knowledge through the

elders to the youth. This entry reviews the history of Native American education after contact with Europeans, focusing on schooling through the high school level. Education of Native Americans has included missionary schools, off-reservation boarding schools, reservation day schools, and finally public schools. Throughout this history, the purposes of schools were to Christianize, “civilize,” and assimilate Native American children and their families.

Missionary Schools

The Jesuits began establishing missions within Indian territories in the Northeast and Midwest beginning in 1611. Protestants sent missionaries to Indian territories in the early 1600s. Father Junipero Serra began establishing the twenty-one California missions in 1769. The purposes of the missionary work were Christianizing, civilizing, and assimilating Native Americans into the European way of life, religion, work patterns, and language.

In 1819, the U.S. government decided to assist the missionary efforts by establishing the Indian Civilization Act, which funded Christian missionary schools within Indian territory. Christian denominations involved in setting up missionary boarding schools included Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Catholic, among others. By 1884 they had created missionary schools in seventy-three different Indian territories.

The federal government was also involved in Native American education through writing education into many of the treaties set up with the various tribes. During the 1800s, the Senate approved nearly 400 treaties, of which 120 contained provisions for education. In exchange, the tribes gave almost a billion acres of land to the U.S. government. The government responded by passing the Dawes Act of 1887, which created a system of allotments for Native Americans. By dividing up the Indian territory into parcels, each Native American was able to receive land of his or her own, which encouraged an individual rather than tribal view of the land. The act turned out to be just another method of taking land from Native Americans, as it resulted in 60 million acres being opened up to non-Indians for settlement.

When students arrived at the missionary schools, they faced treatment designed to “de-Indianize” them. Their hair was cut, they were not allowed to speak their native languages, they were not allowed to practice their own religions, they could not use their known ways of practicing medicine, and they were most often not allowed to keep their own names. The belief on the part of the U.S. government and the educators at the schools was that if children were stripped of their sense of Indian identity and their memory of their religion, language, and sense of community, then their tribal customs would disappear, and the communities would become more like the White communities.

Off-Reservation Boarding Schools

In 1865, a congressional committee recommended the creation of boarding schools away from Indian communities for the education of young children. According to proponents, this would remove the Indian child further from the influences of the family and tribe. By 1873, the federal government had repealed funding for missionary schools, instead appropriating money to off-reservation boarding schools for Indian children that emphasized industrial labor training.

The most famous of the off-reservation boarding schools, Carlisle Indian School, was opened by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879. This was a model for the government’s forced assimilation policy, engaging in many practices to separate students from their Indian identities. Opened in old army barracks, Carlisle was an industrial labor school, which in addition to various types of work also included sports teams, bands, and a school newspaper. With word spreading of the “success” of Carlisle in assimilating Indian children, Congress funded more boarding schools. By 1902, there were twenty-five governmentally funded boarding schools in states across the United States. These schools were intended to be sites for elementary education, although some students were in their teens. Additional boarding schools that gained attention include Haskell Institute, in Lawrence, Kansas; Sherman Institute, in Riverside, California; and Phoenix Indian School in Arizona.

Industrial Education and Labor

The boarding schools operated as manual labor training arenas, with under a half-day of academics and a half day of labor—industrial, agricultural, or domestic work. Students were assigned to one of these areas of work, which had the purpose of teaching children to be industrious laborers. In many cases, the boarding schools were only able to remain open due to the labor provided by the students. An additional type of practice practiced by some of the boarding schools was the “Outing” system, in which Indian students would live with families on nearby farms. While living with the families, they would do the work of harvesting or domestic work and get paid for their labor. They would then return to the boarding school during the school year, where they would continue with their labor as well as their schooling.

As part of the rigor that school leaders thought would create more moral, patriotic, and willing workers, the schools often were organized as military units. Students had marching drills, militaristic rules, harsh discipline, and compulsory attendance. In the records of one boarding school, students who ran away from the school to go back home were recorded in the roster documents as “deserters.”

Taking the Children

Since one stated purpose of off-reservation boarding schools was to bring Native American children off of the reservation, there had to be a system for getting the children away from their homes. Accounts of how the children were taken to boarding schools show that some children desired to attend the boarding schools, with their parents’ consent, hoping to gain an understanding of the “White man’s world.” Many children, though, were taken by government agents through force, bribery, or threats. At the end of the 1800s, one method of taking children away from homes was to withhold rations as a way to get parents to send their children to the schools. This practice was prohibited by a congressional act in 1894, which blocked the sending of Indian children to schools outside their state or territory without consent of parents or guardians.

Upon arriving at the missionary or boarding schools, many Indian students were renamed by their White teachers. Among most tribes, a young person is given a name based on an event or a characteristic that has been associated with that person. Those responsible for Indian education policy in the late 1800s and early 1900s believed that traditional Indian names were “unsuitable for civilization.” Further, they thought that the traditional practice of naming a child was an undesirable link to the tribe’s culture, heritage, and traditions. Examples of names being changed by the teachers at the boarding schools include Bear Chief having his name changed to Harold Gray, and Ah-nen-la-de-ni, which meant “Turns the Crowd,” being changed to Daniel La France.

An Era of Indian Schools

Several tribes worked to overcome forced assimilation into European values and beliefs, with some starting their own schools, taught by Native American teachers teaching in their own languages. In 1818, the Choctaw opened the Choctaw Academy, a high school for Indian children. The Cherokee opened male and female “seminaries” in 1851, which were basically high schools for Indian children, run by Indian teachers. And by 1870, there were eighty-four neighborhood schools in Choctaw territory. Most of these teachers were Choctaws.

After forty years of the federal off-reservation boarding school policy, public attention turned to criticizing the educational treatment of Native Americans. One of the critiques was that the boarding schools off-reservation were too expensive to maintain, while another was that students were not being assimilated into White culture well enough to justify the expense. A series of increasingly complex critiques of government policy toward Native Americans was seen in the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1923, the Committee of One Hundred was formed to analyze Indian policy and recommend any needed changes. The committee included a wide range of members, including several influential Native American delegates. The committee’s report called primarily for greater funding for Indian schools, specifically with a call for more adequate school facilities, higher

salaries for Indian teachers in order to draw more qualified teachers, an increased number of Native American students in public school, and an increase in scholarships.

In 1928, the Meriam Report was published, providing an extended investigation and critique of the services and education provided by the Department of the Interior’s Indian Office. The report condemned the care of Indian children in boarding schools, challenged the use of Indian students as laborers to keep the boarding schools operating, and criticized the philosophy and curriculum of the boarding schools, which focused on “civilizing” the Indian child. In 1930, the key author of the report, Dr. Carson Ryan, became the director of Indian education, striving to put into place community-based schools, to bring more Indian children into public schools, and to gradually reduce the number of boarding schools.

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, continued the quest to improve the treatment of Native Americans by the government and improve the education of students in schools. As a leader behind the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, or Wheeler-Howard Act, Collier helped the public and the government to focus on strengthening Indian cultures and communities by encouraging tribes to create tribal governments and constitutions, funding more education access for Indian students, and halting the loss of more Indian land through the allotment system of the Dawes Act.

Education in the Late Twentieth Century

Several reports, congressional acts, and new types of schools opened in the latter half of the twentieth century, helping to solidify a period of Native American self-determination. The Rough Rock Demonstration School, established in 1966, is an example of a school that was opened as a joint undertaking by the U.S. government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the Navajo Nation. The school was an experiment in teaching, which used Navajo leadership, teachers, and curriculum.

This initiative was coupled with emerging critical reports on Native American education. The 1969

Kennedy Report, titled “Indian Education: A National Tragedy, a National Challenge,” helped bring attention to issues in Indian education such as lack of Native American teachers and high dropout rates. In 1972, the Indian Education Act provided funds for supplemental programs for Native American children both on and off the reservation. This funding was used to create culturally relevant curriculum and to involve families and communities in Indian education. The Native American Languages Act of 1990 allowed tribes to teach in their own languages, and in addition encouraged the saving of these “unique” languages. Acts and reports such as these were an outgrowth of Native American activism to address what has been called the miseducation of Indians over four centuries.

Jana Noel

See also Indigenous Knowledges; Native American Higher Education

See Visual History Chapter 8, The Education of Native Americans

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NATIVE AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Native American college students make up only about 1 percent of the nation’s college students. Such statistical analysis is often problematic because an individual college or university may have only a small number

of Native students. As a result, Native students are often excluded in statistical reporting. Yet, statistically, between 1976 and 2002, the number of Native Americans attending college almost doubled. The potential number of Native students is also increasing as, according to the 2000 Census, 33 percent of the Native population is under the age of eighteen. The reported graduation rate of Native American college students is 36.5 percent, compared to 58 percent of White students. These percentages are based on federal reported cohort data, which counts a student in a cohort as a full-time student who enters as a freshman in the fall semester and graduates within six years of enrollment.

American Indian college students come from the most diverse ethnic group within the borders of the United States (there are over 500 federally recognized tribes). American Indian college students do not attend a single institution or attend college in the same manner. This entry will begin with an introduction of the historical colleges’ attempts to educate the indigenous population and the residential school period, which continues to have an impact today. A discussion of tribal colleges and Native American Studies programs is followed by a look at the challenges American Indian students face in blending their culture with that on a typical campus, and the elements these students say are important to their success.

Colonial Colleges

Almost from the moment of contact, the colonists considered educating the indigenous population in the European style as a matter of great importance, almost a duty. Early efforts were intended to “civilize” and “Christianize,” an effort to make indigenous people “European.” The Spanish established schools and colleges, and the Jamestown settlement had plans for Henrico, a college in the classical style, for natives in that area. Starting in 1649, three societies were established in Great Britain to support education and missionary work in the colonies. Including Indian youth in its college charter enabled an institution to gain access to those funds.

Harvard was founded in 1636. Its charter, however, was changed in 1649 to include “Indian youth,” to take

advantage of funds from England. William and Mary's charter was drafted in 1691. Their final charter was altered to include "Western Indians" in 1693. Dartmouth was established in 1769 for "Indian youth." Few American Indians graduated during this Colonial Period. The education they received was not practical for the people of the time, and illness took a toll on a number of students. American Indian graduates could not find work among the White population.

Residential Schools

The failure of the early colleges to educate the indigenous population led to the false conclusion that American Indian people were not educable. Educational policy then took a decidedly vocational purpose after the Revolutionary War. Many treaties included provisions for education. Because American Indians were on lands wanted by White settlers, American Indians were viewed as a "problem," and a federal policy of residential schools, often located off native territory, was developed. The purpose of these schools, which were first developed after the Civil War, was to assimilate the population by removing them from family and community and by forbidding use of native languages and traditions. Few of these schools offered an education past the sixth- or eighth-grade level. Residential school survivors have reported that they were physically punished for speaking their language, and many have reported physical and sexual abuse.

Residential schools began to be phased out in 1920. American Indian students then attended public schools, but always under a deficit ideology. Native cultures, families, and languages were considered inferior and blamed for student failure.

Tribal Colleges

Tribal colleges have played an important role in bringing a college education to American Indian communities. Many native nations experienced high unemployment rates and a loss of culture and language due to the boarding school era. Tribal colleges were developed to address that issue and the difficulties that young American Indians face in going to

distant universities with very different cultures. The first was created by the Navajo Nation (now Diné College) in 1968 as part of the self-determination movement. Other colleges soon followed, mostly in the Midwest and West. There now exist twenty-eight tribal colleges (mostly two-year institutions) and universities. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was formed in 1972 as the governing body of the tribal colleges.

According to AIHEC, common characteristics of tribal colleges are that they formed less than twenty-five years ago; have a small student population, typically located on remote territories; are chartered by one or more nations; and have an open admission policy. Most are commuter institutions, and even if they are universities now, such as Haskell Indian Nations University, they were, at one time, two-year colleges.

Tribal colleges offer a modern education within a Native framework, incorporating the chartering nation's language and culture into the curriculum as well as in the architecture, art, student activities, and approach to learning. Since tribal colleges are closely linked to Native communities, they can offer assistance and experiences specific to a community's needs and resources. An example provided by AIHEC is the offering of a course on a specific nation's economic history and partnering with a neighboring four-year institution for teacher preparation. Tribal colleges play an important role in offering a post-secondary education and also in providing a space for dynamic academic scholarship in Native Studies and preserving and developing Native culture.

Native Studies Programs

Native American Studies (NAS) programs provide community for American Indian students and serve as centers of indigenous scholarship within predominantly White institutions. NAS programs tend to be interdisciplinary, as American Indian issues are interdisciplinary by nature. In addition to academic endeavors including courses, research, and faculty, NAS programs provide community service to native communities. These programs are typically engaged with nation communities and consider community involvement as part of their mission.

NAS programs also provide student support. For example, Cornell University's American Indian Program has a house, Akwe:kon (which means "all of us" in the Mohawk language), where Native students can live along with nonnative students. The architecture of the building reflects Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) heritage, as Cornell sits in Cayuga territory. Programming occurs in Akwe:kon as well as in the American Indian Program located in an academic building on the main campus. The program uses a "full circle" approach to student success: recruitment, retention, and reintroduction to the student's community. The program employs four full-time staff members, including a director and a student development specialist. Students are encouraged to use the program's services as well as student services across the campus. Students are also guided so that they can bring their education back to their communities. Researchers have found that Native students want to give back to their communities. Cornell's American Indian Program capitalizes on that desire.

Native Culture and the College Student

In the Native American tradition, children generally learn by observation. Children are included in community and family activities and learn by witnessing and imitating behavior. Therefore, even today, a Native American college student may feel more comfortable in a class where listening or observing is expected than a class with a trial-and-error focus. In American Indian culture, learning is not separated from the rest of the day's events, nor is it sorted into distinct disciplines, making the compartmentalized nature of the academy uncomfortable for some students.

Native American students' cultural norms and core values affect their college performance. One such core value is respect for elders. It therefore can be very difficult for a native college student to question a college professor who is seen as the authority or elder in the classroom. Students will offer personal information when ready and may share only what they wish a professor or college student personnel to know. Overt questioning by the professor may be interpreted as being intrusive. Native speech patterns tend to be slower.

There is an expectation the other party is listening and will be provided the time necessary to reflect on what is said. Showing off is frowned upon. An individual does not brag; others are expected to compliment and acknowledge an individual's achievements. Women often play key roles in the community. Success is often defined within the context of the community, not an individual's personal gain.

Given all this, there is also great diversity within the American Indian/Alaska Native population. There are over 500 indigenous nations, and not all Native people have grown up on a reservation, although, one researcher has found that two thirds will either live or remain closely connected to a reservation. Even some students who have grown up on the reservation may not practice their traditions, may not speak a native language, or may practice Christianity. Other students may speak their language in the home, practice traditional ceremonies, and never have set foot in a city. Thus, student personnel professionals and college professors will need to increase their personal knowledge about the history of the surrounding Native community if they hope to respond appropriately to Native students.

Native College Students

Native college students are still, by and large, first generation. Almost two thirds attend a community or tribal college. Research also indicates that many are parents. Ceremonial practices, community participation, and employment outside of college mean there are complex demands on these students. Some researchers have found that students may miss class to attend ceremonies, fully realizing the impact this may have on their grades. Ceremonies are not practiced on college campuses. Students may go home if their families need their help. The fact that students return home for these reasons is an indication of how highly valued ceremonies and families are to native students.

Overt assimilation attempts are no longer practiced; however, most colleges and universities are predominantly White, and are Eurocentric in design and curriculum. Researchers have found that students often resist assimilation by not engaging in campus activities. Professors are rarely diverse, and native faculty

at most institutions are few and far between. In the western United States, a college or university can be distant from the tribal territory.

Successful American Indian students have reported that having a safe haven on campus where students can congregate is important to student success. Students also have reported that the American Indian faculty and staff were important for mentorship and for having someone on the campus who understood them. But students also noted the importance of honest and sincere non-American Indian faculty and staff who understand the indigenous worldview, relate to them as people, and appreciate the importance of indigenous spirituality.

Stephanie J. Waterman

See also Native American Education, History of

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NATURAL DISASTERS

Natural disasters can come in the form of hurricanes, floods, wildfires, tornadoes, and earthquakes. While such events are challenging and frightening for adults, the effect on children can be even more devastating as familiar routines, seemingly safe environments, and stable relationships are seriously disrupted. Schools potentially play a critically important role in the recovery process after a natural disaster, by providing shelter, counseling, continuity, and help to parents by caring for their children as they cope with the task of rebuilding their lives and their community. This entry looks at some research on the impact of

disasters on schools and provides some guidelines for response.

Hurricanes

Disasters such as hurricanes are not as sudden or as terrifying as earthquakes or tornadoes, but their impact is often much more widespread. Hurricane Andrew, which hit South Florida on August 24, 1992, was a natural disaster experienced by virtually everyone in the southern half of Miami-Dade County. Storm winds were recorded as high as 169 miles per hour. Approximately 250,000 people were left homeless and 1.4 million people were left without electricity. Total damages were estimated at over \$30 billion.

Hundreds of thousands of children experienced the terror of the storm—many barely survived its winds. For several years after the hurricane hit, teachers reported how students would be visibly agitated in their classes if the wind suddenly rose or there was a heavy rain. Parents, teachers, and community leaders were faced with the problem of how to help traumatized children after the storm.

Eugene Provenzo and Sandra Fradd, in the 1995 book *Hurricane Andrew, the Public Schools and the Rebuilding of Community*, explored at length the role the schools played in the recovery process after the storm. Besides providing critical shelter to members of the community when the storm hit, and a refuge for people after they lost their homes, the schools also were central to the rebuilding process and the reestablishment of a normal environment. By simply opening several weeks after the storm, the schools conveyed the message, “We are returning to normal. Life goes on.”

Fradd and Provenzo’s research concluded that a natural disaster such as a hurricane should be understood as an event that affects the entire community, not just those who experienced the main destruction. Ripple effects such as traffic, a shortage of housing, and the destruction of commercial and public buildings and services all shape and affect the larger community. Teachers and schools, because of their high visibility and their sheer numbers, are particularly important in the recovery process. Schools, and the teachers, counselors, and administrators who work in them, also have the ability to identify the children in

greatest need and provide them with appropriate counseling and help in recovery.

After Hurricane Andrew, Annette La Greca and her colleagues at the University of Miami developed a manual for working with elementary school children following a natural disaster. The manual emphasized the importance of the children's being able to discuss and share their experiences, to develop coping skills, and to maintain and strengthen friendships and networks of peer support. This last point is particularly important, since children often lost friends from before the storm when families moved to new neighborhoods, or even permanently left the region.

The lessons learned after Hurricane Andrew about the role of the schools in the recovery of a community applied in much the same way to the recovery process after more recent storms such as Hurricane Katrina, which struck South Florida first and then New Orleans in late August 2005.

Response Guidelines

Other types of disasters require their own unique responses. For example, earthquakes and tornadoes provide very little predictability. Victims may be traumatized by massive destruction, during which what had seemed like a safe and stable environment a few minutes before is turned into chaos. Flash floods can work in the same way. While wildfires sometimes take people by surprise, they are more like hurricanes in being somewhat predictable.

Philip J. Lazarus and his colleagues have suggested that immediately following a natural disaster, a school crisis team should (a) identify children and youth who are at high risk and plan appropriate interventions, (b) provide support for teachers and other school staff, and (c) engage in postdisaster activities that facilitate healing. Recovery is frequently a long and drawn-out process. Communities are not rebuilt immediately, nor are damaged psyches quickly healed. Eugene Provenzo and Asterie Baker Provenzo (2002) noted that after Hurricane Andrew, individuals who, for whatever reason, were already stressed before the hurricane faced increased problems after the storm. Thus, people's problems were exacerbated by the disaster.

Also worth noting is the fact that caregivers in many natural disasters are also victims of the disaster. This is particularly the case in a situation such as a hurricane, which can strike a very large area. As a result, caregivers, including teachers and other school personnel, may need special help and assistance as they deal with not only the needs of their students, but their own needs as well.

In general, natural disasters and their effect on school systems and children is an underresearched subject. It is one which deserves greater attention in light of the fact that such events appear on a regular basis, and cannot be avoided, and have a tremendous effect on the functioning and effectiveness of schools and the lives of their teachers and students.

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See also State Role in Education

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NEW ENGLAND PRIMER, THE

The New England Primer was the first textbook published in the American colonies, and the most popular elementary textbook for generations of American schoolchildren in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The book is believed to have been the work of the English printer Benjamin Harris, author of the anti-Catholic *Protestant Tutor* (1679), who left England for Boston after the accession of the Catholic monarch, James II, in 1685. In Boston, he opened a bookstore and coffeehouse, and published the first newspaper printed in the Colonies, *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick*, which was suppressed after a single issue of September 25, 1690.

The first notice of *The New England Primer* was in an advertisement placed by Harris in 1690. The earliest extant copy of the book, in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, dates from 1727. The book itself is roughly eighty-pages long and measures approximately 4½ x 3 inches. It begins with an alphabet, a syllabary, and lists of easy words for children to learn. One of its most famous features is an illustrated alphabet in which each letter is accompanied by a woodcut and a brief religious verse:

- A In Adam's Fall,
 We sinned all.
- B Thy Life to mend,
 This Book attend.

The alphabet sets the Puritan tone of the entire primer, which is focused on religious instruction and informed with a Puritan emphasis on sin, obedience, and the inevitability of death.

The New England Primer is not an original work but a compendium of selections from other sources,

including the illustrated alphabet (copied from an anonymous English text published in 1667), hymns by Isaac Watts, a poem by the sixteenth-century Protestant martyr John Rogers (taken from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*), the Westminster Catechism, and John Cotton's shorter catechism, *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes*. The primer also contains the first known printing of the famous children's bedtime prayer that begins, "Now I lay me down to sleep. . . ." The book concludes with a lengthy dialog between Christ, Youth, and the Devil.

Eighteenth-century children were expected not only to read *The New England Primer*, but also to recite and to memorize its contents. The emphasis was on instilling Christian discipline along with the fundamentals of literacy. In the 1727 edition, the illustrated alphabet is followed by the injunction: "Now the Child being entered in his Letters and Spelling, let him learn these and such like Sentences by Heart, whereby he will be both intrusted in his Duty, and encouraged in his Learning."

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See also Boston Latin School; Catechisms; Confederate Textbooks; Textbooks, History of

See Visual History Chapter 1, Colonial Beginnings

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NEW HARMONY

New Harmony, Indiana, was the site of two utopian communities, the second and more noteworthy one

founded by educational pioneer Robert Owen, who gathered a group of scholars to work on educational reform. New Harmony was the site of the first kindergarten, the first infants' school, the first distinctive trade school, the first school system offering the same educational advantages to both sexes, and the first self-governing or "free" school. This entry recounts its history and achievements.

The town of Harmonie (1814–1825) was founded by a group of religious Separatists led by Father Johann Georg Rapp. After the Harmonists returned to Pennsylvania, Welsh-born industrialist and social reformer Robert Owen purchased the town and surrounding land that would become New Harmony for his communitarian experiment. In 1826, a group of scientists, educators, and artists arrived aboard the keelboat *Philanthropist*, which was dubbed the "Boatload of Knowledge."

Owen's philanthropic idealism provided an opportunity for a number of educational reformers to start work of considerable importance. The group included William Maclure, the first American geologist. An advocate of the Pestalozzian system of education, Maclure believed in reform by education alone, whereas Owen believed in the reform of the entire environment. Maclure was placed solely in charge of education. It was the most ambitious educational experiment that had yet been attempted in the United States.

Others who arrived in the Boatload of Knowledge were geologist Thomas Say, geologist Gerard Troost, French naturalist Charles Alexander Lesueur, and artist and engraver John Chappelsmith. Frances (Fanny) Wright, the abolitionist and women's rights advocate, also spent time at New Harmony. Among Maclure's educationists were Marie Duclos Fretageot and Joseph Neef, who had been associated with Johann Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. In 1808, Neef published *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*, the first book on pedagogy written in the United States. New Harmony not only introduced the Pestalozzian system of teaching to the United States, but also contributed directly to its eventual success by acting as a training center for teachers who popularized the system when they left the community. The Pestalozzian system emphasized that the child is guided to learn through the natural use of the senses.

Perhaps confirming Owen's belief in systemic reform, the community gradually disintegrated due to factional divisions, while the educational experiment soared. Many of the scientists and other intellectuals, however, remained in residence, and Owen's sons enhanced the family legacy. Robert Dale Owen became the most notable advocate in the country of free, equal, and universal schools and the legislative father of the Indiana free-school system, which was eventually adopted throughout the Midwest. In 1839, David Dale Owen established the headquarters of the U.S. Geological Survey at New Harmony, where it remained until the Smithsonian Institution was completed in 1846. New Harmony was also responsible, through the example and industry of its Working Men's Institute and Library (established in 1838), for the growth of 144 public libraries in Indiana. As a result, Maclure could be considered the first founder of free libraries in the United States.

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See also Educational Reform; Philanthropy, Educational

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Web Sites

Historic New Harmony: <http://www.newharmony.org> and <http://www.usi.edu/hnh>

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) is the most significant and controversial change in federal education policy since the federal government assumed a major role in education in the 1960s. It expands the federal role in education, requires states to develop and implement a test-based accountability system based on criteria established by the federal government, and specifies a timeline for when students must demonstrate proficiency as measured by reading and mathematics

assessments. For those schools not meeting the state-defined proficiency criteria, the law contains funding set asides and sanctions based on theories of competition as a strategy for school reform. To meet these requirements, it promises large increases in federal aid.

NCLB reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Since its inception in 1965, Title I of the ESEA has embodied the federal government's commitment to providing compensatory educational services for economically disadvantaged schools and districts and has served as the primary vehicle for improving educational opportunities for low-income students. NCLB continues this commitment and intends to close "the achievement gaps between high- and low-performing children, especially the achievement gap between minority and nonminority students, and between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged peers" (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 1001 [3]). In this regard, NCLB differs from previous reauthorizations of ESEA by requiring all schools and districts to implement a single statewide accountability system that requires equal educational outcomes. This entry looks at the law's accountability requirements and the relationship between the state and federal governments that it requires.

Accountability Requirements

The adequate yearly progress (AYP) requirements are the primary mechanism in NCLB for bringing all students to proficiency and for closing the achievement gap. AYP is used to determine school, district, and state progress toward increasing academic achievement. States are required to determine a definition of AYP that is based on test scores on reading and mathematics assessments and includes graduation rates for high schools and an additional indicator, such as attendance, for elementary and middle schools.

NCLB requires that all schools and all students meet an absolute level of performance on reading and mathematics assessments and reach the same academic standards by the 2013–2014 school year. To meet that requirement, states must establish a starting point and "annual measurable objectives," or AMOs, that indicate the minimum percentage of students that

must demonstrate proficiency on state assessments. The AMOs increase in a stair-step progression over the twelve-year timeline until the states reach the 100 percent proficiency mark.

The NCLB proficiency requirements are applied to all subgroups of students. The law defines "subgroups" as economically disadvantaged students, students from major racial and ethnic groups, students with disabilities, and students with limited English proficiency. In addition, NCLB requires that 95 percent of students, and 95 percent of students in each subgroup within a school, take the state assessments. A school or district can fail to make adequate yearly progress if a single subgroup of students does not meet the proficiency targets or the participation requirements. A school or district is identified for improvement if it does not make AYP for two consecutive years. Schools designated as needing improvement are subject to sanctions based on the number of years during which they have needed improvement. While the law's requirements apply to all schools, only Title I schools are subject to the law's sanctions for not making AYP.

These AYP requirements are more stringent than those of its predecessor, the Improving America's School Act of 1994 (IASA). Under IASA, states used a compensatory model of accountability, in which high scores in one subject area compensated for low scores in another subject. The performance of one subgroup of students did not cause an entire school to fail to make AYP, nor was there a timeline for ensuring that all students met the proficiency targets. In contrast, NCLB uses a conjunctive accountability model, which requires each subgroup of students to meet the same minimum proficiency levels, regardless of previous performance. It also imposes a timeline for all students to reach 100 percent proficiency. Because of the multiple ways that a school can fail to make AYP, there is the risk of overidentification of some schools as needing improvement.

Research suggests that the core components of AYP—mean proficiency, subgroup rules, and participation rate requirements—pose particular challenges for diverse schools and high-poverty schools. The NCLB requirement that all schools and students meet the same mean proficiency level does not take into

account initial differences in student performance. Thus, students that start further behind have to make large gains to meet the state's proficiency targets. The subgroup rules, while they provide information on how different groups of students are performing, require students in high poverty and racially diverse schools to meet multiple performance targets. Combined with the participation rate requirements, the subgroup rules create multiple performance and participation rate targets. Since a school can be identified for improvement for failing to meet either the performance or participation targets for a single subgroup, the more diverse a school is, the more targets it must meet.

Federal-State Relationships

Education is typically viewed as a state and local responsibility, particularly in areas related to core educational functions. NCLB moved this relationship in the direction of expanding the federal role over states, while strengthening the role of states over local districts. By expanding the federal role in education, the act ensured that the federal rather than state accountability requirements defined which schools were failing and which were successful. NCLB affected governance arrangements within a state by favoring state education agencies and chief state school officers over the governor, legislature, and state and local school boards. It gave state education agencies the authority to define what counts as proficiency and to intervene in local schools and districts that do not meet the proficiency targets.

Finally, NCLB introduced the market principle that competition would create incentives for low-performing schools to improve. There was a shift in focus from the idea that schools needed greater capacity or resources to the idea that capacity was sufficient and the lack of success was due to lack of choice and competition. It advanced a model of school improvement based on external accountability and the premise that external pressure would prod schools systems to take the actions needed to improve achievement among poor and minority students. While prior reforms emphasized equalizing or building the capacity of low-performing schools

(i.e., attending to differences in teacher salaries, teacher quality, teacher-pupil ratios, per-pupil expenditures, teacher turnover, and curriculum quality and rigor), NCLB operated on the assumption that capacity was sufficient and that external pressure and sanctions, combined with more choice and competition, would improve schools.

Gail L. Sunderman

See also Educational Policy and the American Presidency; State Role in Education; Testing, History of Educational; U.S. Department of Education

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NORMAL SCHOOLS, HISTORY OF

State normal schools were established in the middle of the nineteenth century to provide standardized and regulated teacher preparation and produce an assemblage of trained educators to meet the needs of a growing “common school” movement. Educational reformers based the ideas of the normal school on the French *école normale* and the Prussian teacher seminary. The state-supported system of teacher training that Prussia established in 1819 gained worldwide interest, including from reformers in the United States.

Key advocates of the normal schools included Horace Mann, who was appointed the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education and worked to assure the success of the common schools and teacher-training institutions. William Channing Woodbridge published information about Prussian teacher education in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction* and also helped to spread the word about normal schools in the United States. In addition, Charles Brooks, a Unitarian minister and school reformer, learned about the Prussian system and thereafter promoted state-supported normal schools in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The first state normal school was established in Lexington, Massachusetts, on July 3, 1839. Edmund Dwight, a leader in industry, donated \$10,000 to the state of Massachusetts for teacher training, which was matched by the legislature and used to support this school. The first principal was Cyrus Peirce, a former Unitarian minister and teacher, who was recruited from Nantucket. Two other normal schools subsequently were established in Massachusetts, in Barre in 1839 and in Bridgewater in 1840.

The first groups of normal school students, who called themselves normalites, were small in number. The school in Lexington initially was open only to women, whereas other institutions, such as the normal school in Barre, were open to both men and women. The curriculum included natural philosophy, moral philosophy, arithmetic, algebra, and teaching methods. Religion also was a component of the prospectus, as Scripture

often was recited at the start of a school day. Model schools connected with normal schools were where aspiring teachers worked with and taught children.

Normal schools initially were considered experimental in nature and their futures were uncertain. However, they expanded in number. After Massachusetts established the first state normal schools, Connecticut and New York followed suit. By 1870, eighteen out of thirty-seven states had at least one state normal school. By 1890, there were 103 state normal schools in thirty-five out of the forty-four states. Normal schools evolved into four-year teacher training colleges.

Supporters of the normal schools ultimately wished to have a more careful process of selecting teachers, greater oversight of teachers, as well as a decrease in the teacher turnover that was characteristic of the eighteenth century.

Kelly Kolodny

See also Teacher Preparation; Teaching Profession, History of

See Visual History Chapter 4, The Common School Movement

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NURSING EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

Prior to the 1800s in both the United States and England, most nursing education occurred within families or religious institutions such as the Sisters of Charity. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, nursing started to be professionalized, and methods of training nurses began to evolve. This entry looks at issues of concern to nursing educators, beginning in the late 1800s, including the role of nurses in both hospitals and the community and appropriate qualifications for nursing education applicants, nursing graduates, and nursing educators.

Appropriate Qualifications

During the 1800s, as long as hospitals were primarily charity institutions that middle-class families tried not to use, nursing tended to be accomplished either by working-class women who had few choices about work or life circumstances or by the ambulatory patients themselves. As medical science improved, especially in the areas of hygiene and nutrition, hospitals became places where middle-class people would seek care or to improve the care of the poor. Just as middle-class women managed the hired help in their own homes, early nursing educators saw the vocation of nursing as one in which women could help manage the sanitation and efficiency of hospitals, as well as teach lower-class women in the community proper preventive care of their children. This was part of the Progressive reform idealism that chaos and disease could be conquered through better sanitation. Although in England, Florence Nightingale transformed the small tasks of actual caregiving into a calling instead of merely a job, she, too, insisted that only certain educated, dignified ladies of character would qualify as nursing students.

Racism affected these decisions, too. African American nursing students were not accepted in most schools run by Whites, just as African American patients were not accepted and African American physicians were not allowed to practice. Moreover, with few exceptions, Black women were denied membership in national nursing organizations. However, within the nursing schools that were developed by African Americans, educators also expressed concern about attracting and retaining higher quality students.

Through the years, especially during war time, when the need for nurses was great, nursing educators worked hard to prevent the lowering of standards by protesting the use of volunteer aides and the reduction of class requirements. Concern about educational standards was expressed by educators in the Goldmark Report of 1923, as well as by the American Nurses Association's 1965 position statement, which said that the basic education required before a student is allowed to take the registered nurse (RN) exam should be a baccalaureate degree. In spite of professional educators'

attempts to distinguish between a technical and a professional nurse, most nurses were trained in diploma (three-year, nondegree) schools through the 1970s, and by the early 2000s, associate degree nurses (ADNs) far outnumbered the bachelor's degree nurses (BSNs).

One of the earliest departments of nursing was located in the Teachers College of Columbia University. The pioneering nursing educators there insisted that educational theory and methodology are essential to teaching nursing. As recently as 2003, the National League for Nursing reiterated this view in a position statement, in the face of the serious shortage of nursing educators.

The Role of Nurses

Whites and Blacks wrestled with the problems of gender essentialism and hierarchy during the period in which women's suffrage was an important part of the reform movement. While Florence Nightingale insisted on the value of female compassion and responsibility—she said that nursing diploma schools should be separately managed from the hospital by nurses—she also insisted (because of her military experience) on the importance of discipline and submission to authority within the hierarchy. This attitude seemed to sanction the exploitation of nursing students in hospitals.

Though they were called students, women were actually unpaid employees, with second-year students supervising and teaching the first-year students, and all the women working long hours and living in carefully monitored dorms. When there was an oversupply of nurses as a consequence of the use of student labor instead of graduate labor, some hospital trustees justified their actions by saying that well-trained nurses made good household managers.

Revering of hierarchy and discipline also cemented the authority of the physicians, in spite of the knowledge of observation, interpretation, and action required of nurses when physicians are not present; early examples of highly trained nurses without the authority of physicians were the midwives, nurse anesthetists, and cardiac care nurses.

Public health nurses, both African American and White, retained much more independence than hospital

nurses, beginning with those in the Henry Street Settlement House in New York. Much of the work of these nurses involved teaching, providing preventive care, and becoming involved in social reform such as women's suffrage and unionism. However, they considered their nursing community, as well as their patients, part of their education, in contrast to the more narrow view of education held at the university.

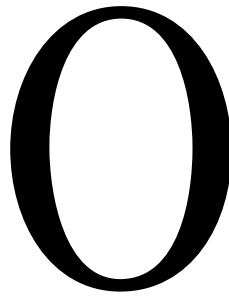
The nursing focus on teaching and psychosocial care continues today in the form of "nursing diagnosis," as opposed to "medical diagnosis," and the opening of nurse-managed clinics, in which nurses diagnose patients' responses to illness and life situations, concentrating on disease management and life circumstances that may contribute to illness. However, some nurses prefer to try to work as colleagues with physicians, contributing to medical diagnoses and treatment.

Nance Cunningham

See also Discrimination and Prejudice; Medical Education; Women, Higher Education of

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OBSERVATION RESEARCH

Observation is a foundational tool that researchers use to collect descriptive information and to make knowledge claims about the physical and social world. As such, it has been a significant source of existing knowledge on phenomena ranging from the intricacies of cellular action to educational practices to human kinship systems. Observation is a practice grounded in “ocular centrality,” a vision-centered paradigm characteristic of Western culture and modernity that often emphasizes sight over other human senses. Disciplined, rigorous observation of events within their “natural” settings continues to contribute to areas central to social foundations of education such as human agency, diversity, equity, social stratification, social justice, and the relationship between schools and society. This entry provides an overview of observation from the perspectives of theory and practice.

Theoretical Perspectives

Although the classic image of participant observation is the anthropologist who travels to a remote village of “vanishing” people, immerses him- or herself in tribal culture for multiple years, and records copious notes of what he or she witnesses, contemporary observation varies in practice, duration, and purpose. Its use as a method of inquiry emerges from the belief that human sight and direct eyewitness accounts are valuable, if not irreplaceable, resources for building

knowledge. Direct observation and active participation in varied settings offer opportunities to witness and experience events from the perspective of insiders and pursue the question central to ethnographic fieldwork: “What’s going on here?”

Indeed, ethnographers have used participant observation as a primary data source in fieldwork since the 1920s. The broader perspective of the observer can provide a more holistic view of events and setting dynamics than the partial perspectives of individuals within the setting. It also can provide crucial data on subjects who cannot fully articulate their experiences or who feel intimidated by interviews. Also, because what people say sometimes differs dramatically from what they do, observation can enrich and clarify findings from other data sources such as interviews and documents.

Variations in theories and methods of observation make it a subject of study in its own right for methodologists interested in the art and science of conducting research. Theoretical frameworks generally shape how researchers conduct observations and thus practices have varied across historical periods and scientific discipline. For example, in the nineteenth century, reigning beliefs about the power of measurement and instrumentation meant that observation was often accompanied by measurement to confirm visual data and extend the reach of the eye. In the same time period, ethnographic studies influenced by social Darwinism often constructed indigenous and tribal peoples as simplistic and savage and Westerners as superior.

Similarly, during the seventeenth century, Robert Boyle required an “open laboratory” and a special

community of male elite witnesses to validate his experiments with the air pump. Women, even when present in the laboratory, could not serve as “witnesses” because they purportedly lacked the independent and objective status to gaze with detachment and reliability. Indeed, women were excluded from the Royal Society of London for hundreds of years until the practice became a legal matter in 1945. Such practices have led scholars to ask whether observation may sometimes reveal more about the researcher than those observed.

Contemporary researchers who draw from a tradition of ethnographic naturalism argue that an objective stance is imperative in undertaking credible observation. In this view, scientists should maintain distance from the subjects of study and strive to capture as objectively as possible the events and interactions they observe. The written products of observation (jottings, diagrams, sketches, and field notes) should reflect neutral language and be free from the personal perspective, evaluation, or judgment of the researcher. In contrast, those who draw from an interpretivist or poststructuralist framework posit that the observing eye is always positioned in a social and historical context and is never neutral, innocent, or objective. The direction in which the eye travels and the interpretation of information is always intertwined with the cultural values, personal beliefs, and theoretical interests of the individual researcher. For example, explorers and naturalists who traveled the globe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often characterized both terrain and people on their travels as “potentially exploitable” resources. What they “observed” in their quest for knowledge reflected ethnocentric and racist ideas of the period and paved the way for colonialism.

Theoretical orientation and subjective perceptions may also enrich the observation process. An observer operating from a critical theory framework might note the way a classroom power hierarchy operates and students’ strategies of resistance to it. A survivor of domestic abuse studying other survivors may have heightened empathy and insight into their experiences. An architect viewing a disaster setting may recognize structural damage that eludes the gaze of a relief worker in the same setting who is focused on threatened drinking water. Because the researcher is the instrument of observation, his or her training and personal

experience can be a potential resource for developing knowledge. Theoretical perspectives influence how observers approach their fieldwork, prioritize their observations, and interpret their findings.

Typical Practice

Observers focus on concrete sensory detail, verbal and nonverbal communication, daily practices, sociohistorical context, and cultural dynamics to sculpt a portrait of “what’s going on.” Many studies use observation to gain insight into the lives of marginalized peoples and the complexity of human experience, including ethnographies of rural Iraqi women’s lives, poor and working-class youth, the devastation of Hurricane Andrew and the response of schools, street vendors’ daily lives in New York City, women living with HIV/AIDS, and Black male children’s experiences with racist educational practices.

Guidelines for the practice of observation in contemporary fieldwork also reflect principles central to social foundations of education. A primary goal that honors human diversity is the effort to capture cultural insiders’ own understanding of their experiences (emic view) rather than imposing the researchers’ framework (etic view). Contemporary observation also requires researchers to reflect on their practices, the reactive effects of their presence in the setting, and the ways in which their insider or outsider status shapes the research endeavor. This time-intensive practice requires a researcher’s advance preparation, training, and deep engagement in the setting.

Observation is grounded in a vision-centered paradigm—ocular centrality—that privileges sight over other human senses. Yet the use of observation in research is a purposeful act that requires more than the physical capacity for sight. Although the powerful filter of the human eye is central, observation is an experiential and interpretive practice that mobilizes all human senses. It involves attention to sound, timbre, and volume as children splash in a fountain or a conversation erupts into anger; it involves attention to fragrance and odor as bread bakes or wood lies rotting in the wake of a hurricane; it involves such kinetic sensory details as the texture of cloth or the warmth of a breeze; it includes elements of time and space as children rush to

class or dancers move in unison to music. Integrating these elements can animate a setting and infuse observations with depth and nuance. In addition, conflicting sensory data—a cafeteria with no smell of food or laughter that accompanies a violent act—can propel the research process by alerting observers to key elements of a setting that may merit closer scrutiny.

Researchers face a number of complex choices in the observation process that shape the data collected, the findings claimed, and the knowledge ultimately created. Before entering a research site in an unfamiliar school, for example, researchers must determine what role observation can and should play in pursuing their research questions; which classrooms, hallways, or offices to observe and for how long; and the extent to which they will participate in school events. They must negotiate access to the research site and determine whether observations will be announced or covert. Within the setting, they must decide how to position themselves and where to direct their gaze; how much distance or engagement to maintain with varied teachers, students, and administrators; how to negotiate the voluminous sensory data that accompany a standard school day; and which terms and events to record in field notes.

When translating and reducing observations to print, observers must determine what to preserve, what to discard, and how best to assess and convey information to others. As fieldwork progresses and observers become integrated into daily practices, they must learn how to negotiate their emotional investments and maintain a fresh perspective to “make the familiar strange.” In addition, researchers must consider how intrusive their presence is for insiders and how this shapes findings. Choices at all stages of the observational process have conceptual, ethical, and practical dimensions that require researcher reflexivity and adaptability in fieldwork.

Observation is limited as a method by its capacity to capture only external behaviors and events rather than internal thoughts and beliefs. In practice, however, it is usually combined with other data sources to heighten understanding of phenomena and credibility of findings. The art and science of observation continues to unfold as researchers experiment with new strategies in fieldwork, philosophers of science ask

new questions about research practices, and the meaning of “observation” fluctuates. These shifts will continue to shape knowledge and practice in social foundations. The relationship between observer and observed, the shifting meaning of identity and Other in an increasingly connected globe, the role of observation in new virtual and Web technologies, and the surveillance of student performance are among many issues that preoccupy scholars and have implications for observation research. Its anthropological and sociological roots ensure that observation will continue to serve inquiry as a tool of social justice and a resource for social foundations.

Lucy E. Bailey

See also Action Research in Education

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ORAL HISTORY

Oral history uses audio- or video-recorded interviews to preserve firsthand memories, accounts, and interpretations of a person's life, an event, a place, a way of life, or a period. Interview recordings, typed transcripts, and

supporting materials are preserved and made available to researchers through an archive. The use of oral history as a historical methodology dates as far back as Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. What differentiates oral history from all other historical sources is the voice that is captured on the ever-evolving recording devices that became more readily available in the last half of the twentieth century. Like all historical sources, oral history sources should be treated with skepticism and validated by other types of evidence.

As an educational methodology, oral history allows students to passively and actively engage with a range of historical voices that make history come alive for students. Passive oral history enables educators to integrate ready-made oral history sources—such as the Slave Narrative collected by the Works Progress Administration during the Great Depression and the extensive collection of interviews conducted by America's most famous oral historian, Studs Terkel—into the curriculum without having to make the extensive time commitment required of a classroom oral history project.

Active oral history empowers students to become creators of historical sources rather than passive absorbers of historical information. A typical oral history project requires students to collect, preserve, and archive either biographical/life review or thematic oral history projects. The pioneering use of oral history as an educational methodology is often associated with Foxfire (www.foxfire.org), which began in 1966 at Rabun Gap-Nacoochee High School, an Appalachian community in Georgia. This project serves as a model for educators seeking to enhance students' language and writing skills by combining oral history and folklore.

Educators may be reluctant to conduct an oral history project because of time, scheduling, and the increased accountability to standardized tests. An oral history project, however, can last as long as one day or an entire year and has been linked to national and state learning standards as well as Howard Gardner's *Multiple Intelligences* and Benjamin Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. A one-day project could have students asking their interviewees one question such as, "Where were you when Pearl Harbor was

attacked, John F. Kennedy was assassinated, or September 11th occurred?" or "What was it like the first time you voted?" or "Describe your immigration experience."

Students can then compare their interviews with more traditional sources. Longer projects allow students to complete more of the oral history process that leads to more usable historical sources. The oral history process involves extensive research focused on the interview topic, the development of an initial question set with questions strategically placed to yield the best response (thus leaving controversial and emotional questions for the end of the interview), interview training (in order to avoid "yes" or "no" responses), transcription, and project archiving (which should include a transcription and recording of the interview).

The benefits of an active oral history project include building intergenerational bridges and providing a community service by collecting stories of marginalized or undocumented people, places, or historical moments. Extensive support for educators can be found online or in the growing literature on the subject as well as through collaboration with a local library or state historical society. Additional support is available through the Oral History Association and its Education Committee as well as the Consortium of Oral History Educators, whose membership is free to educators. Each of these organizations extends awards to exemplary projects at all grade levels.

In short, oral history provides students with a more authentic opportunity to connect with the past. For educators interested in reinvigorating the teaching and studying of history, an oral history project is flexible enough to be integrated into the curriculum at any grade level and across disciplines, regardless of student ability or geographical location.

Glenn Whitmann

See also Social Studies Education

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Web Sites

American Century Project:
<http://www.americancenturyproject.org>
 Consortium of Oral History Educators:
<http://www.umbc.edu/mrc/cohe/index.html>
 Euclid Corridor Oral History Project:
http://www.csuohio.edu/euclid_corridor
 Oral History Association:
<http://omega.dickinson.edu/organizations/oha>
 Telling Their Stories: An Oral History Archives Project:
<http://www.tellmeyourstories.org>
 The Whole World Was Watching: An Oral History of 1968:
<http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/1968>

ORGANIZATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATORS

Professional associations provide members with opportunities to exchange ideas and learn from each other through annual meetings, newsletters, Web sites, monographs, and peer-reviewed journals. They articulate standards for professional practice; acknowledge excellence through awards, grants, and fellowships; and represent the interests of members through political activities and collaboration with other organizations. Teacher educators reflect the variety and complexity of the field of education as a whole, participating in a wide array of local, state, regional, national, and international organizations and professional associations. They are influenced by, and participate in, research- and policy-oriented organizations, interdisciplinary associations, specialized disciplinary professional societies, labor unions, and honorary societies. This entry offers a quick review of the history of such organizations and their various agendas.

First Organizations

The National Education Association (NEA) established the first national organizations for teacher educators in the United States. When the NEA was formed in

1857, about a quarter of its members were affiliated with colleges, universities, and normal schools (an early term for teacher training schools derived from the French term *école normale*, or “model school”). Annual meetings provided opportunities for administrators, normal school teachers, and university professors to debate and describe the role of higher education in teacher preparation.

In 1902, the Society of College Teachers of Education (today called the Society of Professors of Education) was founded in conjunction with a meeting of the NEA’s Department of Superintendence. The initial purpose of the Society was to improve the work of the departments of education in colleges and universities by providing a forum for examining and evaluating the organization and content of courses in education. Members also examined the relationships between departments of education and other academic departments (to foster harmonious relationships) and discussed current educational theory and its relevance for the work of members.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the NEA articulated principles of tenure, due process, and academic freedom for educators at all levels. Over the years, it has also worked to improve teacher education programs through formal accreditation. In 1946, the NEA established the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, which joined four other educational organizations in founding the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education in 1954.

Research and Policy

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education is a nonprofit, national accrediting body whose purpose is to ensure high-quality teacher preparation programs in colleges and universities in the United States. Thirty-five national educational organizations shape its policies and practices. Although its members are educational associations rather than individuals, the National Council gives teacher educators (as well as teachers, administrators, and subject-matter specialists) a voice in the national accreditation process.

Established in 1948, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is a voluntary

association of about 800 colleges and universities. Its mission is “to promote the learning of all PreK–12 students through high-quality, evidence-based preparation and continuing education for all school personnel” and to improve the quality of schools and departments of education in colleges and universities (www.aacte.org). Based in Washington, D.C., it actively represents members’ interests in the national educational policy development process. It holds an annual convention and offers well-regarded leadership development workshops for college of education administrators and faculty. It publishes a biweekly newsletter, numerous articles, books and monographs, and the *Journal of Teacher Education*.

The Council for Social Foundations in Education is a national federation of twenty professional associations and societies in educational foundations, educational studies, and educational policy studies. Its goal is “to strengthen the role of those foundations’ disciplines in the preparation of educational personnel, in the study and analysis of education, and in policy-making related to education at all levels in the United States” (www.socialfoundations.org). The Council is affiliated with the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education and has established *Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education, Educational Studies, and Educational Policy Studies* (1978, 1986, 1996), which “offer guidance to institutions of higher education, state education agencies, and other national educational and policymaking organizations concerning the definition, role, and significance of study in the foundations of education” (www.uic.edu/educ/csfe). The Council for Social Foundations meets twice each year in conjunction with the American Educational Research Association and American Educational Studies Association annual meetings.

The Association of Teacher Educators, founded in 1920, offers memberships to individuals. It is a member of the National Council for Accreditation and has established professional standards for teacher education and teacher educators. It offers professional development workshops, and it publishes a quarterly newsletter and the journal *Action in Teacher Education*.

Interdisciplinary Associations

Founded in 1916, the American Educational Research Association promotes educational research and its application. With 25,000 members, it is the largest international society of its kind. Members include professors of education, teacher educators, administrators, counselors, educational testing and evaluation experts, graduate students, and others. Meetings are held annually, and the association publishes a number of newsletters and prestigious peer-reviewed journals, including the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Educational Researcher*, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, and *Review of Educational Research*. It also publishes books and handbooks on educational research.

The association has twelve divisions, including Division K, Teaching and Teacher Education, whose purpose is to support research on teaching and teacher education and foster links among teacher education researchers. It is an interdisciplinary organization; the conference program for its annual meeting demonstrates the wide array of vantage points from which practitioners, scholars, and researchers investigate educational questions. Through its standing committees, the association formulates and disseminates policy statements on complex educational issues and works to establish standards for educational research.

Established in 1968, the American Educational Studies Association is a learned society for those interested in the social foundations of education. Most members are professors who teach and study education from multiple disciplinary perspectives (e.g., philosophy, history, sociology, anthropology, comparative/international studies). The association seeks to “promote the academic study of educative processes, educational policy, and the school as a fundamental societal institution” (www3.uakron.edu/aesa). A member of the Council of Social Foundations of Education, the American Educational Studies Association actively supports diverse scholarly approaches to the study of education and promotes cross-disciplinary collaboration in educational studies. Its publications include a newsletter and a peer-reviewed journal, *Educational Studies*.

Founded in 1901, the National Society for the Study of Education is an association of educators, scholars, and policy makers dedicated to the improvement of education research, policy, and practice. The society is the oldest national educational research organization in the United States. It grew out of the National Herbart Society, which was established in 1895. The society publishes a highly regarded series of annual yearbooks that explores topics of interest to educators, administrators, and scholars.

The Society of Professors of Education is a small, interdisciplinary association for individuals engaged in teacher preparation or related activities. Its purpose is to serve the needs and interests of the education professoriat and to provide a forum for discussion of issues and challenges confronting professional educators. Its members include both theoreticians and practitioners in education. The society has established several awards to acknowledge the work of distinguished scholars and institutions. These include the Charles DeGarmo Lecture, the Mary Anne Raywid Award, and the Wisniewski Award for Teacher Education. It publishes a newsletter and two journals, *The Sophist's Bane* and *Professing Education*. Members meet and present papers at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting.

Founded in 1935, the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture strives to maintain John Dewey's commitment to the use of reflective and critical intelligence to solve crucial problems in education and culture. The society's publications include a newsletter; a peer-reviewed journal, *Education and Culture*; and the annual John Dewey Lecture monograph. It also sponsors the John Dewey

Memorial Lecture given at the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development annual meeting. Members meet and present papers at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting.

Other Organizations

Higher education membership in unions expanded in the late twentieth century. In recent years, the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers, as well as their local and state affiliates, have provided support for collective bargaining (negotiating salaries, benefits, and working conditions) on behalf of unionized college and university faculty members and other employees.

Jan Armstrong

See also American Federation of Teachers; National Education Association; Teacher Preparation

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Web Sites

- American Educational Studies Association:
<http://www.educationalstudies.org>
- Council for Social Foundations of Education:
<http://www.uic.edu/educ/csfe/index.htm>

P

PAIDEIA

The origin of the term *pedagogy* is the ancient Greek word *paideia*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word as meaning “the sum of physical and intellectual achievement to which an individual or (collectively) a society can aspire; a society’s culture.” *Paideia* in the fifth century BCE was synonymous with the term *childrearing*. In the fourth century BCE, it came to mean education as reflecting the ways of a culture.

The idea that education reflects the ways of a culture—in other words, its values and beliefs—is a concept that is fundamental to the study of the social foundations of education. Essentially, the field is concerned with how schools are connected to and part of the larger culture. In doing so, it assumes a deeply ecological argument, one that suggests that what takes place in schools is not isolated from the culture, but very much dependent upon the forces that are at work in the society. Thus, if there is racial discrimination in the culture, it is logical to assume that there will be discrimination in the content of the published curriculum in the schools, in the content of classroom instruction, and as part of the informal curriculum that is part of the educational system. Likewise, if there is gender discrimination at work in the larger society, then the unequal treatment of men and women in school settings will likewise be evident in the content of school curricula and activities.

The concept of *paideia* provides an important organizing point for asking key questions about education. For example: What is the nature of privilege in schools and other educational settings? Who is privileged? Why? How is privilege perpetuated? What is the relationship of privilege to larger constructions of power and authority in the culture?

The term *paideia* is significantly different in its meaning from the Latin term *educere*, the root of the modern term *education*. The Latin verb *educere* literally means to “to lead out from” or “to lead forth” (*ex* + *ducere*). This word suggests the idea of children who are taught, or who have ideas drawn out from them through the instruction provided by a tutor.

Paideia, as a term, has probably not been used more because of its associations with the more archaic term of *pedagogy*, as well as the fact that its use points to the social and cultural aspects of schooling, a topic which may often be avoided for political purposes.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Philosophy of Education

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PARENT RIGHTS

The rights of one party confer duties on others. If parents have educational rights, then the state has a duty not to interfere with the exercise of these rights, for example, by requiring one sort of education or forbidding another. The existence of parental rights is widely accepted. The extent of those rights, however, is controversial. At what point does the state's educational responsibility supersede parents' rights? The extent of a right depends on how it is justified—on the reason given for someone possessing it. This entry explores reasons commonly given for parents' educational rights and reviews arguments for state restrictions on them.

Justification of Parental Rights

Rights protect people's interests (property rights), their ability to fulfill duties (rights of conscience), and societal interests (freedom of the press). Parents clearly have an interest in children's upbringing. Loving others means wanting them to flourish. But does parents' deep interest in their children's well-being justify parental control over not only the quality but also the kind of education the children receive? Does it justify protection of homeschooling or religious education if the child would flourish in public school? One reason it might is people's interest in living what they see as the good life. Often parents can't do this unless children live it as well. This may serve the child's interests, too. Children benefit from strong attachment to their parents, which is enhanced if they share the same way of life.

These arguments are all derived from parents' interests, and hence might be undercut by a different social arrangement. In a kibbutz-based society, for example, parents would not be as close to their children; other people would share their interest in the children's well-being, and parental rights would thus be diluted. The interest-based rationale cannot be invoked to defend the nuclear family because it depends on its existence. To avoid this difficulty, parents' rights advocates turn to a duty-based rationale. The duty to promote children's well-being confers educational rights. On what grounds, though, can one

assert this duty? Biblical arguments are unavailing: in a plural society the devout cannot expect their fellow citizens to share their beliefs.

The nineteenth-century English economist Henry Sidgwick proposed a secular explanation based on the helpless state in which children are born. Being the cause of children's existence, parents are the cause of their helplessness and hence bear responsibility for providing a remedy. This argument is not undercut by generous social services, nor is it vulnerable to a critique of the nuclear family. Parents bear the same responsibility whether the state assists them or not and would do so even if the nuclear family were obliterated.

State Responsibility

State responsibility for education arises from children's rights, a societal interest in citizenship, and considerations of equity. All three concerns can be interpreted narrowly or expansively; which view is adopted will determine the extent to which parental rights may legitimately be curtailed.

Most would agree that the state should protect children against abuse and neglect. To that end, the state may regulate private schools and set minimum standards for homeschooled students. Some children's rights advocates, however, argue that children also have a right to an open future and should choose their own way of life and belief system without family interference. Thus parents may be required to expose children to a variety of beliefs and ways of life. This view has been criticized as biased toward secular liberalism. Critics also question whether one can meaningfully choose a belief system or way of life without first being immersed in it.

The state's responsibility for citizenship preparation is interpreted in similar ways. At a minimum, children should be taught respect for law and the skills needed to understand political issues. A more expansive view holds that they should interact with others from different backgrounds, learn to respect their views, and seek common ground in presenting their own. Advocates of this view generally favor restrictions on homeschooling and religious schools, which are unlikely to meet these requirements. Critics point out that most public schools fall short as well. Furthermore, even if this type of education

is desirable, critics contend that it is not essential to democratic self-government, and hence does not provide justification for restriction of parental authority.

Advocates of state intervention also contend that parents' educational choices should be restricted to promote equality of educational opportunity. The plausibility of this argument depends on which view of equal opportunity one holds. What John Rawls calls "formal equality" means that opportunities are open to talent—no one is excluded, for example, because of race or gender. Rawls's term "fair equality" means that everyone has the same chance of success. The equity argument draws on fair, not formal equality of opportunity. If one holds the latter view, the claim that equity requires restriction of parents' educational rights is not persuasive.

The issue of parental rights involves two questions: (1) whether parental rights deserve protection under current social institutions; (2) whether and how parents' rights morally constrain efforts to change current institutions. An interest-based account of rights addresses the first question; a duty-based account is required to answer the second. Answers to both depend on the scope of state responsibility for children's rights, citizenship training, and educational equity. To ascertain the extent of parents' rights, a comprehensive account of the responsibilities of the state and the legitimate interests of citizens is required.

Charles L. Howell

See also Homeschooling; School Choice; State Role in Education

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PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION (PTA)

The Parent Teacher Association (PTA), or the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, is a federated voluntary membership association with local, state, and national levels of organization. At the core of its mission is parental support of and involvement in public education and issues, activities, and legislation concerning the health and well-being of children and young adults. The PTA is perhaps best known for its local meetings that bring parents and teachers together to address school issues, raise money, and foster collaboration between home and school. The association's headquarters are in Chicago, and its current membership stands at approximately 7 million. This entry looks at the PTA's history, with special attention to issues of race and equity.

Early Years

Founded in 1897 by a group of elite White women in Washington, D.C., the PTA was originally called the National Congress of Mothers. A product of the Progressive era, the PTA grew out of the fervor of the women's club movement of the late nineteenth century, which was primarily responsible for its swift ascendancy as a national organization. Founders Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst directed the early PTA into disseminating information on parent education and promoting child welfare initiatives such as sanitation laws, child labor laws, and mothers' pensions.

The organization turned to public education in the early twentieth century by promoting kindergartens and providing hot lunches in schools beginning in 1912. By 1924, membership had grown to 700,000 from the original 2,000 in 1897. The PTA network grew rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century as local units were organized around the country and as women's and mothers' clubs joined the association. The organization over these years made a commitment to public education as it focused on building and improving schools, implemented health initiatives, and promoted the functional school curriculum.

In 1929, the PTA revised its program to support the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary

Education's seven Cardinal Principles of Education: health, command of fundamental processes, vocation, worthy use of leisure time, worthy home membership, citizenship, and ethical character.

The leaders of the PTA maintained they would not draw the color line, though membership of African Americans was negligible during the organization's first three decades. Despite the policy on nondiscrimination, Black teachers and clubwomen did not join the PTA, but instead began a parallel movement to organize parent-teacher and school improvement associations. Through the 1910s, Black units continued to be organized locally, but without any national oversight until 1926, when club leader and community activist Selena Sloan Butler organized the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, the segregated counterpart to the PTA.

A Black PTA

At the organizational meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, four states joined the "Colored Congress": Georgia, Delaware, Alabama, and Florida. With the guidance of a representative of the White PTA, the Black PTA was thus organized as an entirely separate federated organization that would serve only those states with *de jure* segregation. By 1930, however, membership in the Colored Congress was extended to those states also practicing *de facto* desegregation. At this time, membership in the White PTA stood at 1.5 million members, while the Black PTA had about 14,000 members. Overall, the Black PTA maintained a larger proportion of men and professional educators in its membership than the PTA.

Through the middle decades of the twentieth century, the Black and White PTAs grew in membership and public visibility. The Black PTA had fully developed its federated structure and had incorporated district councils to organize local units under the state umbrellas by the 1950s. The work carried out by White and Black PTAs was wide-ranging, but connected to children and youth education and advocacy. While continuing its work on the local levels in local school districts, the state and national levels of the organization held leadership institutes for PTA workers, focused on health and safety initiatives, and promoted drug and alcohol danger awareness.

The Black PTA units supplemented this work by supporting Black history in the schools and working to secure voting privileges for adult members. Also, because of the meager funds segregated schools received, the Black PTA emphasized fundraising for local schools from the 1930s through the 1960s.

The *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954 that called for school desegregation presented a challenge to the national PTA. At this time the membership of the White association was 8.8 million and the Black association was 160,000. Immediately following the Supreme Court's decision, the (White) national PTA put forth a pronouncement of its own supporting integration. This provoked a strong reaction in the South, as White and Black state and local units debated and discussed the challenges in desegregating schools and hence the PTA.

White and Black PTA units in border states to the South, such as Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland, desegregated almost immediately after *Brown*. In the Deep South, desegregation proceeded at a much slower pace. In the mid-1960s, the White PTA put pressure on those remaining states to integrate. Nonetheless, whether desegregation—or "unification," as it was called by the organization—proceeded smoothly or not, the Black PTA faced significant losses as members and officers failed to find a place for themselves in the organization. Therefore, for the first time in the 1960s, membership in the overall PTA began to decline; it dropped from its high of 12.1 million in 1963 to 9.6 million in 1970, the year the two organizations officially became one.

Today's Organization

With changes in public schooling and in the workforce with the women's movement, the national PTA changed as an organization in the 1970s. Membership continued to decline, dropping to 5 million in the 1980s, largely due to the growth of parent-teacher organizations and homeschool associations that did not pay dues to the PTA. In recent years, the PTA has regained some of its membership, as local groups continue to conduct projects and fundraisers to support school programs and the national PTA provides leadership and materials to locals and is involved in

lobbying for legislation to improve education and child welfare.

Christine Woyshner

See also *Brown v. Board of Education*; Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education; Family, School, and Community Partnerships; Kindergarten, History of; Lunch Programs; Playgrounds; Progressive Education

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PARK SCHOOLS

The influence of the ideas of progressive educator John Dewey (1859–1952) resulted in the development not only of the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, but also of a series of private or independent schools, many of which are still in operation today. Among the most interesting is the Park School of Buffalo, New York.

In 1911, having learned about Dewey's educational ideas, Nina Bull, a socially prominent Buffalonian, went to New York City to try to convince Dewey to help establish a school based on his ideas in Buffalo, New York. Dewey suggested that Bull meet with Mary Hammett Lewis, a teacher at the Horace Mann School, which was affiliated with Teachers College, Columbia University. Lewis had come to New York from Cleveland to work at the school, where she had begun such innovations as having herself and her students sit on a large, "friendly" rug, in an effort to get away from

the rigidity of chairs and desks. The rug became a "magic carpet" for adventures with her pupils.

Lewis also conducted classes on the roof, where she set up a large canvas tent, far away from the distractions of other teachers and grown-ups. Lewis's experiments with open-air education were by no means unique: Open-air education had been introduced from Europe several years before in an attempt to help children with respiratory ailments, in particular tuberculosis. The outdoor classes were extremely successful. She continued to try to develop an approach to teaching that was highly personalized and emphasized the interests of the children.

Lewis met with the group from Buffalo, headed by Bull and Maulyby Kinball, in the spring. Lewis agreed to go to Buffalo and open a school in the fall of 1912, which had an enrollment of twenty-seven pupils. The school emphasized not only educational models based on Dewey's work, but also the idea of open-air education. Advocates of open-air education were reacting to the stuffy and unhealthy conditions found in many schools. Lewis's efforts, however, went considerably beyond the philosophy of the open-air movement. She embraced in her work a unique combination of Dewey's emphasis upon the child learning things that were meaningful to his or her own life and her own idea of the child as a discoverer and a shaper of things and ideas.

Lewis set up her school in a small rented cottage on Bird Avenue. The following year, the school moved to a large colonial house on the Jewett estate at Jewett and Main streets, close to the city's main park, Delaware Park. Special porches were added to the building, which made it possible to hold classes in the open air. Early photographs of the school show children bundled in snowsuits and mittens working at their lessons outdoors in the height of winter. Five additional bungalows were built for the school which included boys through the sixth grade and girls through the eighth.

By 1919 the school had 170 pupils. It had outgrown the facility so Lewis moved first the upper school for girls and then the entire student body to suburban Snyder, a farm on Harlem Road where new buildings were built specifically designed to take advantage of the orchards and fields of the farm. The primary village was designed by Mr. Duane Lyman. Existing

buildings on the farm were continuously altered and a gymnasium was built in 1928. The school's natural environment, combined with Dewey's progressive educational curriculum, provided an ideal environment where children were excited about learning and sharing in a communal life.

Soon, other "Park" schools began to be established across the Northeast, including the Park School of Cleveland, the Park School of Baltimore, and the Shady Hill School in Boston. All but the Park School of Cleveland are still operating today, having evolved into what is popularly described as independent country day schools. Consistent with the philosophy of the first Park School, these schools consider the education of children to be the joint responsibility of parents, teachers, and students. Even though progressive education has waxed and waned, the emphasis on helping the individual child to develop into a contributing citizen has remained the goal of the "Park" schools.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Horace Mann School (New York City); Progressive Education

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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PEABODY EDUCATION FUND

The Peabody Education Fund was the first of several philanthropic foundations established by Northern industrialists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that focused on education in the Southern United States. George Peabody, a New England merchant and banker, established the fund in 1867 to support the growth of common schools

throughout the South. Capitalized by bonds worth more than \$1 million, the monies were to be distributed without restriction to those in need.

The fund initially supported state-controlled public education, granted scholarships to students who were preparing to be teachers, and promoted the Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial education for Blacks. By 1871, the fund had established a racially based system of assistance to public schools. The fund's allocation to schools for African Americans was two thirds the amount of aid dispersed to schools for Whites.

Led by its first general agent, Barnas Sears, the fund concentrated on increasing the number of "normal schools." Perhaps the most notable institution founded under this initiative was the Central Normal College of the South, later renamed Peabody Normal College, in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1875. In 1911, the fund's remaining activities were incorporated into the Rockefeller philanthropy general education board.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Philanthropy, Educational

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PEACE EDUCATION

The objective of peace education is to generate interdisciplinary efforts to develop strategies and programs aimed at reorienting the human race to the nonviolent resolution of conflict. As the new millennium begins, the specter of violence is commonplace, from the World Trade Center to the campus of Columbine High School, from bullying in the corridors of our schools to domestic violence at home. This entry provides a brief description of peace education, looks at its underlying theories, and offers a discussion of its marginalized status in the contemporary curriculum.

Some Basics

Peace education is grounded in two major assumptions: (1) conflict is inevitable and can often be fruitful and (2) people can be taught to resolve conflict without resorting to violence. Peace education includes strategies for resolving conflicts at various levels, ranging from individuals, to social groups, and even global conflicts.

The strategic dimension of peace education can be divided into three components. The first is *peace keeping*, which emphasizes tactics of conflict resolution to be utilized in conflict situations where violence has already happened or appears inevitable. The second is *peace making*, which emphasizes prophylactic approaches such as cooperative learning and cooperative discipline, violence prevention, multicultural education, and global education. The third is *peace building*, which explores policy alternatives designed to ameliorate structural violence grounded in social injustice. Galtung's theory of "structural violence" draws a distinction between direct and indirect violence, defining the latter as institutional arrangements structured to reduce the potential realized by victims of discrimination.

Peace education draws from interdisciplinary perspectives in subareas including conflict resolution, multicultural education, and global education. Conflict resolution ranges from interpersonal skills to mediation, arbitration, and negotiation. Multicultural education focuses upon the dialectical relationship between assimilation and cultural pluralism. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a wave of immigration into the United States is projected to transform the currently dominant status of European Americans into the minority. The United States is witnessing an era of unprecedented racial diversity. These developments will require youth to master cultural competencies and to resolve racial prejudice. Multicultural education and its various permutations, such as "antiracist education" and "Whiteness studies" will contribute to the resolution of these contradictions. The dominance of transnational corporations and the global marketplace will also result in irreversible structural economic changes that will require a mastery of global education.

Theoretical Issues and Controversies

Negative Versus Positive Peace

The most simplistic definition of peace, called "negative peace," is the absence of violence. During the twentieth century the specter of nuclear annihilation appeared to be the most pressing issue to threaten world peace. The doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD) was put forth as a viable policy alternative and "negative peace" was the priority for many peace educators.

However, the construct of "positive peace," grounded in recognition of the dialectical relationship between peace and justice, has recently gained ideological hegemony. This transformation is evident in the history of peace organizations, which began with the founding of the Peace Studies Association (PSA) in the 1980s, followed by the formation of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education, and Development (COPRED). The recent merger of PSA and COPRED into the Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA) is a symbolic manifestation of the ideological hegemony of "positive peace," since the new title demonstrates the predominance of the issue of social justice as a factor of peace.

Violence and Nonviolence

Theories related to violence itself have been embroiled in a "nature/nurture" controversy grounded in sociobiology and neo-Freudianism versus an emphasis on culture. For example, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) drew upon sociobiology to develop the construct of the "superpredators" as a description of sectors of inner-city youth. In contrast, William Julius Wilson, an authority on urban poverty and race relations, argued against concepts of "ghetto-specific" behavior in favor of a conception of "ghetto-related" behavior originating from the structural economic changes associated with the "deindustrialization of America." On the issue of the origins of war, anthropologist Margaret Mead countered Konrad Lorenz's sociobiological construct of the "aggressivity instinct" with her explication of war as a cultural phenomenon based upon her survey of cultures that were free of war.

Similarly, theories related to nonviolence have been restricted by the ideological hegemony of

religious and personal pacifists in peace education who tend to restrict the discourse to pacifism as a universal moral imperative. Programs that emphasize “alternatives to violence” or “violence prevention” but fail to exclude contingencies of self-defense often receive minimal attention. For example, Deborah Prothrow-Stith’s violence prevention program has captured the imagination of many community activists working with adolescent African American youth, but it has been virtually excluded from the mainstream of peace education discourse.

Gene Sharp’s historical research on “nonviolent direct action” as an intermediate strategy between personal and religious pacifism and armed self-defense is similarly useful. His taxonomy of tactics, ranging from labor strikes, territorial invasion, land seizure, noncooperation against government bureaucracies, to national defense, are illustrated in case studies of actions against regimes as extreme as those of Hitler, Stalin, and numerous Latin American dictators. Also, Sharp’s 1972 *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, a historical analysis of Gandhi, noted that the grounding of Gandhi’s constructs such as *satyagraha* emphasize action and confrontation. Sharp also pointed out that the components of action and confrontation, central to *satyagraha*, have been a point of contention for personal and religious pacifists.

The point of contention is particularly obvious in the dominant historical accounts of the civil rights movement in which “personal and religious pacifists” often speak from a position of middle-class privilege. Activists’ interpretations of nonviolent direct action and their portrayals of Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, tend to be grounded in a conception of pacifism as a universal moral imperative.

The working-class perspective was introduced by Lance Hill, in his groundbreaking 2004 history of the Deacons for Defense. The Deacons for Defense was an organization whose membership was primarily recruited from the ranks of working-class African American combat veterans, who subscribed to a combination of tactics including armed self-defense as well as nonviolent direct action. Hill noted that Dr. King accepted security from the Deacons for Defense (who were armed) on condition of confidentiality and that both the Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Freedom Riders accepted the assistance of the Deacons for Defense once they realized that government authorities would not provide them with protection from the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilantes. Furthermore, Devon Carbado and Donald Weise have documented that Dr. King himself was armed, as Bayard Rustin objected to Dr. King keeping guns in his house for protection.

Global Education

Global education is most heavily influenced by theories of “spheres of influence” from political science along with Marxist-Leninist theory, and Johan Galtung’s alternative theory of “structural imperialism.” Vladimir Lenin’s theory of imperialism, Nkrumah’s neocolonialism, and Walter Rodney’s views on underdevelopment are marginalized in the United States, because of their grounding in Marxist theory.

Imperialism and neocolonialism are seen as successive stages of advanced monopoly capitalism, in which finance capital is exported for purposes of economic exploitation. Imperialism is perceived as relying more upon war, while neocolonialism is more dependent upon organizations such as the World Bank and World Trade Organization as mechanisms of economic manipulation by transnational corporations. Rodney views underdevelopment as a consequence of imperialist and neocolonial exploitation.

The opposing view is that the exploitation of underdeveloped nations and human rights violations have transcended the boundaries between capitalist and socialist societies. Galtung’s formulation of structural imperialism provides an alternative to the theories of Lenin, Nkrumah, and Rodney.

Feminist Perspectives

In her classic work on feminist perspectives in peace education, Brigit Brock-Utne celebrates the fact that “the gender neutrality of most social science, including peace research” has been broken. One of the major debates among feminist peace researchers has been around the position taken by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Betty Friedan, and more recently Betty Reardon that sexism has been such a source of support for the male-dominated “war machine” that an increased number of

women in positions of world leadership would be sufficient to decrease the probability of war and even that women warriors would be more humane. However, other feminist peace researchers, including Jean Bethke Elshtain and Berenice Carroll, have dismissed this position as naive and simplistic.

Analysis

Ian Harris provided a historical assessment of the progress of peace education in the United States in which he concludes with the sobering observation that “peace education remains peripheral to mainstream educational endeavors.” Harris attributes the failures of peace education to the difficulties inherent in developing a research paradigm capable of demonstrating the efficacy of peace education programs. There are other views.

Betty Reardon and Manning Marable put greater emphasis on Eurocentricity as an explanation of the marginalized status of peace education. Reardon and Marable agree that the dominance of Eurocentricity in peace education leads to the exclusion and distortion of African American perspectives, and this restricted focus undermines the status and viability of peace education. Marable explicitly pointed out that many White peace advocates may be ill informed about ways in which Blacks have influenced and contributed to White movements. He further has noted that social movements in the United States that have failed to include African Americans in their leadership have consistently failed.

According to scholars, including Noam Chomsky, James Loewen, and John Marciano, the virtual absence from U.S. public schools of any critical assessment of our government’s accountability in issues such as social justice, war, genocide of Native Americans, and worldwide violations of human rights has led to a ubiquitous form of “civic illiteracy.” The history, music, and literature of movements, organizations, and individuals committed to peace and social justice is also consistently omitted from our curriculum. Cultural norms based upon “rugged individualism,” zero-sum relationships, and unbridled competition are dominant in U.S. society and reinforced by popular culture and athletic programs. In teacher education programs, peace

education is excluded in favor of instruction in “classroom management” and behavior modification.

A survey of program evaluations in peace education by Tricia S. Jones and Daniel Kmitta indicates that researchers must increase the rigor of their research design and emphasize outcome variables if they hope to demonstrate efficacy. The survey also indicates that long-term training has far greater efficacy than the short-term workshops dominant in the field of peace education.

Although women have achieved a significant presence in the leadership of peace organizations and feminist perspectives are well represented in the knowledge base of peace research, efforts must be made to achieve commensurate progress for African Americans and other racial minorities. If peace education could be infused throughout the U.S. curriculum, this might abate civic illiteracy and the culture of violence. Both direct and indirect violence appears to be the challenges of the new millennium, suggesting the important potential contributions of peace education in the struggle for peace and social justice.

Marvin J. Berlowitz

See also Social Justice, Education for

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Web Sites

Peace and Justice Studies Association:
<http://www.peacejusticestudies.org>

PENMANSHIP

The idea of literacy, even through the eighteenth century, was limited to the ability to read. People who could read the Bible, basic civil documents, and the paperwork associated with earning a living were thought literate. Learning to read was accomplished in primary schools through teaching methods that centered on phonics. Most of the persons meeting this definition of literacy did, however, learn to write their name in order to sign contracts or deeds. Writing became part of the public school curriculum in the early nineteenth century. Model scripts were displayed in classrooms as part of penmanship instruction that continued into the mid-part of the twentieth century. Instruction in penmanship became less important in the latter half of the twentieth century as the typewriter and, then, computer word processing were thought to make good penmanship less important.

Writing was a skill believed to be beyond the ability of the young child, since the ornate scripts of the times required a level of hand-to-eye coordination and small muscle development not yet attained by those under eight or nine years of age. Writing schools were organized for boys in the colonial period who had learned to read in primary school and who had an interest in attending grammar schools in preparation for admittance into colleges and the professions.

There were professional penmanship instructors in the nineteenth century who had mastered the various competing scripts and taught the “art” of penmanship and whose services could be obtained for embellishing documents. Often, these professionals became itinerant teachers who conducted evening classes that included such niceties as letter writing and composing invitations.

As civil and economic life expanded, the need for practical writing led to the development of less ornate scripts that could be taught to children in the upper primary grades. One of the cornerstones in the development of public schools in the United States was the concept that a common education involved both reading and writing and that these elements should be taught to both boys and girls. This was in keeping with the expanded definition of literacy to include writing.

The new emphasis on writing a legible, if not beautiful, hand was in place by the 1840s. A nation of commerce would require clerks, stenographers, and businesspeople who had mastered penmanship. This led to the creation of new scripts that would increase speed and legibility at the cost of flourish. Business colleges sprang up and penmanship became a curriculum staple. Decorative scripts would become the basis of calligraphy.

Developers of model scripts that were popularly adopted by the common schools included Platt Rogers Spencer in the mid-part of the nineteenth century and Austin M. Palmer in the first half of the twentieth century. The model scripts they produced could be found displayed across the front wall of classrooms everywhere.

Pencils were used in the early grades so that the simple manuscript printing of words and numbers could be taught. For the younger children, these pencils were larger than standard and the paper used was ruled so that the students could begin to develop the habit of allowing certain letters to be printed within one vertical space, two, or three. Cursive writing, as a school subject, was usually introduced in the fourth grade.

The introduction of the ballpoint pen in the 1950s and the introduction of the typewriter followed by the computer caused a diminishing expectation as to the importance of penmanship much beyond personal utility and led to its gradual demise as a principal school

subject. Penmanship is still taught in schools, but it receives less emphasis and the time once spent on it has been divided among the other school subjects.

William Edward Eaton

See also Literacy in American Culture

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PERFORMANCE THEORY

Performance is a manifestation of knowledge through and on bodies situated in culture. All performance theory assumes everyday and aesthetic (e.g., “on stage,” etc.) performances are necessarily interdependent and therefore ought to be subject to similar scrutiny. In order to understand performance theories in education, one first needs a functional understanding of performance studies. Craig Gingrich-Philbrook, in his 1998 article “Disciplinary Violation as Gender Violation,” offers a definition useful to teachers and scholars of education when he states that “performance studies occurs at a point of speculation about the scale and durability of knowledge brought to consciousness before a particular audience, the aesthetics of this production, and its relationship to similar events for other audiences.”

Three distinct modes of research characterize performance theories in education: everyday and aesthetic performance events as sites of research; performance as a method of inquiry; “performance” as an explanatory metaphor. Performance theory in education might therefore include studies of representations of education already existing in any genre or medium, new performances specifically intended to create knowledge about education, or studies that assume some aspect of education is “like a performance.” These three modes of research are often engaged in useful combinations.

Performance theory in education is linked through its history in the academy to the study of culture in disciplines including (but not limited to) anthropology, communication, theater, and sociology. Some significant research topics have included performance of identities (such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability), performance and methodology (such as performative writing and performance ethnography), and performance politics (e.g., teaching is/as performance). Performance theory in education is somewhat similar to arts-based inquiry, but these research paradigms are fairly distinct with little evidence of collaboration among practitioners.

Scott William Gust

See also Qualitative Research

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PHELPS STOKES FUND

The Phelps Stokes Fund was founded through a bequest in 1911 from Caroline Phelps Stokes. Her son, Anson Phelps Stokes II (1874–1958), guided the foundation during its early years. It is the oldest continuously operating foundation serving the needs of African Americans. The fund has also addressed the needs of Native Americans, Africans, and the rural and urban poor. Among the organizations that can trace their origins to the fund are the African Student Aid Fund, the American Indian College Fund, the Archbishop Tutu Southern African Scholarship Fund, the Association of Black American Ambassadors, the Booker Washington Institute of Liberia, the Boys Choir of Harlem, the

Cooperative College Development Fund, the Caribbean Cultural Association, the Jackie Robinson Foundation, the Native American Science Association, the South African Institute of Race Relations, and the United Negro College Fund.

The fund has been actively involved in development efforts in Liberia since the 1920s, including the funding of the Booker T. Washington Institute, a major Liberian center for technical education and training. Also during the 1920s, the fund ran a competition for the development of model tenement housing designs in New York City. In the 1930s and 1940s, it sponsored attempts to create the first “Negro” encyclopedia—a project that was under the direction of W. E. B. Du Bois.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the fund sent American educators to Africa to observe conditions firsthand, provide assistance, and help Americans better understand the origins of African Americans. Jackson Davis, for example, who was a field agent for the General Education Board, was sent by the fund to Africa in 1944. His travels eventually led to the publication of the book *Africa Advancing*. He later became the head of the Booker T. Washington Institute in Liberia. Davis was convinced that Africans had great potential for advancing socially and economically, provided they had access to the necessary education. Without the help of the fund, he almost certainly would not have gone to Africa.

The fund’s motto, “Education for Human Development,” has been realized through its efforts at conflict resolution, as an intellectual think tank, as an operating fund, as a service provider, as an advisor to other organizations, and as an advocate for marginalized groups.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also African American Education; Philanthropy, Educational

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Web Sites

Phelps Stokes Fund: <http://www.psfdc.org>

PHILANTHROPY, EDUCATIONAL

Since America’s earliest years, charitable institutions have served a diverse set of philanthropic purposes in the United States. While the majority of these institutions were historically tied to religious organizations, today there are many different types of private philanthropic bodies that serve a multitude of needs across many issue areas. While philanthropic participation in numerous matters has grown in all categories, the increasing existence of educational philanthropy in America provides perhaps one of the clearest illustrations of the ways in which private philanthropists can support and shape U.S. institutions. This entry begins with a brief history of general philanthropy, then looks at education-oriented philanthropy, its contributions, and some critiques.

A Brief History

America saw the first significant presence of private charitable institutions after the American Revolution, when numerous private foundations were created to serve a range of purposes in the construction of our country. While these foundations continued throughout the nineteenth century, American philanthropy as we know it today wasn’t fully realized until the first contemporary philanthropists, such as John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, and Andrew Carnegie, created private foundations to house their fortunes. During America’s industrialization, the presence of private foundations continued to grow in proportion to the accumulation of private wealth across the country.

Economically prosperous periods like these, and again much later in the 1980s, are largely responsible for the growth and maintenance of the large, private

philanthropic foundations that continue to thrive today. Since these private foundations operate without many of the same restrictions that limit other American institutions, philanthropy presents interesting possibilities for involvement across endless issue areas. Philanthropic involvement in education provides an excellent example of this phenomenon.

Role in Education

Even the earliest American philanthropic institutions had connections to education, since some of the country's first schools were created by the contributions of private donors and local religious organizations. Throughout U.S. history, private charitable contributions from individuals and organizations have supported schools. Today, educational philanthropic contributions constitute less than 1 percent of the total K–12 spending. However, there are currently over 600,000 philanthropic foundations in the United States with approximately 25 percent that provide financial assistance to schools. To understand the multiple roles that philanthropists continue to play in creating, shaping, and supporting American public schools, it's important to understand the multifarious nature of their involvement.

While early educational philanthropy was primarily generated by personal contributions of time and service, the scope and influence of educational philanthropy has grown significantly. Today, there are nearly as many types of organizations as there are organizations themselves. These groups are categorized in a number of different ways. They may be think tanks, advocacy organizations, networks, researchers, data gatherers, grant makers, associations, community outreach organizations, foundations, and/or institutions. They range from small, local bodies that primarily support local causes to large, statewide and national institutions that influence broad educational reform efforts and policies.

The types of support offered by philanthropic organizations also differ based on the group's mission. While some philanthropists support education with unconditional financial contributions, an increasing number of associations have a more "hands-on" approach to educational philanthropy. In these cases,

financial support is often tied to the creation or implementation of certain educational reforms.

With all of the diversity among educational philanthropy organizations, it is clear that they provide a wide range of services to American education. Such services include, but are not limited to, researching issues and trends, supporting the efforts of other institutions and organizations, providing financial support, raising public awareness, analyzing policy, collecting and distributing donations, advising other donors, training practitioners and policy makers, offering technical assistance, and organizing grassroots and community efforts.

Notable Examples

To survey briefly the ways in which educational philanthropies have provided support, consider the following exemplars of philanthropic contributions to American public education that span our nation's history.

In colonial times, several well-known higher education institutions were created and funded by philanthropic donors. Often, these colleges were named after their benefactors, such as John Harvard, Lord Dartmouth of England, and Governor Elihu Yale. As the decades passed, larger philanthropic organizations and foundations formed that continued to support public education. Consider, for instance, the support provided by the Rosenwald Fund for thousands of schools that served African American students during the Jim Crow era.

More recently, the United States has seen a surge of larger, national private foundations with educational philanthropy at their core. One of the best known examples of contemporary educational philanthropists is the Annenberg Foundation. In 1993, Walter H. Annenberg made the nation's largest philanthropic contribution to American public schools when announcing his "Challenge to the Nation." Designed to encourage and motivate others to do the same, Annenberg's initial \$500 million personal donation inspired another \$600 million in contributions from individuals, businesses, foundations, colleges, and universities. Together, these examples convey the potential benefits and exciting possibilities evidenced by the philanthropic contributions to education like these.

Related Issues

While most would agree that private foundations focused upon educational philanthropy are predominantly beneficial to American schools, an overview of the topic would be incomplete without a brief acknowledgment of some of the issues related to philanthropic involvement in public education. Generally speaking, these are mostly matters related to accountability and sustainability. For example, there is concern over the possible intentional or unintentional influences that large private foundations may have on political matters and educational policy as a result of their research, outreach, advocacy, financial support, and so on. This concern is echoed by the philanthropic organizations' careful negotiation of the line between advocacy and lobbying, since federal law prevents tax-exempt foundations from engagement in certain political activities. Some critics believe that private educational philanthropy organizations further muddle the already-confusing question of school governance in the United States and that outside involvement in educational issues by organizations such as these further contributes to the growing belief that public schools do not have the capacity to address their own problems.

Other issues related to educational philanthropy are less political in nature and revolve instead around the actual potential of private donors to make lasting, positive improvements in education. In this case, there are many unanswered questions that are just beginning to be explored by educational research. Such questions address issues of systemic reform, sustainability, and the long-term benefits and consequences of philanthropic involvement in public education.

Finally, it is also important to acknowledge that the private funding provided by educational philanthropists yields a seemingly insignificant proportion of overall public funding of education. However, the potential for influence is not realistically portrayed by this proportion.

Overall Contribution

The United States has a long history of private donorship that can be traced back to its earliest days. While the size and nature of these contributions varies, they are united by their intention to support and enhance

democratic society. As such, many philanthropic organizations throughout American history have served education, since investing in American children may be one of the best ways to positively influence broad social change. While it is impossible to generate an exhaustive list of meaningful contributions made by countless educational philanthropists throughout our history, it is important to acknowledge the undoubtable influence of the powerful triad formed by philanthropists, practitioners, and policy makers on the American system of public education.

Carri Anne Schneider

See also Corporate Involvement in Education; Education Commission of the States; Higher Education, History of; State Role in Education; United Negro College Fund

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Web Sites

- Business Education Partnership Forum:
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- Chronicle of Philanthropy: <http://www.philanthropy.com>
- Council on Foundations: <http://www.cof.org>
- Grantmakers for Education: <http://www.edfunders.org>
- The Philanthropy Roundtable:
<http://www.philanthropyroundtable.org>

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Philosophy of education is the field of study that uses philosophical methods to study education. Textbooks

and courses in philosophy of education may be organized around the branches of philosophy—for example, epistemology, ethics, political philosophy—or around centers of educational interest such as curriculum, pedagogy, or school structure. An organizational scheme that was popular fifty years ago—stressing broad philosophical schools of thought such as idealism, realism, and pragmatism—is rarely seen today. In its place, we see some works written from the perspective of critical theory, feminist philosophy, or postmodern philosophy. Philosophers of education in the United States today address questions of standards, accountability, equality, and testing as part of their analysis of school reform, but they also examine perennial issues such as the aims of education, democratic citizenship, and what constitutes the good life. Philosophy of education has a long history, and it is helpful to know something of that history before tackling contemporary work in the field.

Historical Background

Western philosophy of education begins with Socrates (469–399 BCE), whose ideas come to us through the writings of Plato. Socrates modeled the Socratic dialogue in which the teacher engages a student in a vigorous exploration of an important issue through a sequence of questions. The harms and benefits of the Socratic dialogue as a teaching method are still debated today.

Socrates also suggested a central place for self-knowledge in education—“Know thyself.” He argued that self-knowledge is essential to critical thinking, and many current writers agree with Socrates on this. But again the debate is ongoing, and some critics confuse education with self-knowledge with therapy or the mere promotion of self-esteem. Philosophers of education try to clear up such misunderstandings.

Education was a central concern for Plato (427–347 BCE) as he attempted to create an ideal state. He was particularly interested in the education of intellectually able young people who, as philosopher-kings, would become the rulers of his republic. Plato rejected the notion of hereditary rulers and recommended that youngsters be evaluated early so that the most talented could be identified and appropriately

educated for leadership. His recommendation that different forms of education be provided for children with different aptitudes (and different destinies) won the general approval of John Dewey, but Dewey criticized Plato’s prescription of just three different forms of education as too limited. Ideally, Dewey said, education should be tailored to each child’s interests. This debate continues today: Should all children have the same education? Should different courses of study be provided for children with different interests and/or talents? How should children be assigned to particular courses or tracks? How do we justify our decisions?

Aristotle (384–322 BCE), too, gave serious attention to problems of education. As one of the founders of an important approach to moral philosophy—virtue ethics—Aristotle was especially interested in the development of good character. His *Nicomachean Ethics* lays out a plan for moral education that, with minor changes, has remained influential for centuries. Indeed, many recommendations in today’s programs of character education can be traced to Aristotle.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) is another great philosopher who contributed significantly to philosophy of education. In *Emile*, he described the ideal education for boys: a child-centered education that would allow boys to learn primarily from interaction with objects and the natural environment. Rousseau aimed at an education suitable for free men, men who would become autonomous citizens and responsible heads of families in adult life.

His recommendations for education are often embraced by educators for both boys and girls but, in fact, Rousseau prescribed a highly restricted education for girls. Their entire education, Rousseau said, must direct them toward pleasing and serving men. Feminist philosophers today find Rousseau’s recommendations offensive, and there is a temptation to reject them entirely. However, without the misogynist recommendations for female education, Rousseau’s ideas have been widely adapted in forms of progressive education.

Dewey admired Rousseau’s plan to encourage intellectual development by building on students’ interests. Indeed, that idea is basic to Deweyan forms of progressive education. But Dewey challenged Rousseau’s claim that children are born good. As

a thoroughgoing interactionist, Dewey believed that children are born with propensities for both good and evil and that education must play a significant role in healthy moral development.

Although space limitations prevent further discussion here, interested readers can find much relevant material on the periods between classical philosophy and Rousseau and, again, between Rousseau and the twenty-first century. Some names to check on: Thomas Aquinas, Peter Abelard, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Maria Montessori.

Approaches to Philosophy

Changes in philosophy of education are influenced by changes in philosophy as well as changes in the larger society. In the second half of the twentieth century, philosophy changed its emphasis from metaphysics (the philosophical study of the cosmos and reality) to analytic philosophy, and philosophy of education texts abandoned their earlier concentration on realism and idealism. Instead, philosophers of education undertook the careful analysis of educational concepts such as teaching, heuristics, knowledge and knowing, discovery, readiness, slogans, and indoctrination. The 1960s and 1970s were exciting years for analytic philosophers of education, and they often joined research teams, working to clarify the concepts central to various investigations. The strictest analytic philosophers followed the dictum of Ludwig Wittgenstein that philosophy properly “leaves everything as it is”; its job is simply to make everything clear.

Not everyone agreed with Wittgenstein on this. In contrast, Karl Marx had insisted that the whole point is to *change* the world, not to leave it as it is. In agreement, some philosophers of education took a Marxist approach in their writing. All philosophical work involves some analysis, but analytic philosophers confine themselves to analysis, whereas Marxist philosophers and many others take a particular perspective and often suggest an agenda for social change.

Another general approach, pragmatism (a school of thought that emphasizes the consequences of acts and concepts rather than their foundations in principles), has coexisted with analytic and Marxist philosophy.

Indeed, pragmatism was popular earlier as an alternative to the realism/idealism scheme, and it survived (as a “school”) beside analytic and Marxist philosophy. Most pragmatist work was built on the philosophy of John Dewey, but some draws as well on William James, C. S. Peirce, and C. I. Lewis. It is interesting to note that Dewey himself rarely used the term *pragmatism*, preferring *instrumentalism* or *experimentalism*. Today, many philosophers of education are heavily indebted to the pragmatic tradition, but few identify themselves specifically as pragmatists. Similarly, although most philosophers engage in analytic work, few limit themselves to clarification or even believe that it is possible to do so.

There have been changes also in the Marxist tradition. Some continue to write as neo-Marxists, but many more work in critical theory—a philosophical approach that concentrates on political, social, and economic struggles. Critical theorists sometimes draw on Marx but more often today on Antonio Gramsci, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Michel Foucault, and Jurgen Habermas. Critical theorists are particularly interested in the quest for human freedom and the social conditions underlying domination and oppression. In philosophy of education, Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has been highly influential.

Critical theory is often thought of as part of Continental philosophy, and Continental philosophy is contrasted with analytic philosophy—especially with the British tradition. Another facet of Continental philosophy is *existentialism*. Existentialism includes a collection of thinkers (sometimes in conflict with one another) interested in the nature of being, meaning and absurdity, death, anxiety, relationships, and freedom. Some existentialists—for example, Jean-Paul Sartre—are frankly atheist, and their philosophy is influenced by their atheism. In it, we find themes of loneliness, alienation, anxiety, and absurdity but also freedom and responsibility. Other existentialist philosophers, such as Martin Buber and Søren Kierkegaard, are religious existentialists, and their concentration is often on relation and response. Not surprisingly, given their interest in life’s extreme situations, existentialist philosophers draw heavily on literature, and some are known for their fiction, plays, and poetry.

In education, Maxine Greene has used the work of Sartre on freedom, and her work has had an important influence on views of freedom in education. Nel Noddings (while rejecting the label “existentialist”) has drawn heavily on the work of Buber and applied it to relations and response in education as well as to feminist ethics. Just as analysis is part of all philosophical work, existential questions have been treated throughout the history of philosophy. They appear in Plato, Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, Martin Heidegger, and Dewey, and they remain important today even for philosophers who do not call themselves existentialists. Educators who are alarmed by the apparent lack of meaning in today’s curriculum might profit from reading some existential philosophy.

Hermeneutics is another trend that should be mentioned in connection with Continental philosophy. Long associated with religious studies, hermeneutics—the practice of scholarly interpretation—has grown in popularity. As it has become clear that pure analytic philosophy may be an impossible dream—there is always a viewpoint or set of values from which analysis is launched—the enterprise of interpretation has become more acceptable in philosophy and philosophy of education. In current philosophy of education, we find work that interprets and reinterprets concepts found in the work of Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Dewey.

Possibly the most prominent school of thought associated with Continental philosophy is postmodernism. Postmodern philosophers, like existentialists, are not all of one mind, but they all challenge what they take to be the central tenets of modern philosophy—objectivity, “grand narratives” (declarations of universality in human life), the possibility of autonomy, the legitimacy of power, and the rigidity of categories once thought to be biological, such as gender. Postmodern philosophy is not, however, merely destructive. The work of Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida, for example, is emotionally powerful in treating the uniqueness of the Other—a plea for preservation of and respect for the living Other who cannot be completely subsumed under a universal category. Educators interested in current problems of diversity should find the writings of some postmodern philosophers useful.

Feminist philosophy has also influenced philosophers of education. One of the great contributions of feminist thought is its powerful criticism of traditional philosophy and its support for the subordination of women. Feminist philosophers may identify themselves methodologically with existentialism, postmodernism, critical theory, pragmatism, or analytic philosophy. Like all philosophers, they tend to work primarily in one branch of philosophy—epistemology, political philosophy, ethics, or philosophy of science—and within that branch on problems related to education and the liberation of women. In political philosophy, for example, they make take positions as liberal, socialist, Marxist, or radical feminists. They draw their methods from a tradition, but their purpose is to correct those methods in order to achieve justice for women.

Branches of Philosophy

Epistemology (theory of knowledge) is a branch of philosophy closely associated with education. From the time of Socrates to the present day, philosophers have raised questions about the nature of knowledge, what it means to know, and how to define truth. Socrates argued that knowledge is stored in the immortal soul and is recovered and displayed through sound teaching methods; Rousseau asserted that children learn best through unfettered interaction with objects and the natural environment; Dewey argued that knowledge is built through interested experimentation, social interaction, and critical reflection. Many of today’s educators argue that all knowledge is constructed and that the mere memorization of facts is the weakest form of construction, resulting in a short-lived catalog of information subject to rapid decay.

Teachers have always been interested in the criteria by which we can judge whether or not a student *really knows* something. Those who lean toward a behaviorist view of learning make their judgment on the basis of accurate responses to specific stimuli. This approach is familiar in the widespread use of single-answer tests which can answer the question, “Has Johnny learned X?” but, as Noam Chomsky pointed out, cannot answer the more complex question, “What has Johnny learned?” Answering that question requires open relationships, observation, and intelligent

dialogue. Further, even on simple, single-response questions, students may answer correctly without being able to justify their answers.

We might insist that A should be credited with *knowing that p* (where *p* is a proposition) if and only if

A believes that *p*.

P is true.

A offers good reasons for believing that *p*.

This traditional test of knowing (justified true belief) is still widely accepted in education. Notice that this view implies that truth is a larger set than knowledge, and knowledge is that subset of truth that human beings have managed to acquire. If we accept this view, we are faced with questions about how truth is established, where it resides, and how people access it.

But there are other views. From Dewey's perspective, for example, knowledge is bigger than truth, and anything that we use in our explorations can be called "knowledge" until it shows itself to be ineffective. That which continues to contribute to successful investigation, that which resists refutation, approaches the level of *truth*.

Present-day constructivists take a similar approach. Following Jean Piaget, they claim that all knowledge is constructed. Constructivist philosophers and teachers recommend that students test out their ideas in experimentation and discussion. The test of knowledge lies in application, not in rote response.

Clearly, this basic difference in epistemological orientation suggests major differences in curriculum and pedagogy. The "justified true belief" perspective often guides a curriculum that is almost entirely specified at the outset—a body of knowledge (already confirmed by experts) to be learned by students. The Deweyan and constructivist views lead more often to a larger role for what Philip Jackson has called the "interactive" curriculum—one built cooperatively by students and teachers as they work on topics and problems of mutual interest.

Few educators take a postmodern position, one that rejects the notion of truth and asserts that all knowledge is relative to the culture in which it is pronounced. A position very like this appears in the

work of some philosophers of education who focus on multicultural education, "Whiteness" theory, and racial identity but, so far at least, the rejection of universal truth and knowledge has had little impact on the school curriculum. Whereas postmodern philosophy has led to increasing emphasis on the sociology of knowledge (as contrasted with epistemology), curricula on diversity and identity look very like traditional curricula with different topics. It should be noted, also, that philosophers of education often tackle these topics from perspectives other than the postmodern.

Epistemological topics are of special interest to philosophers interested in educational research. Hotly debated questions include: What *is* scientifically based research? Must such research be quantitative? Must it be experimental? Is pharmaceutical research a good model for educational research? Is there something ethically questionable in using randomized experiments in schools to try out various teaching methods? (Interested readers might consult the work of, for example, Gary Fenstermacher, D. C. Phillips, and Harvey Siegel.)

Philosophers of education interested in ethics usually approach the subject from one of several perspectives: the liberal tradition through Kant and Rawls; utilitarianism (e.g., John Stuart Mill); virtue ethics; or the ethics of care recently developed by feminist philosophers and psychologists. All of these views receive considerable attention in current philosophy of education.

Virtue ethics is enjoying a robust revival in the work of Martha Nussbaum and Michael Slote. In education, it serves as the theoretical framework for new programs in character education. Virtue ethics, in contrast to Kantian and utilitarian ethics, de-emphasizes moral principles and concentrates on the development of character and good motives. Caught in a moral dilemma, virtue ethicists ask, "What would a person of the best character do in this situation?" Accordingly, character educators emphasize the acquisition of virtues. In a debate echoing concerns as old as Socrates, philosophers still argue over whether and how virtues can be taught. Can they be taught, or are they somehow "caught"? What difference does this make in how we approach moral education?

Character education may be contrasted with the cognitive-developmental program based on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg's approach concentrates on moral reasoning, and teachers promote more powerful reasoning through the use of moral dilemmas. According to this scheme, moral growth occurs in stages, and the highest stage requires moral thinkers to apply principles of universal justice. The Kohlbergian approach has generated much empirical research (some of it cross-cultural) and also much debate. Its Kantian/Rawlsian emphasis on principles has been challenged. In a morally problematic situation, do people ask, "What moral principle should govern my decision?" or are they more likely to follow the customs of their moral community or moral leader as virtue ethicists contend? Some recent studies suggest that relatively few people use principles to guide their moral behavior; more often they obey the customs of their group or respond directly from sympathy or care. (Kohlbergian-Kantian-Rawlsian philosophers can still argue that people *should* use moral principles.)

Another challenge to Kohlberg came from the psychologist Carol Gilligan who argued that females may develop along a different (but morally sound) path—one that emphasizes caring and response rather than justice. Interest in care ethics has grown rapidly over the last two decades, and its influence can be found not only in philosophy and psychology but also in education, nursing, law, business, religion, and global ethics. A lively debate arose in philosophy of education over the primacy of justice (a Kantian approach) or caring. The debate is not closed, but most of the contenders recognize the need for both caring and justice. One important remaining question is this: Can justice be derived from caring or are the two concepts independent? (See the work of Kenneth Strike, Nel Noddings, Ann Diller, Barbara Houston, Barbara Thayer-Bacon, and Karl Hostetler.)

Just as philosophy of science is closely related to epistemology, political/social philosophy is closely related to ethics. It treats, among other topics, liberalism, democracy, equality, oppression and liberation, and problems of identity (racial, ethnic, gender, and religious). Possibly this branch of philosophy receives more attention today from philosophers of education than any other. Some such work is directed by the

liberal tradition, and some is distinctly postmodern in its orientation. There are lively arguments over the adequacy of liberalism, the meaning of equality, democratic education, and the politics of recognition. Philosophers of education have been deeply involved in studies of multiculturalism, diversity, discrimination, domination, and identity. (See, for example, the work of Kenneth Howe, Walter Feinberg, Audrey Thompson, Eamonn Callan, and Lawrence Blum.)

Philosophical Themes in Education

Themes in education, like themes in most social enterprises, shift with changes in the social milieu, but some educational themes are perennial. They must be addressed conscientiously by every generation of citizens.

One such theme is the *aims of education*. Until quite recently, philosophers, educators, and policy makers seemed to take the discussion of educational aims seriously, and virtually every school prefaced its description of curriculum with a statement of aims. "Aims-talk" has been almost synonymous with philosophy of education. Today, fewer teacher preparation institutions require courses in philosophy of education, and policy makers seem to have settled on economic success as the aim of education—a decent income for individuals and economic success for the nation.

The history of aims-talk, however, is far richer. Philosophers have argued for broad aims in education: preparation for a good life, including personal, occupational, and public life. When we start with such broad aims, we must devote much time and effort to describing what we mean by the good life, how education is connected to occupational life, and what is meant by good citizenship. Each of these aims is necessarily colored by the times and cultures within which we live. When we talk about citizenship in the United States, for example, we are interested in how schools should prepare students for life in a liberal democracy. Because we are living in the twenty-first century, we must consider the possibility of global citizenship. What does it mean to be a global citizen, and will global citizenship enhance or reduce the status of national citizenship? Much current work in philosophy of education focuses on such questions.

Occupational life has always been a central interest in philosophy, but recommendations on preparation for occupational life have differed greatly. Some philosophers (including Plato) have recommended that children be prepared according to their talents for their probable destinies; education for artisans and workers should properly differ from that designed for the intellectually elite. Others (e.g., Mortimer Adler) have argued that all children should have exactly the same curriculum, one rich in the traditional disciplines. Still others (e.g., John Dewey) have argued that, within a common framework, actual learning objectives should be established cooperatively with each child. Differentiation should follow talents and interests.

Today, in reaction to the discriminatory practices that have arisen with tracking, many philosophers and policy makers demand an end to tracking, but only a few have examined carefully what this entails. Should all students study academic algebra and science? Why? Suppose many students fail these courses and quit school in discouragement and disgust? Should preparation for work and for college be exactly the same? What logic supports this recommendation?

There is an interesting new trend in educational thought exploring what might be meant by universal education. One meaning, of course, is simply to be sure that all children are enrolled in school. But in addition to this, in addition to basic literacy and numeracy, a defensible universal education would prepare students to work cooperatively in teams, communicate effectively, analyze and think critically, care for the natural world, establish healthy relationships and home life, continue learning, and remain flexible in the face of continuous change. What is interesting and promising about such goals is that they can be pursued within academic, vocational, or commercial courses. We can provide different courses of study, it is argued, and still work toward common goals. People in think tanks and global institutes are discussing the possibilities for this sort of universal education but, so far, only a few philosophers of education are studying it seriously.

The need for such an approach was recognized years ago by the prominent philosopher Alfred North Whitehead in his *Aims of Education* (1967). He criticized the traditional curriculum—one surprisingly like

ours today—for its almost complete lack of connection to actual life, and he insisted that connections be made in both general and specialized courses. He also heaped scorn on the practice of depending heavily on external examinations to evaluate student learning.

Decades earlier (in 1918), the U.S. Department of Education's *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* was published. It too recommended that school work be more closely aligned with real life. It listed as educational goals health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. In breadth and tone, these aims are similar to those suggested by the new view of universal education.

Periodically, philosophers and educators have attempted to broaden the aims of education, but their efforts have met strong resistance. Why the resistance? This is in itself an important philosophical question. And will the current attempt to connect humanistic goals with economic goals overcome the resistance? Or is something deeply conservative operating here? There have always been, and still are, strong proponents of the traditional disciplinary curriculum. This academic curriculum was once thought to be appropriate only for the intellectually able students, those headed for college. Today, many argue—in the name of equality—that all students should have this curriculum. All should be prepared for college.

But in what sense do we achieve equality through sameness? Some philosophers argue that forcing all children to study the same curriculum ensures *inequality*. Children whose talents do not lie in the academic arena are doubly cheated: They do poorly in the required courses and are deprived of courses in which they might excel. For obvious reasons, *equality* is a concept getting much attention from philosophers.

One angle of attack on issues of equality concentrates on equality of opportunity. It is argued that equality of opportunity should be provided for all students. But this declaration raises crucial questions: Opportunity for what? What constitutes equal opportunity? Can the schools compensate for great inequalities that children bring with them from their homes? There are those who insist that equal opportunity can be defined in terms of a standard curriculum, high standards for all, and competent teaching. But,

critics respond, children who come to school with toothaches and uncontrolled asthma, who have no one at home to help with homework, who live in dangerous neighborhoods—these children do not have an opportunity equal to that of wealthier children, and the school, by itself, cannot make the opportunities equal.

At bottom, we must ask the question: Equal opportunity for what? The answer today seems to be, for college. But, some philosophers argue, a better answer would be “to live a full, happy life.” If we respond this way, we are likely to suggest universal goals that are not tied to specific disciplines, nor to specific futures. Then we must ask how existing subject matter courses can contribute to these broader goals. We must find a way to accommodate the culturally specific, local, and personal within the overarching goals of universal education.

Preparation for democratic citizenship is another topic of central interest to philosophers. Those who follow John Dewey recommend that students be offered age-appropriate opportunities to make choices while they are in school—preparation to exercise a fundamental right in liberal societies. Opponents of Dewey’s recommendations insist that schooling should provide academic knowledge and skills which, in adulthood, will prove useful in democratic life. It is hard to imagine an intellectual disagreement that has resulted in more heated debate than this one. Deweyans claim that the traditionalists offer a tightly prescribed curriculum that is coercive and often meaningless. Traditionalists condemn progressive education for lack of rigor, disrespect for national icons and religion and, in general, for corruption of both the young and our system of education.

Even on the topic of choice—a bedrock concept in liberal democracies—philosophers in the United States often disagree. Some are sympathetic to forms of school choice that allow parents to send their children to private or parochial schools at public expense. Others, adamantly opposed to the use of public funds for religious schools of any sort, recommend more choice within the public system—especially the sort of student choice discussed above. Arguing that the public schools provide the very foundation of our democracy, these philosophers want to strengthen the schools by giving all children opportunities to pursue

the universal goals mentioned earlier. Those in favor of school choice respond that it is more likely that children will attain these goals if they are allowed to escape the atmosphere of failure in many of our public schools.

The question of what constitutes failure or success also interests philosophers. No one doubts that many poor and minority children have been ill served by our public schools. Jonathan Kozol has described our neglect in poignant detail over the past forty years, but he has pointed to injustices in resources and attitudes. He has not concentrated directly on outcomes, as present critics do. Ideally, it seems right to insist that there should be no substantial differences among racial/ethnic/gender groups in achievement. But what produces these differences? If it is just a matter of conscientious teaching, then present critics are right to insist on high standards for all and “no excuses.” But the schools are not the only culpable institutions. Some philosophers suggest that the current school reform movement is, in part, an attempt to distract citizens from the massive social problems that must be solved if there is to be any real meaning to “equal opportunity.”

Then, too, there is a question about how achievement should be defined and measured. Should achievement be defined and evaluated entirely by scores on standardized tests? Are there no other criteria for achievement and satisfaction in schooling? Close on the heels of these questions come questions on how the achievement gap can be closed. On the assumption that achievement will be measured by test scores, are we justified in spending most of the school day on exercises designed to improve those scores? Is it acceptable to deprive poor children of art, music, social studies, and recess in order to maintain a focus on reading and mathematics? Is it morally acceptable to retain children in Grade 4 until they can pass the standardized tests on material designated for that grade? Should we worry about the emotional and intellectual effects of retention? Or is such treatment justified by the commitment to close the gap and give all children an equal opportunity?

These are among the important questions addressed today by philosophers of education. Readers should note, however, that current questions are closely related to perennial questions, among

which are questions of aims: Why do we educate? How much of the curriculum should be common and how much differentiated by talent and interests? Can we create curricula that will provide for both universal and personal education? These are questions that must be considered anew by every generation.

Nel Noddings

See also Citizenship Education; Paideia; Progressive Education

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assumptions and cultural values. In the 1980s and 1990s, a “reading war” raged between advocates of each approach. Although policy makers currently favor phonics, whole language advocates have not conceded defeat.

The whole language movement began in the United States in the early 1970s, championed by Kenneth Goodman and Frank Smith. Based on the assumption that learning to read is a natural process, like learning to talk, whole language advocates argue that children immersed in personally meaningful literacy activities will figure out for themselves how to read and spell. They encourage children to use context clues to guess at unknown words and to invent the spellings of words they can't spell. Skills are taught in context when needed. The emphasis is on comprehension and the development of a positive attitude toward reading and writing.

Phonics approaches emphasize early systematic instruction on the spellings of various sounds, enabling children to sound out unfamiliar words. Advocates assume that once children can read words fluently, comprehension will follow. Phonics programs typically rely on teachers delivering preplanned sequential lessons. Over time, such lessons cover most of the spelling patterns that children are likely to encounter. The majority of words in assigned reading materials are ones that children can recognize or sound out based on the spelling patterns they have already learned. Phonics advocates criticize whole language approaches as being too haphazard.

Since the 1950s, authors such as Rudolph Flesch, Jeanne Chall, and Marilyn Adam have promoted phonics. By the mid-1990s, whole language was blamed for low reading scores in California, and phonics was beginning to defeat whole language in the reading war, at least among policy makers. Then, in 2000, the Congressionally appointed National Reading Panel published a review of research on reading instruction that supported intensive, systematic phonics instruction. With federal funding tied to the use of research-based pedagogy, states and schools began to adopt intensive phonics programs.

Whole language advocates have several objections to mandated, intensive phonics instruction. They believe that children in phonics programs spend too

PHONICS AND WHOLE LANGUAGE

Phonics and whole language are two approaches to early reading instruction stemming from different

much time on phonics drills and not enough time actually reading. Although whole language teachers are willing to teach phonics, they object to phonics programs that require teachers to follow scripts, thus eliminating professional decision making and adaptation to individual learners' needs. Most importantly, they believe that the research base supporting intensive phonics is inadequate and ideologically biased.

Whole language instruction is consistent with the constructivist notions that people build understandings through experience and that meaning cannot be imposed by others. Many political and religious conservatives object to constructivism and favor pedagogical approaches that transmit traditional culture and values. Therefore, many conservatives favor phonics programs because they teach children standard spelling and interpretations of texts.

Evidence shows that academic achievement depends more on having a skilled, thoughtful teacher than on having any particular instructional method. An outcome of the reading war is that decisions about reading instruction have been shifting from classroom teachers to policy makers. It may be that neither phonics nor whole language, when imposed on all teachers and students, will lead to optimal achievement.

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See also Constructivism; Deskillling; Reading, History of

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century, phrenology exercised a wide and important influence as a physiological theory of the mind with profound implications for the regulation of behavior. Aligned with liberal Christian values and Whig political ideals, it drew upon knowledge of the innate structure and development of the brain to justify social reforms that would perfect individuals and help engineer a rationally ordered state.

Every atom of modern life came under the phrenologist's moral gaze: diet, the choice of a spouse, the organization of industrial labor, the reformation of the criminal, and the treatment of the insane had to be guided by the principles God purportedly used to fashion human nature. Most importantly, phrenologists sought to advance society through education. Champions of public schooling, they argued for developmentally appropriate training to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the population and a scientific curriculum to teach the working poor the basic principles of the middle-class worldview.

The fundamental doctrines of phrenology were developed in the 1790s by the German physician Franz-Joseph Gall. Based upon a comparative analysis of animal behavior and neural anatomy, Gall claimed that mental functions were the product of some twenty-seven discrete organs (later phrenologists added more) housed in various regions of the brain; the larger the cerebral mass, the more powerful its operation. Because the skull—thin and plastic, especially in childhood—adapted to the contours of the brain, Gall also maintained that the shape of the cranium served as a map of the mental landscape below. Accepting that each organ could be strengthened by exercise, Gall nonetheless retained a conservative view of human nature that pictured the majority of men and women driven to vice by their inner desires.

In contrast, his one-time assistant, Johan Gasper Spurzheim, developed a more liberal reading of God's handiwork. Systemizing the brain around bourgeois values, Spurzheim described the ideal mind as a harmonious order of positive intellectual, moral, and passionate traits. Wickedness and other moral ills resulted from an imbalance caused by over- or underdeveloped faculties, he thought, and the key to individual and social progress thus lay with the proper government of the faculties through scientifically grounded pedagogic

PHRENOLOGY

Frequently characterized as a pseudoscientific fad in which a person's character was read from the shape of the head, during the second quarter of the nineteenth

practices. Utilizing the technique of moral treatment pioneered by Philip Pinel for the care of the insane, Spurzheim explained how appropriate behavioral therapy could temper excited organs and bring aberrant drives under control. This linking of the moral and the physical helped justify medical authority over the mad and had important implications for penal reform. Applied to schooling and other social practices, it suggested a host of practical methods—through the management of base propensities, moral sentiments, and rational powers—that would normalize the mind in accord with middle-class expectations.

While Spurzheim was cautious about the limits of improvement—retaining a strong belief in the hereditary basis of criminality, degeneracy, and intelligence—his Scottish follower, George Combe, believed that learned inherited traits could gradually advance the physiological condition of the masses. Promoting infant and elementary schooling, he joined with James Simpson in the 1830s movement for a national system of public education. They described the playground as a moral theater for regulating desires, presented the object lesson as an instrument for training the knowing faculties, constructed a scientific curriculum to teach children about the world, and, opposing classical learning and religious indoctrination, offered natural theology as the best evidence for God and the duties of Christian life. Sectarian dogma and the Bible, they insisted, had to be restricted to the home and the church. Although this crusade was frustrated by the Anglican establishment, Combe's ideas did have a powerful impact the United States thanks to the efforts of his American disciples, Horace Mann and Samuel Gridley Howe.

Mann was introduced to phrenology in the early 1830s when, as a member of the Massachusetts General Court, he oversaw the establishment of Worcester Asylum, America's first public hospital for the insane. Reading Combe's *Constitution of Man* in 1837 persuaded him to accept the position of secretary to the newly appointed Board of Education and apply the same principles of moral management to improvement of society. When Combe visited the United States the following year, he discovered Mann justifying sweeping changes in public schooling in accord with the basic principles of phrenology. Mann's rejection of

corporal punishment for moral suasion; his advocacy of the object lesson and scientific studies; his campaign to establish normal schools, school libraries, and nonsectarian textbooks; and his vision of a centralized body to oversee educational reform all flowed from Combe's and Simpson's teachings.

Howe pushed an equally ambitious program in the field of special education. Director of the Perkins School for the Blind, he gained international fame as the teacher of the deaf-blind pupil Laura Bridgman. Laura's remarkable education, designed to prove the truth of phrenology and the power of the new pedagogy, did much to recommend Mann's common school initiatives. Equally competing was Howe's work with the severely learning disabled at the New England School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth. Not simply an exercise in humanitarianism, Howe investigated the causes of idiocy (as it was then known) in order to justify physiologically grounded welfare policies. Insisting that all diseases resulted from breaking God's moral laws (such as early or inappropriate marriages), he advocated protoeugenic policies to control social dependents and degenerates. Fearful of propagating negative traits, he called for the deinstitutionalization of the disabled; and, convinced that only oral and written communication could train the higher powers of the mind, notoriously opposed the sign language of the deaf.

Stephen Tomlinson

See also Ideology and Schooling; Special Education, History of

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PHYSICAL EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

Evidence of physical education as a discipline can be traced to the early Greeks. The great philosophers of the Greek world posited that the human is composed of body and mind (soul) and that training is required of both. The writings of these philosophers reveal that they believed in the need for organized physical activities for all citizens. Plato claimed that swimming and gymnastics were of great value and that participation in them should be obligatory for all youth, girls as well as boys.

However, the notion that physical activities should be provided for all citizens would be lost in subsequent civilizations as the demand for physical fitness would be reserved for the privileged class in preparation for the elite games they played. A revival in the need for physical education would not occur until after the Reformation. The Reformation marked the beginnings of the desire to provide a common education for all children. It would be within this movement to provide universal education that the discipline of physical education would emerge. This entry looks at these foundations.

Early America

The colonists brought to America this desire to provide a common education for all children. The earliest undertaking for these settlers was often the establishment of schools of some sort. As early as 1647, the Puritans of New England had passed a decree mandating that schools be established for all children. However, not only did physical education have no acknowledged place in education, but the educational spirit influenced by the prevailing Puritan attitudes was hostile not only to play, believing it to be a sin, but to all activities related to play, including sport and even physical exercise.

Yet, a few educational leaders in colonial America, influenced by the Enlightenment writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke, urged that schools provide for the physical activity needs of children. Locke had expressed the idea that vigor and discipline

of the body were the chief aims of education, while Rousseau proclaimed that physical and intellectual education were intimately bound together. Chief among these early proponents of physical education in America, Benjamin Franklin recommended schools provide activities to engage pupils in games, running, wrestling, and swimming, and he did so as early as 1743 in his *Proposal Relating to the Education of Youth*.

In his writings on education, Thomas Jefferson also expressed his belief in the necessity of physical exercise as a part of general education, while fellow patriot, Dr. Benjamin Rush articulated a need for physical education in his 1772 sermon, *Sermons to Gentlemen Upon Temperance and Exercise*. Although the theories regarding the need for physical education inspired many of America's educational leaders, it would not be until after the War for Independence that exercise and games would come to be seen as necessary for the proper growth of children and that schools should be responsible for the physical as well as the intellectual education of youth.

European Roots

On the eve of the American Revolution, Johann Basedow, an ardent follower of Rousseau, opened a school in Dessau, Germany, in which gymnastics were given a definite place in the school curriculum. This was the first time physical education was included as a part of a school program. Basedow and other European educators would come to have a significant influence on the development of education in the new republic. Molding much of the early thinking on physical education in American educational circles were the works of Johann Friedrich GutsMuth, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (of Germany), Per Henrik Ling (of Sweden), and Franz Nachetegal (of Denmark).

During the 1820s, Charles Follen, Charles Beck, and Francis Lieber, teachers and devoted followers of renowned German physical educator Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, made their way to America. The arrival of these men marked the beginning of physical education programs in American schools. Under the leadership of these recently arrived German immigrants, Yale,

Amherst, and Dartmouth began to offer instruction in gymnastics. In addition, Joseph Cogswell, George Bancroft, Catharine Beecher, and Mary Lyon would establish schools with carefully planned exercise programs patterned after the philosophy of these European educators. Cogswell and Bancroft founded the Round Hill School in 1823, with physical education a regular part of the course of instruction for the first time in America.

Charles Beck was hired to teach physical education at Round Hill in 1827 becoming the first instructor of physical education employed in an American school. At her Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, Miss Mary Lyon developed a system of calisthenics for girls, while Catherine Beecher, the founder of the Hartford Female Seminary and later the Western Female Institute, also developed a program of exercise specifically designed for women.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Horace Mann's belief that common schools were to be common to all was generally accepted. During this same period, many educational leaders began to advocate that education for health, by means of regular exercise and instruction in hygiene, be a part of the standard curriculum. Concerned about the physical and moral health of newly arriving immigrants and the growing population of those living in towns and cities who lacked physical activity, the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the country began to recommend the beneficial effects of systematic exercise, referred to as gymnastics, for the maintenance of physical as well as spiritual well-being. German gymnastic societies, public gymnasiums, the formation of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) in 1844, and the growing participation in sporting activities also influenced the growing interest in physical education. Young men were exhorted by such evangelists as the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher to follow the precepts of "muscular Christianity," and to participate in wholesome exercise. Dr. Dioclesian Lewis, perhaps the most effective of the fitness proponents of this period, sought to call attention to the declining health of many Americans, including women, and arouse an interest in physical culture and the necessity of making it a part of school training.

The Late Nineteenth Century

The poor condition of the soldiers drafted for the Civil War, along with the growing tide of immigration and industrial expansion, gave further impetus to a call for the adoption of physical education in the schools and colleges. The period following the War Between the States brought about a time of great expansion for physical education. While in the first half of the century educational programs were influenced by the gymnastic philosophies of European educationalists, following the war, a new attitude toward physical education began to gain momentum.

The popularity of organized sports, college athletics, the public's desire for recreational activities, and a changing educational philosophy contributed to a wave of enthusiasm for the expansion of physical education. Physical education programs were being accepted and introduced into the public schools throughout America. In 1866, California, under the leadership of Superintendent John Swett, passed the nation's first regulation requiring physical education be taught in elementary and secondary schools. Half a dozen states would join California in enacting similar legislation by the early twentieth century.

In 1885, the American Association for Physical Education was formed. Later in 1894, the National Education Association set up a Department of Physical Education within its own organization. Many local and state teachers' associations also began to organize physical education sections within their organizations. Although it would be well into the early twentieth century before all states would pass such regulations, the social reform movements combined with the growing interest in sports and games created a climate conducive for the expansion of physical education that would follow in the new century.

The Progressive Influence

Yet, it would be birth of the progressive education movement at the turn of the century and the events of World War I that would cement physical education's place in the public school curriculum. Rather than expecting the child to adjust to school, this new philosophy suggested that education and schooling should adjust to the needs of children. Dr. Thomas

D. Wood, a physical educator from Columbia University and ardent supporter of John Dewey, published *Health and Education* in 1910, in which he argued physical education be organized around sports and activities related to real life.

However, it would be the shocking revelation of the rejection of over 30 percent of the men drafted for the U.S. armed services during World War I that would awaken a national outcry. President Woodrow Wilson, along with general educators and physical educators throughout America, spoke out for the establishment of a real program of physical education in the schools. The Committee for the Promotion of Physical Education in the Public Schools, headed by John Dewey, was organized to push for a model bill for physical education. While there would continue to be debate (which continues today) over the role and aims of physical education in the school curriculum, by the 1930s schools across America were providing comprehensive physical education programs.

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See also Physical Education in American Schools; Progressive Education

See Visual History Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Like sport and education in general, physical education responds to and reproduces broader social values.

As such, it is an important topic for those interested in the history of schooling, as well as policy issues in education. This entry looks at the history of physical education in schools from the colonial era to the twenty-first century.

Early Practice

Before and after European settlement, Native Americans played lacrosse and many other games. European colonists' early schooling slighted physical development, despite the exercise recommendations in John Locke's important *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). Scattered beginnings of the inclusion of physical education, for example, Benjamin Franklin's 1751 Philadelphia Academy, preceded independence.

Schools in the new nation gradually included exercise. Some boys' teachers instituted military drill, although Congress declined to require it after the War of 1812. German-style gymnastics won brief fame in schools during the 1820s. Round Hill School (1823–1834), an elite boys' academy in Northampton, Massachusetts, secured a German teacher and apparatus and added swimming, running, archery, and vigorous outdoor play to its curriculum. Other boys' schools in the 1820s to 1840s tried gymnastics, agricultural labor, and fencing.

Girls' educators, led by Catharine Beecher at the Hartford Female Seminary, developed "calisthenics" (from Greek words for "beauty" and "strength"), which incorporated slow ballet movements and wand exercises rather than masculine gymnastics. Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837) and others embraced calisthenics; more simply required girls to walk, weather permitting.

European Influences

Further innovations came from overseas. Among German immigrants after 1848 were thousands of gymnastics' enthusiasts or "turners." Their athletic clubs (*turnverein*) at first appealed mostly to Germans—by 1860, the national Turnerbund had 10,000 members—but a turner normal school, founded in 1861, helped broaden the sport. Boarding schools

rediscovered the athletically rich Round Hill model, starting with St. Paul's School in New Hampshire in 1856. Around then, Boston, Cincinnati, Hartford, and San Francisco required exercise in public schools.

The English games tradition gained institutional footing when the Young Men's Christian Association, founded in England in 1844, migrated to Boston and New York in 1851 and 1852, linking young men's physical and spiritual development. The Young Women's Christian Association started in Boston in 1866 with similar goals. Swedish gymnastics, a drill-based program using light apparatus like wands and climbing ropes, also arrived in the 1850s, winning Beecher's recommendation in an 1856 calisthenics schoolbook. Meanwhile, Dioclesian Lewis developed his "American System" or "New Gymnastics." He founded the Boston Normal Institute for Physical Training in 1861 and wrote several books; Boston schools soon adopted his program.

Now the "Battle of the Systems" was on, as school districts, cities, and states—California in 1866, and five others from 1892 to 1901—began mandating physical education in public schools. German gymnastics predominated for a time, using turner-trained teachers and heavy apparatus in high schools, colleges, and YMCAs (Young Men's Christian Associations). Swedish immigrant Baron Nils Posse founded the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics in 1889, which spread Swedish gymnastics to Boston's schools and beyond. Deweyan education, however, favored recreational, informal, individualized programs.

The Swedish and American systems fell out of esteem; German gymnastics survived as an individual sport. School-based programs, such as those developed from 1885 to 1902 by Luther Halsey Gulick, emphasized pleasant games and exercises, and his student, James Naismith, developed basketball toward this end. Gulick's influence helped plant school gymnasiums, playgrounds, and nonschool athletic leagues throughout the nation. Military drill briefly reappeared in curricula during World War I.

University Athletics

Intercollegiate athletics debuted with Harvard and Yale's 1852 rowing showdown. Amherst College

founded the first collegiate physical education department, hiring Edward Hitchcock and building a gymnasium in 1861. Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium came second, headed by Dudley Allen Sargent from 1879 until 1919. Harvard granted the first college physical education degree in 1893 and offered summer training for physical education teachers from 1887 to 1932.

Wellesley College hired the first full-time collegiate women's physical educator in 1881. Gilded Age women's colleges defensively instituted physical education, intercollegiate teams, and anthropometric testing to rebut medical claims that higher education damaged women's health. Normal school, college, and graduate degree programs multiplied from the 1890s to 1910s, producing trained physical educators, as did physical education and swimming requirements for college graduation. Public land-grant colleges established following the 1862 Morrill Act required agricultural labor.

Modern Times

Despite the booming popularity of sport and "physical culture" after 1890, one third of American World War I recruits flunked their physical exams. In response, more states mandated school-based physical education: twenty by 1921, nearly forty by 1930. New schools included large gyms and athletic fields for expanded physical education and competition. Yet a backlash marked the late 1920s.

Women had won the vote, shortened their skirts, abandoned their corsets, and discovered myriad sporting interests since 1890; competitive sports for girls and women, especially basketball, attracted large crowds. But, alleging medical, reproductive, and emotional threats from intense competition, women physical educators now opposed competitive sport for girls. Instead these educators promoted noncompetitive "sport for all" that stymied girls seeking advanced competition and skill development. "Girls' rules" for basketball, developed in 1901 to exalt "femininity" over aggressiveness, came to dominate the game. This philosophy hobbled girls' physical education and sport for forty years.

World War II again revealed American physical shortcomings and prompted campaigns for physical

fitness. By 1950, about 90 percent of precollegiate students received physical education. The 1953 Kraus-Weber fitness test showed American children trailing European peers, inspiring the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports in 1956.

In the late 1960s, as women renewed their fight for rights, female physical educators reconsidered limitations on girls' sport and physical education. But institutional and attitudinal barriers channeled girls and women into inferior facilities, narrower opportunities, and watered-down expectations. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 addressed those and other problems; over time, the law has vastly improved women's athletic participation. "Lifetime sports" emerged in secondary-level physical education during the 1970s.

Since 1990, funding shortfalls and competing time demands, including high-stakes testing, have crowded physical education out of many school curricula, contributing to epidemic obesity. Although most elementary students still take some physical education, a 2001 Centers for Disease Control report found only 5 percent of schools requiring physical education for twelfth graders. Since 2004, many states have moved to restore physical education. Likewise, collegiate physical education requirements declined in the late twentieth century; by 2003, barely ten colleges retained swimming tests. To address colleges' concerns about obesity, mental health, and other issues, physical education requirements may return as "wellness education" at the college level.

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See also Athletics, Policy Issues; No Child Left Behind Act; Physical Education, History of; Playgrounds; Title IX; Women's Colleges, Historic

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PLACE-BASED EDUCATION

Place-based education is a philosophical orientation to teaching and learning that emphasizes the study of geographic context, particularly the local community, as a focus of elementary, secondary, and higher education. Its lasting contribution to contemporary Western education is the requisite community study unit in elementary school, which only hints at the potential for place-based education in schools. This entry looks at the idea's development and current status.

Background

The study of place can trace its philosophical roots back to Aristotle's notion of *topos*, which refers to feelings of belongingness that are evoked by the "where" dimension of a person's relationship to the spaces he or she inhabits. This ancient Greek concept points to place-based education's disciplinary lineage—psychology and geography—which together frame its perceptual and spatial roots.

Place-based educators are interested in spaces, not solely in and of themselves, but also as natural and cultural spheres to which humans assign meaning and from which they derive meaning and purpose and locate their individual and collective identities. Hence, the sense of place, the quality of place, the utilitarian use of space, and the study of urban and rural communities are all reoccurring themes within the academic study of place.

In higher education, place-based education also draws from a number of interdisciplinary traditions that define both its conceptual foundations and research priorities. Working from a phenomenological perspective, some place-based educators are interested in the deeply personal experience of place that is rooted in feelings of attachment and belongingness to particular environments. Home and childhood environments are prominent themes in this regard. Closely related to this research is the study of spatial perception

in childhood, including nearby and far away places. Place-based research also incorporates elements of critical sociology. By deconstructing the physical environment as a visual text, some critical pedagogists aim to expose schools and other places as contested spaces of power rooted in imbalances of environmental quality and equity of access.

From a historical perspective, place-based K–12 education is rooted in the progressive tradition of educational practice and reform. In recent centuries, some of the most prominent progressive educators in Europe incorporated place-based education as a key component of their instructional practice. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), for example, would routinely take his students on regular excursions outside of the school into the local villages and countryside for the purpose of studying the local flora and landforms. Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) called on educators to incorporate the local community context, including local farming practices and cultural traditions, into the school's curricula.

Contemporary Role

As noted above, place-based education's most notable contribution to contemporary education is the requisite community study unit in elementary school in which children learn about the basic functioning and infrastructure of their local community (e.g., community helpers and their tools). In addition to in-class work, such a unit may also comprise walking tours, the sketching of local buildings, the analysis of local artifacts and monuments, the study of maps and city plans, interviews with local residents, and other forms of community data gathering.

Most place study proponents see the traditional community study unit only as a starting point for place study in school. They also advocate for the more advanced study of place in the secondary grades and higher education. So, too, place-based educators link the study of place to environmental advocacy, child psychology, social psychology, human geography, and rural schooling, among other topics.

Architecture is an often neglected subject in elementary and secondary education that is also promoted in schools by some place-based educators.

Other place-based educators are especially concerned with promoting a developmental congruence between how geography is taught to students in elementary and secondary school and the unique ways in which children and youth make sense of the world. Aligning a place-based curriculum with what researchers know about the development of children's spatial perception is judged to be critically important in this regard.

There is a clear biocentric line of thought running through many place-based advocacy arguments. Most place-based educators lament the loss of natural spaces in cities. Responding to this concern, environmental educators have argued that place-based education should take into full account the natural as well as cultural environments of local communities in the design of place-based curriculum. Working within an environmental education context, many place-based educators have sought to align their teaching with other holistic traditions in education, such as gardening and the ecological restoration movement.

Place-based education also honors the "think global, act local" axiom of the more progressive forms of global education. For example, students may study the local implications of global environmental change and resource scarcities. They may also learn social action skills which they then put into practice in improving their local community. Cyber places as virtual settings for online and distance learning via the Internet are relatively new contexts for place-based educational research. Studies exploring the similarities and differences between face-to-face teaching in traditional classrooms and online learning in Web-based classrooms explore, in part, the transformations to the experience of place that Internet-based education entails.

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See also Globalization and Education; Holistic Education; Rural Education; School Architecture; Social Studies Education

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PLAGIARISM

In widely accepted terms, plagiarism is the intentional use of other people's words or ideas without due acknowledgment. The U.S. Office of Research Integrity defines plagiarism as the "appropriation of another person's ideas, processes, results, or words without giving appropriate credit" (§ 93.103), and it is a rapidly increasing problem facing today's educators. This entry explores the types of plagiarism, the impact of the Internet on the plagiarism, and recommendations for ameliorating the problem.

Plagiarism applies to both the intentional and unintentional use of intellectual property, an issue that many find confounding. Plagiarism comes in many forms, from replicating a few words, to copying entire texts, to buying "custom" papers. Examples of what needs to be credited or documented include words or ideas presented in a book, journal, Web page, or magazine, and diagrams or other visual materials. Examples of what does not need to be credited or documented are an individual's own thoughts or ideas; common knowledge, such as myths or folklore; and results of the individual's own research.

There are three general forms of plagiarism, *criminal plagiarism*, *careless scholarship*, and *ignorance of the rules*, and each is aligned with an increasing degree of intent. The criminal plagiarist knowingly steals or buys the intellectual property of another, while the sloppy scholar engages in an unintentional

act of omission. The third category, ignorance of the rules, is linked to students (or professionals) who are not acquainted with the conventions of scholarly writing. Often students often cannot tell the difference between correctly paraphrased versus plagiarized text, and the plagiarism is unintentional. Studies have shown that students often lack the knowledge to cite sources properly.

The first use of the word *plagiarism* dates back to the seventeenth century. While plagiarism is certainly not a new problem, many cite the Internet as the reason behind the explosion of incidents of plagiarism in recent years. According to many, Internet plagiarism is a serious and growing problem, and offenses range from "cutting and pasting" passages to purchasing entire custom-created papers. Internet plagiarism offenses are becoming so widespread that new words are evolving to adequately describe the offenses. For example, the term *cyber-plagiarism* is used to refer to the practice of cutting and pasting information from the Internet into a writing assignment without a citation. *Cyber-pseudepigraphy*, on the other hand, refers specifically to the practice of buying papers online, which constitutes fraud.

Indeed, the advent of the Internet has been a double-edged sword for educators. While it has allowed students free and easy access to a wide variety of resources from which to plagiarize, it has also facilitated the invention of tools to detect such improprieties. A variety of commercially marketed software programs and Internet sites make it possible to check for incidences of plagiarism. The most commonly recognized fee-based software programs are Turnitin, Essay Verification Engine (EVE), and Copycatch. It is often suggested that faculty discuss plagiarism concerns with students and request that students submit all written work to one of the programs.

No specific data are available that provide a complete picture of the scope of plagiarism. Individual studies have cited the incidence of plagiarism to be anywhere from 26 percent to 80 percent. However, it is difficult to accurately grasp the full extent of plagiarism, as many statistical references rely on student self-report. In addition, faculty often are reluctant to report plagiarism because they are fearful of ruining a student's career or becoming embroiled in litigation,

or because they are concerned that the incident may reflect poorly on their teaching practices. In addition, faculty may not be confident in their own ability to detect plagiarized material.

Many schools and universities do little more than provide an academic honesty statement that includes a reference to plagiarism in student handbooks. However, it is highly recommended that faculty take a more proactive approach, spending time educating students as to what plagiarism is, what constitutes plagiarism, and the consequences if one is caught engaging in plagiarism. Studies have shown that detailed descriptions in each of these areas are imperative, as subtleties do little to change behavior. One strategy for amelioration is instruction providing students with examples of plagiarized work and asking them to determine what offense has been committed. Another strategy is breaking major assignments into smaller interim assignments and monitoring student progress by requiring that they submit each component for review. This not only allows faculty to detect irregularities but also forces students to manage their time more effectively, perhaps eliminating the need to plagiarize a hastily prepared assignment.

While no one knows for certain why students plagiarize, studies have linked plagiarism to the following reasons: lack of time, especially for nontraditional students; ignorance and/or lack of understanding of the rules; access and opportunity; fear of failure; personal values/attitudes; and lack of academic integration, which in essence is an issue of student engagement. Numerous studies have pointed to the value of student engagement and have tied student engagement to student success, retention, and persistence; however, few, if any, studies to date have examined the link between student engagement and plagiarism.

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See also Computing, Ethical Issues; Distance Learning; Ethics and Education

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PLAYGROUNDS

Although children have always played in open spaces in city settings and around schools, the early history of playgrounds is obscure. Formal playgrounds, however, seem to be an invention of the first half of the nineteenth century. The American educational reformer Henry Barnard (1811–1900) described a “Play ground” for a primary school in his 1848 treatise “School Architecture.” It was fenced in and included a play area for block construction, and a set of rotary swings and ropes for jumping games. Barnard emphasized that the play area was under the supervision of a teacher—representing one of the earlier notions of play being regulated by adults.

Following the Civil War, playgrounds began to appear in urban areas on the East Coast of the United States. A playground was built in a schoolyard in Boston near Copley Square in 1868. By 1887, city officials had approved the construction of ten “sand gardens” in the poorer areas of the city. In 1887, New York passed a law calling for the establishment of parks and playgrounds throughout the city. Construction of these playgrounds, however,

did not really begin in earnest until almost a decade later.

During the 1890s, playground development became associated with issues of urban and educational reform. The social reformer Jacob Riis (1849–1914), in works such as *The Children of the Poor*, argued that playgrounds would keep the poorer children in New York out of trouble and provide the foundation for a better society. Riis called for a renewed effort to establish playgrounds and parks around schools that would not only serve student populations, but provide a place where mothers could leave their apartments and take their children out to play in the fresh air. He felt that this was particularly important in the poorer neighborhoods where the possibilities for wholesome play were so severely limited by crowded tenement conditions.

Riis's efforts eventually led to the creation of a large network of playgrounds throughout New York City, most of which are still in existence today. Other urban reformers were also concerned with the development of playgrounds. In 1894 in Chicago, the settlement house leader Jane Addams (1860–1935) developed a sand garden for the children in the Hull House neighborhood. A playground was opened in 1896 as part of the Northwestern University Settlement House and a third playground was started at the University of Chicago in 1898.

In 1906, the American Playground Association was begun. Under the leadership of figures such as Joseph Lee, Jane Addams, and J. G. Phelps Stokes, a national movement began for the development of playgrounds in urban areas. These efforts represented an attempt to shape the experience of urban youth, providing them with a positive environment in which to grow and mature.

Modern playgrounds, consisting of standard apparatus such as swing sets, merry-go' rounds, teeter-totters, and slides, became widespread during the period around World War I. By World War II, playgrounds had become an accepted part of the urban landscape.

During the 1940s, European playground designers began to argue for less-regimented and controlled playground environments for children. In 1943 the Danish landscape architect and educator C. Theodore Sorenson in collaboration with the Worker's Co-operative

Association, opened the first Adventure Playground in Emdrup, a small town near Copenhagen.

Adventure Playgrounds emphasized the link between the physical environment and the psychological development of the child. In the case of the Emdrup playground, its construction was largely undertaken by the children who were intended as its principle users. Thus, the idea of children having control over their own play space was emphasized. This represented a significant movement away from the models established by the American Playground Association at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the United States, playgrounds changed very little in the period immediately following World War II. By the mid-1960s designers such as M. Paul Freidberg began to develop innovative playgrounds that emphasized the use of natural materials. Richard Dattner, another leading designer, introduced new elements such as water play. These new designs moved significantly beyond previous playgrounds by incorporating both planned and free-form elements.

In an era when children are losing many of their naturally found spaces for play, and as media in electronic forms such as video games, increasingly occupy their play time, the question of how playgrounds will continue to evolve and develop is open to considerable speculation. In fact, planned play spaces have the potential to provide alternate learning spaces and protected environments for children in a post-modern culture. Playgrounds may be even more important for children than they have been in the past.

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See also Urban Education

See Visual History Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Pledge of Allegiance is an important tradition of American education that dates back to the early 1890s when James Upham, the head of circulation at the children's magazine *The Youth's Companion*, developed a campaign that encouraged children across the United States to raise money for the purchase of flags in their classrooms. As a result of his, and the children's, efforts over 30,000 flags were eventually purchased across the country.

With the success of the flag campaign, Upham decided to create a pledge that students would recite each morning as the flag was raised in their classroom or school. Francis J. Bellamy, one of the magazine's editors, actually wrote the pledge. Heavily involved in the promotion of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (where *The Youth's Companion* was based), Bellamy made the pledge an important component of the plans he put together to celebrate Columbus Day (October 12) as a national holiday. As a result, federal education officials sent out copies of Bellamy's pledge to teachers throughout the nation.

The Pledge of Allegiance was consciously created as a means of inspiring patriotism among public school children, an idea that was thought to be particularly important with recently arrived immigrant populations. Often students would mindlessly repeat the pledge, however, without understanding its meaning, sometimes even substituting what they thought were the words, rather than its actual content. Amusing examples of these mistakes include: "I pledge the pigeons to the flag," "and to the republic for witches stands," "one nation under guard," "invisible" "with liberty and jelly for all."

In spite of the inaccuracies of student recitations of the pledge, its daily recitation quickly became part of the culture of American schools. Its official content, however, did not remain fixed. Bellamy's original pledge (1892) was: "I pledge allegiance to my Flag and to the Republic for which it stands—one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." At National Flag Conferences held in 1923 and 1924, the pledge was changed to: "I pledge allegiance to the

Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." In 1954 the pledge was changed once more by resolution of the U.S. Congress to include the words "under God": "I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The pledge has often engendered controversy. In 1940, the Supreme Court decided in the case of *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* that children who refused to salute the flag as a part of regular school exercises could be compelled to do so. That decision was overturned in 1943 in the Supreme Court decision of *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*. In this decision, Justices Hugo Black and William Douglas reasoned that students had the right to remain silent and not take place in the pledge ceremony. According to them: "Words uttered under coercion are proof of loyalty to nothing, but self interest. Love of country must spring from willing hearts and free minds."

The *Barnette* decision was usually interpreted as maintaining the religious rights of the plaintiffs, the Jehovah's Witnesses, whose religious beliefs precluded them from giving allegiance to the flag, which represented a sovereign political system that they saw as subordinate to God. During the 1960s and the upheaval of the Vietnam War, the *Barnette* decision was extended to protect students who did not want to salute the flag as a matter of moral conscience, since they felt it symbolized the political power that was waging what they believed was an unjust war in Vietnam. In March of 2004, the United States Supreme Court heard Michael Newdow present the case that the Pledge of Allegiance was unconstitutional by suggesting that those who do not believe in God are wrong in their beliefs. Newdow argued that this represented a violation of the Establishment clause of the Constitution, which maintains the right of citizens to pursue or not pursue their religious beliefs based on their personal conviction. U.S. Solicitor General Theodore Olsen and Elk Grove School District Attorney Terence J. Cassidy countered Newdow's argument, maintaining that the use of the phrase "under God" was "descriptive" and "ceremonial" and not a "religious invocation" or prayer.

In June of the same year, the Court maintained that Newdow was not qualified to sue the Court and left the Pledge intact. In September of 2005, a federal judge in Sacramento determined that having public school children recite the words “under God” as part of the Pledge was a violation of their First Amendment rights.

Today, the Pledge of Allegiance continues to be an important part of the culture and tradition of American classrooms. While celebrating the United States and its political values and ideologies, the right of students not to participate in its recitation also addresses the country’s important traditions of free speech, religious toleration, and diversity. Despite its acceptance, the Constitutionality of the use of the Pledge in schools continues to be open to debate.

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See also American Education, Themes in the History of ;
Americanization Movement

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undergone by those affected by policy and serve to circumscribe the meanings created by those experiences. When understood as a major impetus for policy authors, these boundaries become part of the larger narrative which defines what is “real” not only regarding policy studies, but regarding larger ontological factors surrounding policy. Because the term “policy” can be replaced with *rules*, *guidelines*, *mandates*, and the like, and still be consistent, for purposes of academic clarity, *policy* is differentiated as the larger umbrella under which the more specific terms fall.

Historically, policy, broadly conceived, has been a focus of debate between those who wish to maintain the traditions that a policy represents and those who wish to enact change in the society a policy affects. The process of negotiation that ensues between these two sides is what ultimately takes shape in the form of policy. There are two main threads of history that serve to highlight the development of policy as a union of debate and meaning: (1) a historical review of events that led, and continue to lead, to the creation of policy; and (2) a retracing of the etymology of the term *policy*. This overview acknowledges the history of policy as a series of events and changes in etymological meanings in an effort to illustrate ways policy is currently conceived. Because this entry must be relatively terse, the history described herein outlines only some of the significant starting points and shifts in meaning that policy as a term has undergone.

Historical Contrast

The role of policy in society can be traced back to the ancient Greek debate between custom or human law (*nomos*) and nature or natural law (*physis*). This discussion was framed by some of the earliest recorded Greek philosophers, such as Thales and Parmenides, and historians, orators, and playwrights also influenced the courts and politics. In search of a guiding principle for life, both public and private, philosophers, politicians, and citizens discussed the roles played by human law in contrast to the influence of natural law. Policy as human law falls on the side of *nomos*, due to its influence of human interactions. The citizens of Ancient Greece are renowned for their

POLICY STUDIES

The term *policy* has many uses and, as a result, is difficult, if not impossible to define in a meaningful way that is free from controversy. Arguably, the disputes over such definitions are largely what create policy in the first place. Said differently, the arguments concerning what should or should not be guaranteed by law are the arguments that give rise to the implementation of policy. In a stronger sense still, policy exists to define (and redefine) what is real. “It is our policy that . . .” and “The policy clearly states . . .” place ontological boundaries on what actions, behaviors, or ideas will be accepted. Such boundaries dictate the experiences

arguments in the public square and the Assembly pertaining to questions of justice and the laws made by society to embody policy definitions.

Likewise, the role of the current democracy in the United States is heavily argued, but, significantly, the locus of such debate has changed. The Senate, House of Representatives, and White House administration serve as the voices for U.S. citizens. Whereas Ancient Greek citizens were speaking directly to the Assembly, which consisted of other Greek citizens, in order to persuade legal change, U.S. citizens are now represented by the governmental district officials they vote into office who, in turn, speak to other elected representatives to enact change. The shift from the ability to have one's voice as a citizen heard physically to having one's voice represented by a ballot, which is cast wholesale for or against an already constructed policy, is a significant change in the way in which policy is written and enacted. The most immediate effect of this change is the removal of any citizen or group of citizens from the space where policy is contested and materially changed. As a result of their removal, important also is the lack of citizens' need to be able to express themselves in an informed and persuasive manner regarding the policy in which they are implicated.

While the Greek Assembly was not without its own set of difficulties, its organization allotted a publicly recognized space for any and all citizens to participate in the writing, amending, and even negation of laws. For better or worse, such direct power is unavailable to U.S. citizens. Instead, U.S. policy makers enact policy that citizens are required to follow but unable to directly dispute at the time of its conception. This shift away from direct to representative participation is further corroborated by the ways in which the word *policy* has historically changed meanings.

Etymology

Etymology sheds light on the current meanings of policy and relates the word to some of its cognates. Knowing *policy*'s etymology allows for a much broader conception of how the word came into use and what other ideas and words contribute and share elements that also belong to policy. The word *policy*

has its origins in the Ancient Greek word *polis*, which means "city" or "state." From *polis* comes both *polites*, meaning citizen, and *politea*, meaning both "government" and "citizenship." The Assembly was both the governing body and the citizenry in Ancient Greece. Indicative of such a union is that citizens and the government were one and the same.

As the Romans developed their society, the Greek *politea* shifted to the Latin *politia*, which means simply "the state." Already, there is a shift away from the inclusion of citizens in the government, though the state is arguably comprised of citizens. Still the change in the word's definition can be understood as meaningful for the ways which people, through a shared language, conceived of their relationship in and to the state. Whereas citizenship and government were said in the same breath with *politea*, the Latin *politia* was exclusive to the state and separate from *civis* or "the citizen."

As the Latin language spread with the Roman Empire through Greater Europe and into Asia, the ideas represented by *politia* came into direct contact with many parts of the world, but the next change in the etymological evolution of *policy* took place only a few hundred miles north of Rome. In fourteenth-century Old French, the ideas expressed by the Latin *politia* shifted even further from citizen involvement in government with the new word *policie*. Interestingly, this word parented not only the English word *policy*, but policy's cognate *police* as well. As this division suggests, the meaning of *policie* takes on a more calculating sense as a way of management, government, or administration. As a way of management, *policie* adds to its former roots an institutional sense of ordering through which actions can be "policed" or controlled. This should not suggest that such ordering did not take place in the name of *politea* or *politia*, but *policie* exhibits the first overt mention of such managing in *policy*'s etymological history. As well, considering that *policie* gave rise to the English words *policy* and *police*, the move toward a clearly more controlling notion of government gives a more contemporary ring to policy as it is presently enacted.

Economistic Versus Humanistic

Today *policy* can be conceived as having bifurcated along the lines the above etymology suggests. *Policy*

understood from the Greek *polis*, *polites*, and *politea* holds the role of citizenship as collectively identical to the state. A contemporary analogy to this meaning is found in social justice advocates' notion of policy, what is designated here as humanistic policy, which seeks laws that promote democratic participation of all citizens with the aim of eradicating poverty, racism, classism, and other social inequities that currently serve and promote the status quo through federal, state, and local laws. Policy from this side seeks critical engagement in the government on the part of diverse citizens and citizen groups in order for the voices that influence policy to reflect their pluralistic roots.

On the other side of this bifurcation, derived from *police*, policy is understood as a means to police or control through positivistic appeals to objective data. Support for this area is drawn from foundations, legislation, and think tanks that are economistic in their motivation. Policy from this side seeks uniformity and assimilation of citizens in order for one, universalized voice to dominate society.

In order to draw the division between economistic and humanistic policy more clearly, educational policy serves as an excellent example. Educational policy gains much of its definition from primary and secondary iterations of meaning. Specifically, *policy* leads to *public policy*, which leads to, among other ideas, *educational policy*. Whereas policy is a principle, plan, or course of action which is typically pursued by an individual, organization, or government, public policy qualifies the primary definition by, theoretically, restricting the domain of the definition to groups (organizational and governmental) rather than highlighting individuals. This should not suggest individuals have no role in policy, but that public policies concentrate on the welfare of the larger public (to such a degree as a "public good" exists and is positively regarded). In linear fashion then, educational policy is borne of public policy and typically denotes attempts to either reinforce or alter prevailing norms in schools.

Public policy and educational policy have similar defining features. While both "look out" for the welfare of their charges, educational policy, specifically, exists in an effort to guide schooling practice where "doing" educational policy studies, as conceived at present, means to appeal to objectivity, politics, and

power. This being said, current educational policy, referred to here as economistic, can be understood as having two, interconnected purposes: (1) appeals to impartial data (objectivity), and (2) economic competition (politics/power).

Underpinning both of these purposes is a free market logic which holds that schools are merely businesses, and if they fail to supply what the market demands then they, by necessity, should "go out of business." A key term used in this ideology is *competition*, or more specifically, competition in a global market. As a free market construct, schools, and the policy that surrounds them, are results based. Emphasis is placed squarely on what the market "gets" as a result of schools. The student becomes the product of schools, rather than a participant in schools, and as a product, the student is expected to function within the market as a worker in a globally competitive economic system.

One of the more influential proponents of education as a free market enterprise is the economist Milton Friedman. In his view, the government's role in public education (as well as the rest of society) should be drastically minimized if not entirely removed through the implementation of a national voucher, or choice, program through which schools compete with each other by providing a globally competitive workforce and the losers of the competition (schools whose students are not trained for jobs) are subsequently closed.

Economistic Education Policy

But understanding social institutions and writing policy in economistic terms is not a phenomenon which appeared *ex nihilo*. The influences which have brought about this change are, like the schools and other institutions they have affected, historically situated. What follows is a brief exposition of some of the important events that helped reframe the discussion of educational policy specifically in an objectivistic free market paradigm.

The Space Race

This history arguably takes for its starting point the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which was the first instance

of federal funding in K–12 public schools. The funding from the Smith-Hughes Act was specifically intended to support vocational education and what would become a central feature of industrialization: careerism. Furthered by the GI Bill after World War II, the United States increased its role on the global stage, finding itself enmeshed in a military-industrial effort to broaden its reach of power and deepen its economic interests. In 1957, when the Soviet Union successfully launched the *Sputnik* satellite into outer space, the U.S. federal government firmly recognized the nexus of schooling and national interests.

Worried about their late start in what would be known as the “space race,” the United States turned to schooling as an important reason why the Soviets had launched first. The following year, 1958, the United States launched *Explorer I* into outer space and instituted the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). This policy, born of competitive concern, provided federal monies to elementary and secondary schools primarily for improvement of their mathematics, science, and modern foreign language curricula with the intent of making scientists and technology workers who would be better prepared to compete with global science and technology industries. This act has been reauthorized and renamed as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) and is discussed below in more detail. Significant to the NDEA was the focus on science, math, and foreign languages as singularly important to national education for remaining ahead of other countries in the field of industry. Education can be narrowly understood through the NDEA as preparatory for global competition as exhibited by its impetus, the space race.

War on Poverty

In what can be understood as a response to the NDEA’s specific focus on math, science, and foreign language education, the next sweeping federal educational reform came in 1965 with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the centerpiece of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty.” A specific feature of this act, the Head Start program, is discussed below, but important to this historical discussion is the focus of the ESEA

on students who come from low-income and poverty-stricken families. Whereas the motivation behind the NDEA was a desire for the United States to win the space race specifically (more basic even, to be the winner in global competition), the ESEA was written to address poor students’ backgrounds and social situations within the United States. In reading the ESEA as a response, rather than framing schools as productive of members of the U.S. workforce, this policy looks at the problems students and their families face that can hinder their education.

Returning to the notion of schools as productive in economic terms, in 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education published the report *A Nation at Risk* at the behest of the U.S. Secretary of Education, T. H. Bell. This report, which was responsible for the wave of educational reform that framed much of the language of NCLB, strongly characterizes the United States as having fallen from a position of unquestioned dominance in science, commerce, and technology and being overtaken by competitors from around the globe. A “rising tide of mediocrity” is accordingly what threatens the future of the United States in this view. With *A Nation at Risk* establishing a direct link between schools, the global market, competition, and workshops, future policy and policy research avidly pursued these themes as the goal of education in the United States.

Education Policy Research

The casting of schools as markets both shapes and is shaped by educational policy in the 1990s. A review of policy center reports on education across several U.S. states from this time will be helpful to substantiate the point and further portray the ways in which policy is shaped by policy center research in order to achieve specific ends, in each case framing public schools as competitive spaces (i.e., productive of a globally competitive workforce).

For instance, the Indiana Consortium on Educational Policy Studies compared international tests of math and science and concluded that U.S. students consistently score poorly. Furthermore, students were compared to students of previous decades and the Indiana Consortium concluded that

dropout rates, literacy rates, and basic skills like math and reading were comparatively lower on a variety of measures. The consortium's point is that if the educational achievement of future workers does not improve, then the United States will face increasing competition in areas like technology and engineering.

Linking the purpose of its policy center with an ideal, the Centers for the Study of Education in Florida suggested that new "stakeholders" in education enter into a kind of "collaborative thinking" in order to better figure out how to make schools both more competitive and productive in a global economy. The goal of the South Carolina Educational Policy Center was to focus research on issues related to student performance in order to better inform state and district school officials, legislators, and foundations.

In general, policy centers and policy research primarily involve accounting, quantitative data analysis, national, regional, or state economic considerations, global competition concerns, and performance assessments. Overriding these various purposes is the need to supply information to policy makers. Policy making, exhibited above at the state level, results in an assertion of power by policy centers that are interested in replacing lobbyists and partisan organizations with "nonpartisan" information. Yet policy analysts, aware of and involved in their current political climate, have their focus set by political officials. More bluntly, if a governor wants information on the effects of smaller class sizes on learning, analysts research precisely that. The studies, in other words, are traditionally set by legislatures. Further still, tax studies, student population growth rates, teacher-to-pupil ratios, and so on, become studies (i.e., funded) when issues involving such information are raised in legislative sessions or are underwritten by foundations.

No Child Left Behind

During the 1990s, many policy centers couched their language in terms of market ideology. The culmination of such policy research for the 2000s was the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). An examination of NCLB reveals the most recent and sweeping iteration of economistic policy described here. Briefly, NCLB promotes a standards- and accountability-based

scheme that holds public schools, from the school districts down to the students, liable for their performance. This is done through economic sanctions whereby schools that fail to perform up to preset statewide standards in a timely manner are no longer eligible for federal funding. In other words, if a school fails, that school no longer receives monies (Title I funding) from the U.S. government.

The economistic sense of this policy is already apparent, given the use of the word *accountability*, which comes from economics. Also the enforcement of standards, through test scores, brings with it the idea that persons need be controlled because of scores that represent objective determinants of ability. By this logic, other issues can be represented by the test scores of schools that fail, including a lack of knowledge or character.

In addition, if a school is determined to be failing through insufficient test scores for three consecutive years, NCLB contains provisions that allow for the school to be closed (i.e., no longer a place which receives public funds) and reopened by private companies that will provide educational services to students with the possibility of making a profit, for example, Edison Schools, Inc. Conceivably, a public school closed due to failure to meet standards set by NCLB can be taken over by Edison Schools, Inc. in an effort to make the school profitable through private investments from industries such as computer manufacturers as well as through the sales of advertising space within the school. Through the NCLB policy, private corporations are now eligible to take over formerly public schools.

As detailed above, an appeal to objective measurement is one aspect of educational policy for which legislatures have called. In response, analysts have researched particular aspects of schools in particular ways largely to justify the economic models of schooling that support the research in the first place. Since a school's failure, according to NCLB, is determined entirely by low test scores, much of educational policy research is currently focused on what causes low test scores with the aim of raising those same scores.

For instance, the category of "at-risk" students has been created by educational researchers to describe students with low test scores. This category allows

students to be quantified and disaggregated according to discrete subsets, such as race and physical ability. Such labeling can adversely influence a student's self-esteem. Critics argue that the appeal to objectivity fails to examine the ethical assumptions that underlie categories like that of at-risk students and fuels an accountability regime that seeks, not social change, but social compliance. Policy that designates at-risk students as failing to score adequately on standardized tests operates in tandem with policy that stresses the importance of schools producing a globally competitive workforce. Ultimately, this is the success of economic policy. When the supply can be clearly identified and measured, then efficiently produced by private enterprise for the market's demand, questions hinge on quality assurance and effective methods of production, and "better" comes to mean cheaper and more efficient in order for students as future workers to better compete in a global market.

A Humanistic Alternative

Returning to the larger sense of the word, *policy* as a humanistic endeavor can be understood as an alternative to the more economic notions described above. Where current policy and policy analysis primarily assumes a free market ideology underpinning the functions of society, policy that is oriented humanistically seeks to involve citizens in its authoring with the aim of mirroring the diversity represented in the U.S. democracy. It is humanistic in the sense that it re-centers the human, as an inclusive term, in the realm of policy. Law is, after all, a human creation.

As well, a reformulated policy studies guards against status quo reproduction and offers different means of validating disparate forms of questioning without marginalization and without regressing to relativism. That is to say, rethinking the domain of policy does not eschew viewpoints merely because they are not objectively and economically oriented but instead encourages a notion of policy that serves as a legal manifestation of the space in which such viewpoints are brought together in order to address social inequities that are currently in place and enact change toward a more just society.

The Head Start Example

To ground the idea of humanistic policy in existing legislation, this entry examines the Head Start Program of 1965 as such an effort. Head Start is one of several programs that comprised the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Each program established under the ESEA addressed poverty of children and their families in the United States, specifically in terms of their difficulties in pursuing education. Part of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty initiative, Head Start was authored with the direct intent of bringing together viewpoints that originate in social inequalities. In the words of the program, "Head Start was designed to help break the cycle of poverty by providing preschool children of low-socio-economic status families with a comprehensive program to meet their nutritional, emotional, social, health, and psychological needs."

The original focus of this policy was on students and the problems that they brought into schools as a part of their social status. As a result, Head Start implemented an array of mediation efforts, such as a strong emphasis on bilingual education and counseling and guidance programs, in order to create experiences for students that were not predicated on their poverty. Also, Head Start established programs that involved the families of the students in order to strengthen ties within the family and their larger community.

The inclusive intent of Head Start's implementation does much to substantiate the humanistic qualities that policy can engender. However, Head Start is not a perfect representation of what is described here as humanistic policy. The purpose of citing the Head Start program is to focus on its intent of addressing broad social inequalities rather than discounting and dismissing such inequalities as the necessary byproduct of a free market economy.

An Economic Turn

There is much about Head Start that is now economic, such as the "objective" statistical research that goes into reshaping the policy today. As a historically situated policy, the Head Start program's impetus as a redress to children living in poverty has

taken on new meanings shaped by dominant policy discourses up to the present. In fact, the Head Start program has appropriated much of the same language as the largely economistic policy described above. This serves as an example, however, of how the assumptions underlying contemporaneous policy research and policy overlap and influence one another. To be sure, these assumptions are adopted by policy to the degree it is written with the same rhetoric, until that policy is scrutinized critically in terms of value, purpose, and meaning.

In educational policy research, ideas for policy analysis become entangled in market logic and accountability schemes when the thrust or essence of the larger project (pedagogy) is neither market logic nor accountability, regardless of appeals to “real world” phenomena such as “at-risk” students. By opening up policy to viewpoints that challenge the status quo, that bring into relief the difficulties inherent to policy making, rather than casting them aside in the name of economic efficiency, that insist democracy is made by the entirety of its participants, citizens and the state merge in a way the root of policy, that is, *politea*, provided.

Deron R. Boyles

See also Bureaucracy; Compulsory Educational Attendance Laws; Democracy and Education; Educational Policy and the American Presidency; Educational Reform; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Gifted Education, Policy Issues; Head Start; Politics of Education; School Governance; Smith-Hughes Act; *Sputnik*; State Role in Education

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POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The importance of education issues to the citizenry is clear. Public opinion polls and surveys of the U.S. electorate consistently show education at or near the top of a list of issues that interest them. For example, in national survey reports copublished by the Public Education Network and *Education Week*, citizens put education issues at the top of their list of concerns. In a 2003 report titled *Demanding Quality Public Education in Tough Economic Times: What Voters Want From Elected Officials*, 55 percent of those surveyed consider education the top national priority, followed by health care (51 percent), jobs and economic development (37 percent), retirement and social security (36 percent), and terrorism and security (28 percent). Reports published in 2001 and 2002 showed similar results.

Politicians view this as an invitation to propose programs and policy solutions to the “problems” existing in public education. Similarly, local politics between school board members and administrators is commonplace, arouses community contempt and/or support, and often provides fodder for local journalists. From school board meetings in which the superintendent’s performance is under review to budget meetings in which the tax rate is being debated, issues of power, conflict, and ideology are evident. Whereas this political theater may seem more prevalent today than in previous eras, the fact remains that politics has been a constant in educational practice and policy.

Politics Defined

The politics of education as a field of study was first introduced in 1959 by Thomas Eliot, when he called on researchers to examine the effects of political decisions on schooling by administrators and elected officials. He posed questions such as: Who should pay for schools? Who should lead schools? And, what should be taught in schools? Inherently political, these questions continue to drive the policy debate around school effectiveness, teaching, curriculum, and funding.

Although initial research on politics and education came from political scientists attempting to understand political phenomena in educational contexts, educational researchers soon began to study politics from educational administration and policy perspectives. Jay Scribner and Richard Englert attempted to define the field of the politics of education within educational administration research with a categorization of central concepts. Utilizing David Easton's "authoritative allocation of values" definition of a political system, they framed their discussion around the concepts of government, power, conflict, and policy. As Easton described it, the political process involves an interaction that assigns a society's values, values which are then used to inform the policy formation process. Along with other scholars, Scribner and Englert propose that understanding how a community's values are manifested as policy and examining how such policy is advocated for, debated, and opposed prior to adoption becomes vital to understanding the politics of education and the democratic process.

Advocacy and Policy

School leadership, educators, parents, students, and community activists advocating on behalf of communities of color and marginalized students have historically questioned the political motivations or influence of certain policies and practices. These leaders have utilized advocacy frameworks to engage in the political and policy discourse. Educational historian Joel Spring traced the history of politics in schools from 1958 and the development of the National Defense Education Act to the 2001 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA),

commonly known as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). He delineated how educational policy and politics have influenced the effectiveness, fairness, and equity in schools and described the key political players and the roles they have undertaken in this endeavor.

Catherine Marshall and Cynthia Gerstl-Pepin argued that understanding advocacy, politics, and policy requires that researchers consider multiple perspectives of reality, and the authors question the manner by which power and interests are used to benefit some. How was the political debate framed by civil rights lawyers and leaders at the heels of the *Brown v. Board of Education* landmark case? How did Chicano rights activists spur the development of bilingual education programs across the nation, which culminated in the federal bilingual education legislation in 1968? And, how are current advocates of multiple-criteria accountability legislation attempting to combat high-stakes testing systems or organizing and mobilizing their efforts? These questions are at the heart of understanding the political nature of educational reform and law. They also center on discussions of power, conflict, and interests.

Conflict and Power

In 1960, Elmer E. Schattschneider argued that the essence of politics is the privatizing or nationalizing of conflict. Without a public or nationalizing effect of political conflict, the multiple sides or competing interests cannot air their differences. Often, those in power attempt to suppress debate by privatizing the conflict, or keeping it from receiving the attention needed for debate, argument, or persuasion. More recently, however, G. R. López has contended that conflict must be considered while also understanding how power can be used to institute racial hierarchies. While understanding how educational conflict influences, for example, the adoption of history textbooks, the method of teaching science, evolution, or creationism, or the ability of students to meet in gay-straight alliances, is essential and informs educational research. López has argued that the inherently and institutionally racist nature of educational policy, politics, and practices coupled with unequal power dynamics also influences political phenomena.

Macro- and Micropolitics

The politics of education exists at multiple levels of influence. Historically, the federal government did not play a significant role in making or influencing educational policy for public schools, but this has changed in recent years. State government is the level of government at which the most influence has been wielded over how schools are funded, how teachers are credentialed, what is taught to students, and what requirements will result in a high school diploma. Local level or school district governing structures have also influenced political reality. Along with campus or school-level micropolitics, local-level politics are influenced by the roles taken by their school board membership.

Having the ability to examine political phenomena from macropolitical and micropolitical frames enables researchers, educators, and students to better address issues of power, conflict, and interests. Although student and parent perspectives of political phenomena have remained scant in the politics of education literature, it is yet another level of micropolitical activity that deserves study, especially in regards to student activism, organization, and leadership.

Enrique Alemán, Jr.

See also Educational Policy and the American Presidency;
No Child Left Behind Act; State Role in Education

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POPULAR CULTURE

Before students ever set foot in a classroom, they have accrued an understanding of teachers and teaching. That is, children come to school already having consumed images and ideas about education. Popular culture (mediated texts like television, films, magazines, music, comic books, etc.) partially informs such a cumulative text. Since ideas about schooling are socially constructed, popular culture influences the knowledge people (adults and children) have about schooling. Popular culture mediates the sociocultural context from which schooling is understood. This means that analyses about schooling must include questions of how popular culture helps inform these understandings. This entry examines how the investigation and inclusion of popular culture is important to our knowledge about schooling.

The Role of Culture

Popular culture texts are often utilized as part of people's leisure activities. They are generally texts that amuse or entertain. People, including students, seek out texts as willing consumers. They read magazines, watch television and movies, and listen to music of their choice. Some view the texts as harmless entertainment, while others argue the different texts comprise a larger institution, often synonymous with media, that works to uphold society's values.

This is one of the main reasons educators have become concerned with popular culture as a site of education. Ideological messages are communicated through representations, thus popular culture becomes a teaching tool. People learn about the world, including schools, through these representations. For example, a

child may learn about gender roles from watching Disney films, most of which illustrate traditional and confining gender stereotypes. Through media, people also have access to worlds with which they may not be familiar. For example, many Americans learn about the Middle East only through mediated representations, having never traveled or lived there.

People also learn about themselves through the consumption of texts. For example, many students, questioning their sexual identities but having no experience outside of the heterosexual world, may learn what it means to be gay through texts like *Will & Grace* or *Brokeback Mountain*. Popular culture is a teacher and the lessons taught are not always consistent with educators' beliefs about what students should learn.

People also construct vivid understandings about schooling through popular culture texts. One way people come to know schools, teachers, and students is through viewing the ways they are portrayed on television or in Hollywood films. For example, through watching films like *Dangerous Minds* or television programs like *Boston Public*, people may conclude that urban schools are dangerous places and kids of color within urban schools are in desperate need of saving by White teachers. Films like *Clueless* and *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* may suggest that White upper-middle-class youth are self-absorbed, consumed by the desire for popularity and material goods, and that their teachers are easily duped by their adolescent antics.

Through media, people also hear how unprepared and unprofessional teachers really are, and they are taught the dominant discourses surrounding what makes a good teacher. This is ideological knowledge filed away in consciousness. Unless these images get interrupted by personal and/or professional experiences in schools, people construct negative images of the education system because there are few positive images portrayed in popular culture.

Popular Culture and Academia

Popular culture has not always been welcomed into academia. Part of this is due to the binary that exists between academic versus popular knowledge. Many

cultural theorists believe the reason for this is that popular culture had long been viewed as a lower form of culture compared to artifacts like theater and opera. The Frankfurt School theorists engaged in critical communication studies in the 1930s and, with the help of Theodor Adorno, coined the term *mass culture*. This term actually reified the binary between high and low culture. Though followers of the Frankfurt School analyzed mass culture within the context of the cultural industry in which the artifacts were produced, many critics now believe that Adorno and others viewed the "culture industries" as too adept at mass deception. Instead of envisioning consumers as capable of resistance, the Frankfurt School viewed them as easily duped by the industry. They conceptualized mass culture as an ideological tool, which existed to legitimate the status quo.

The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was the next large academic focus on popular culture. It came out of the U. K. in the early 1960s and approached popular culture from a multi-disciplinary perspective. The intent of those affiliated with British cultural studies (BCS) at the time was to subvert the binary that existed between high and low culture and to do that, they rejected the term *mass culture*. Cultural critics now charge BCS with analyzing popular culture texts from a narrow perspective. Although participants in BCS conceptualized texts as either dominating consumers or enabling resistance, many critics now claim there was too much of a focus on class and a lack of focus on race and gender.

As a discipline, cultural studies has been and continues to be dynamic, that is, changing in response to social, political, and historical contexts. In the 1970s feminist scholars and Black scholars challenged the discipline to look at the ways gender and race, like class, must inform any study of culture. This raced and gendered influence continues to be seen in cultural studies texts that examine popular culture today. This focus has expanded to also include notions of ability, sexuality, and all other features of identity.

Popular Culture and Critical Pedagogy

Cultural studies work, by necessity, is interdisciplinary. This has enabled educational theorists to make links

between popular culture and schooling. The discussion of popular culture and critical pedagogy has examined questions about the relationship between knowledge and power. In the early 1990s, there was a move to include the study of popular culture in the development and practice of critical pedagogy. Many argued that critical pedagogy must include popular culture as a site of inquiry and schools should be conceptualized as instructional sites as well as cultural sites.

Schools were places that produced subjects and subjectivities. One of the ways students constructed knowledge was through learning from popular culture. It was believed that if educators could acknowledge popular culture as a site of learning, they could link learning school knowledge to students' everyday lives. Since part of critical pedagogy is working toward a democratic society while empowering students, understanding how students constructed knowledge through practices outside of school could only assist educators in the empowerment of students.

The relationship between popular culture and schooling is complex, particularly as it relates to pedagogy. Since popular culture is most often reflective of youth culture, school systems, including both administrations and teachers, and youth, often clash over its incorporation in school social and academic settings. In schools, a familiar stance is one of opposition to popular culture sharing academic space. Students are often chastised for or forbidden from participating in popular culture in schools where certain genres of music, I-pods, body art, trendy magazines, and words on T-shirts are banned and labeled as destructive and distracting. This judgment made by schools on the popular cultural choice of students is often met with resistance since many students see these expressions as integral parts of their identities.

At the same time, teachers seeking to include popular culture in the classroom will choose texts they deem "proper," which students may or may not find relevant or representative of their lives, and this too is often met with resistance. This resistance informs how children perform their role as students. It dictates when they decide to listen, cooperate, and learn and when they dismiss a teacher's knowledge and academics as irrelevant to their social world.

Critical pedagogues believe teachers can learn to embrace and utilize popular culture and its multiple forms of expression without judgment. Doing so changes the nature of authority in the classroom as students become experts and knowledge holders and the teachers become learners. Educators may have to accept that they can never be the "experts" in this arena. Due to its dynamic nature, once a popular culture form enters the realm of teacher knowledge and pedagogy and is made acceptable in school settings students lose interest and move on to the newest, latest, and coolest forms of expression.

Consumption

The field of cultural studies has also examined the processes of consumption as a cultural site. The discipline explains that this phenomenon is not just about economics but also incorporates desires, identities, and dreams. These desires and dreams are fueled by popular culture texts that shape and reflect what items kids think are "cool" and what brings status. They direct the trajectories of consumer culture. As a result of their relationships with both the items and the popular culture representations, kids are often accused of materialism. This materialism, and the means by which students go about acquiring desired material goods like the latest pair of designer jeans, the most up-to-date technology, or the hottest new sneakers, is looked upon as detrimental to academic progress since it is claimed that the focus on school work is often overshadowed by preoccupations with material items.

This engagement with consumer culture is highly contested across class, gender, and racial lines. Students from low-income families are often berated for their preoccupation with items they cannot afford. Students of color are often represented as criminal in their attempts to secure items, since a dominant discourse presumes they steal from their classmates and others. Internalizing these representations results in a preoccupation on the part of schooling systems with character education and security measures designed at reigning in these consequences of consumption practices and mitigating the influence of popular culture.

Representation and Marginalization

Some educational theorists questioned not the linkage between critical pedagogy and popular culture but the means to obtain it. These theorists claimed much of the work on critical pedagogy neglected the potential contradictions between various political movements and subsumed everything under a White, working-class, male perspective. This critique occurred while a growing field of cultural criticism was emerging.

Many cultural critics, concerned with the ways ideology was transmitted through popular culture forms, turned their attention to critiquing the power of the few representations that existed of marginalized groups like African Americans, Latinos, and gays and lesbians. Critiques about representation of marginalized groups have been important because of the ways the dominant society utilizes popular culture as a means for us to learn about ourselves and others. At first, critiques focused on the lack of representation and/or the negative stereotypes embedded within the representation. Soon, attention turned to how audiences make sense of the representations and how that sense making informs their understandings about themselves and others. This attention to meaning making by the discipline revealed that audiences are active participants in popular cultural discourses, not empty vessels waiting to be filled or cultural dupes led only by what they see and hear.

Media Literacy

Media literacy is the teaching about the power of textual representation. Before teachers can help students to become critical consumers of popular culture, they must first educate themselves. The move toward media literacy in schools takes two approaches. The first approach views media in a critical way. It conceptualizes popular culture as an ideological tool (similar to the Frankfurt School) but works to teach students how to be critical consumers and uncover the embedded ideology within a text. This type of media literacy grew out of Stuart Hall's conceptualization of three reading strategies a viewer may utilize to make sense of a popular culture text. The reading positions, dominant, negotiated, and resistant, are directly related to

the reader's social position in relation to dominant ideology. A dominant reader, because of his or her position in society, is often blind to dominant ideology and, therefore, much of the ideological messages and negative stereotypes produced by racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism remain invisible. Media literacy in this approach seeks to assist students in uncovering the ideology and critiquing the negative stereotypes as part of a larger project toward social justice.

The second approach is similar to the critical pedagogy stance but also has similarities to the BCS approach. Here popular culture is viewed as an integral part of students' lives. By validating students' consumption of popular culture, educators are validating student-constructed knowledge. This approach also views popular culture as a space of resistance. Students may learn about themselves and others but are also able to speak back to the messages they garner. This type of media literacy takes the stance that popular culture is capable of more than being an agent of ideological domination. Instead, it is viewed as an authentic part of the student's experience. Educators must understand what students know and learn from the popular culture texts they consume. By valuing this student knowledge, educators are viewed as helping to further democracy and emancipation, in other words, a media literacy version of liberatory education.

Jennifer Esposito and Cerri Annette Banks

See also Cultural Studies; Images of Teachers in Popular Culture; Media Literacy

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POSTCOLONIALISM

The study and theory of postcolonialism investigates history: the origins of colonialism during the age of discovery and exploration; the ensuing political, economic, and cultural struggles between colonizers and colonized peoples through the twentieth century; and the enduring effects of colonialism upon relationships between individuals, societies, and nations.

Whereas imperialism describes the expansion of a state from the center through economic and cultural domination and military force, the two major forces behind colonialism are economic exploitation and trade and settlement. Colonialism and imperialism have common features and differences. While they both are terms that imply subjugation of one group of people by another, imperialism works under the initiative of overt exploitation and extraction of wealth. Neocolonialism (i.e., new colonialism) contrasts with postcolonialism in that the postcolonial state remains in a situation of dependence on its former masters and the former masters continue to act in a colonialist manner toward formerly colonized states. Neocolonialism is oriented primarily to the cultural and economic relationships associated with development, dependency theory, and critical development theory. Postcolonialism examines the relations of domination and subjugation between and within nations, cultures, and societies. It signifies a field of inquiry concerned with the cultural, psychological, social, political, and economic interactions of colonizers and colonized people.

The term's denotation varies, as the concept transcends disciplines. Edward Said's *Orientalism* is considered a founding work of postcolonial theory,

deconstructing the Western exoticizing of Middle, Near, and Far Eastern cultures, and rigorously explicating the ways in which this defining as "the other" reinforces occidental stereotypes and effectively precludes the self-representation of oriental voices. One major literary voice is Chinua Achebe, whose *Things Fall Apart* and *No Longer at Ease* fictionally portray the stark position of those who must negotiate untenable positions between former colonizers and their own indigenous communities, while dealing with issues like bribery and corruption as virtual aliens in their own countries. Franz Fanon and Albert Memmi explain in nonfiction how colonizing education is a two-way street, in that the colonizers as well as the colonized produce and perpetuate knowledge claims that are epistemologically and ontologically biased and inherently subjective; the knowledge claims are rooted in a particular group's collective heritage, which itself is in constant flux. These forms of education, founded on injustice, do sociopsychological violence to the identities of all parties, especially the subaltern.

Robert J. C. Young aligns the study of postcolonialism with Marxist political philosophy, committed to a more just and equitable society. Marxism historically provided the theoretical inspiration and most effective political practice for twentieth-century anti-colonial resistance.

While imperialist and colonizing countries have largely withdrawn from direct political control, independent excolonies have not completely realized political and economic self-determination. Thus as its agenda, according to Young, postcolonialism critiques the forces of oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world. Young further asserts that postcolonialism is not a static poststructuralist intellectual exercise—it inherently warrants action.

Gandhi observed that education systems around the world, historically, have functioned as mechanisms for the maintenance and perpetuation of power structures in colonial relationships. Postcolonial thought directly informs the fields of comparative and international education, particularly in the understanding of the development and organization of schools and education systems, globalization, and curriculum and language policies. The theory is particularly helpful for understanding conflict and postconflict education in

postcolonial contexts. Postcolonial theory indirectly influences domestic education in the subject areas of history, geography, sociology, economics, literacy, and civic and multicultural education.

John Willensky extends Said's critique of Western naming, ordering, classifying, and emphasis on differences and explores how schools, curricula, and teaching methods have been shaped and influenced by the legacies of imperialism and colonialism. While acknowledging the value of knowledge gained during this period, he questions the resulting connection between having a Western comprehension of the world inextricably linked with the conquest of it. He recognizes that schools are actively responsive to diversity, multiculturalism, and multilingualism, and that the content of contemporary textbooks is carefully evaluated, but that the broad context of understanding difference and the role of schools in society can be informed by a postcolonial examination of education.

Michael Sean Young

See also Cultural Pluralism, Globalization and Education

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POSTMODERNISM

From the perspective of postmodern theory, modern education is seen as the mass education that began in the nineteenth century with standardized curriculum, grades, degrees, and public accreditation. It is criticized as homogenizing, normalizing, and imposing the norms, practices, and values of the dominant society on the

young. Modern education, from this perspective, corresponds in the field of education to mass production and consumption characterizing modern societies, and an era dominated by corporations, the state, military, and educational institutions marked by bureaucracy, a technical system of instrumentalized rules and regulations, and mass conformity. Proposals for a reconfiguration of education to suit a postmodern philosophy and electronic technology have been made. This entry contrasts the modern and postmodern views and looks at their application to education.

Modern Versus Postmodern

Modern education is connected to an era of print technology and literacy based on reading books. As Marshall McLuhan argued in the mid-1960s, in works such as *Understanding Media*, different societies have various dominant media that provide diverse modes of society, culture, and education. McLuhan distinguishes between premodern oral culture and traditions, modern print culture, and (postmodern) electronic culture. In traditional, premodern societies, education is oral and transmits relatively fixed and changing traditions and a hierarchic, authoritarian social structure.

For McLuhan, the major instrument of modernity was the emergence of print technology that created an entirely new modern culture, and modes of education and subjectivity with print media dominant. Modern culture and education were highly nationalistic, often determined by the state and reproducing national cultures. Modern education tended to be secular, following the enlightenment and predicated on a separation of church and state. Modern education was organized on the factory and industrial system with public and private buildings and grounds, and classes organized around time periods.

In McLuhan's view, new electronic technologies create new modes of culture connected to media like radio, film, television, and now computers, and create new forms of subjectivity that are more sensory, multimodal, fragmented, and decentered. For McLuhan, there is a misfit between the experiences of students in a rationalized, abstract, book culture environment of schooling and the more kaleidoscopic and aesthetized media culture in which they are immersed.

Sherry Turkle, in her 1995 book, *Life on the Screen*, describes the emergence of personal computer technologies and the novel forms of interaction, identities, and experiences that they are producing. She interprets the shift from big mainframe computers to personal computers as symptomatic of a postmodern shift to an innovative type of computer technology and novel forms of subjectivity and culture. For Turkle, big IBM mainframe computers are bound up with centralization, massification, hierarchy, big government, and corporations, and are thus a symbol for modernity itself. Further, modern computers are connected with mechanistic science that is universalist, rationalist (there is one way to do it), and top-down, with a cult of experts and hierarchy; it is also for Turkle rooted in hard masculine science that is logical and abstract.

By contrast, Turkle claims that personal computers are bound up with a postmodern logic and aesthetics. On her account, postmodern computer technologies are “soft” and “feminine” (e.g., more concrete and ductile), subject to tinkering, more graphic and multimedia, and more expressive, merging art and technology. Whereas modern mainframe computers required highly specialized knowledge and were only accessible to a techno-elite, postmodern personal computers are “user-friendly” and lend themselves to experimental activity and promote creative and multifaceted selves. Personal computers thus nourish a postmodern culture of the iconic surface, for while old modern computers required depth-oriented thinking and in-depth technological know-how to get behind the screen, current computers operate on the surface, requiring only that one point and click to navigate cyberspace.

Furthermore, personal computers, in Turkle’s analysis, enable a more decentralized, individualist, and variegated culture that can generate postmodern selves—multiple, fragmented, constructed and provisional, subject to experiment and change. “Windows” for Turkle is the privileged metaphor for postmodern subjectivity—dispersed, decentered, and constructed. Computer software windows open the subject not only to the work world of texts and word processing, but also to the emerging realms of simulation, cyberspace, and interactive multimedia culture.

A Prescription for Education

From these postmodern perspectives, education needs to be reconstructed to overcome the divisions between students’ everyday life in a media and computer culture, and to generate new literacies that will enable students to interact in the contemporary world. Allan and Carmen Luke, in their 2001 article “Adolescence Lost/Childhood Regained,” argue that broad-ranging and robust new pedagogies are needed to grasp the changing social and psychological conditions of life in a globalized, high-tech, and digitized world. They also argue that dramatic transformations of education are necessary to create subjects and practices appropriate to a new global society, digitized culture, and world of new identities, social relations, and cultural forms.

Indeed, some educators have been arguing for a reconstruction of education based on developing new literacies to engage new technologies variously described as multiliteracies, multiple literacies, or multiple technoliteracies. Projects for a postmodern reconstruction of education also build on Dewey’s pedagogy, and particularly his calls for the democratization of education to produce more robust democratic societies.

Ironically, during the opening years of the third millennium when postmodern critiques of modern education were widely circulated and reconstructive programs were being advanced, the Bush administration in the United States was pushing a program predicated on standardized testing, focusing on print literacy and mathematics, and generally reproducing what critics believed to be problematic aspects of modern education. However, in an era of continuous technological development and the emergence of new technologies, critiques of modern education will persist and new proposals for the postmodern reconstruction of education will continue to circulate.

Douglas Kellner

See also Technologies in Education

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PRAXIS

Praxis, in its simplest construal, means “theory plus action.” It indicates life practice formed from both reflection and action. The self, striving to transform the world creatively according to an emerging vision based on its own values, actualizes itself as it actualizes its vision. Because individuals’ actions always affect other people, *praxis* is inherently political.

Aristotle was the first to conceptualize *praxis*. He drew distinctions among three types of knowledge: *theoria*, from which the word theory is derived, which meant speculation, contemplation; *techne*, meaning craft, skill, or art; and *phronesis*, the knowledge born of a combination of *theoria* and *techne*, which is most commonly translated into English as practical wisdom. *Praxis*, which derives from the practical wisdom of *phronesis*, is concerned with making the best life choices. It assumes not only intellectual insight, but in-depth acquaintance with the practical considerations needed to intervene skillfully, creatively, and in a timely manner in practical problems.

Karl Marx also used the term *praxis*, but with a decidedly different emphasis. Against the prevailing Hegelian thought of the time, Marx argued that it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but their social being that determines their

consciousness. He argued that industrial capitalism alienated workers because factories severed them from the creation, design, and use of the products of their labor. Instead, he envisioned laborers not as cogs in a machine, but as artists shaping integral, holistic products that emerged as expressions of their visions. In the Marxist sense, then, *praxis* is both practical and revolutionary as oppressed groups critically assess the world and change society based on their own class’s interests, rather than uncritically absorbing the ideology of the oppressor class.

Because Marxist *praxis* depends upon educating those people who need liberation, it demanded new, creative educational approaches, an emancipatory pedagogy that would critically appraise dominant ideology and that could be widely available to the working class. Emancipatory pedagogy never became as important in the United States as in many parts of Europe, South America, and Africa, but the work of influential Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has been studied by North American educators since the early 1970s. Freire, whose perspective derived from both Marxist and existentialist thought, maintained that for the oppressed to become authentic selves they must fight not only for freedom from hunger, but for freedom to create and construct, wonder, and venture. True knowledge, Freire contended, emerges only through restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful, critical inquiry with other people about their relations to the world. Therefore, he advocated that instead of learners receiving, filing, and storing deposits made by educators, learners should be allowed to develop *praxis*, an inventive and interventive way of life that encourages free, creative reflection and thoughtful action in order to change the world, even as the learners are transformed in the process.

Susan Birden

See also Marxism

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PRINCIPALSHIP, HISTORY OF

Until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, full-time building administrators were not typically found in schools. Since then, the role of the principal has constantly been reshaped, redefined, and renegotiated due to changing demographics, conflicting societal values, and shifting expectations. Throughout the history of the modern American school, differences in political, social, and economic philosophies have had a major impact on the development and organization of education in general. Immigration, urbanization, the rise of great corporations, the traumas of two world wars, the Great Depression, the social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, and the high-stakes accountability movement of the 1990s influenced the values of society, reshaped the purpose of schooling, and increased the demands of the principalship. This entry reviews that history.

The emergence of the principalship during the late 1800s created the shift of the administrative leader from “head teacher” to “principal.” The professionalization of the principalship during the early 1900s was the process of formal recognition and acceptance of the role. The anti-intellectualism of the principalship between the years 1940 and 1960 questioned the transition from scientific management through the human relations movement to the theory movement. The constancy and change of the principalship throughout the 1960s and 1970s highlighted the tensions between those seeking stability and the maintenance of traditional values and those pressing for change. The reform and restructuring of the principalship from 1980 to 2000 charted the shift in demands from management and control with forced compliance to shared decision making and decentralized site-based management. This entry explores this development of the principalship from its inception to the present, and concludes by outlining the challenges and promises of the principalship for the twenty-first century.

Early Years

The “head teacher” of the early nineteenth century was the first professional position in American

schools to have administrative and supervisory responsibilities. As the nation’s population grew and one-room schools became graded, multiroom schools with several faculty members, the need for program coordination and internal management increased. Although hardly differentiated from teaching, head teachers were appointed to monitor students, teachers, and classroom procedures.

Accountable to the locally elected school board, “principal teachers” were expected to teach the highest class in their school, to implement specific board policies, and to perform certain clerical and janitorial tasks. Over time, their duties became mainly administrative and less involved with direct classroom instruction. The actual term *principal* appeared as early as 1838 in the Common School Report of Cincinnati and then again in 1841 in Horace Mann’s report to the Massachusetts School Board, but the title did not become formally recognized and widely accepted until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The development of the eight-year, graded elementary school and the district system, combined with the common school ideal of a uniform curriculum for all children, the desire of the middle-class and native groups to protect their values and power, the need for the socialization of students for an industrial workplace, and the position of principal and *his* (i.e., school administration was structured from the beginning as a “manly” profession) accompanying “pedagogical harem” were all elements in the early development of a hierarchical, bureaucratic organization for the administration of American education.

The burgeoning role and new authority position of the principal was solidified in the early 1900s with the beginning of the Progressive movement and the advent of scientific management. Scientific management, with its emphasis on efficiency, had dramatic and almost immediate effects on education, including the “professionalization” of the principalship. During this time period, executive, managerial functions were centralized and structured systematically at the top with specialized divisions in a hierarchical model intended to cause the entire school district and each school to run efficiently. The role of the principal shifted from evangelical missionary and values broker to scientific manager and dignified social leader.

Charged with administering discipline, selecting, hiring, and evaluating teachers, determining the curriculum, monitoring pedagogical techniques, and overseeing other organizational tasks, the principal was quickly established as the school's administrative head and directing manager of instruction. This perspective of the principal as a business executive continued until the alliance between business managers and school administrators collapsed under the economic pressures of the Depression.

A Transition Period

The anti-intellectualism of the principalship chronicled the transition from the scientific movement through the human relations movement to the theory movement. Because of World War II and the Cold War that followed, the values of the 1940s and 1950s were less religious than earlier and more concerned with democratic principles. From 1940 to 1960, there was a pivotal shift from a top-down managerial philosophy to more of a democratic facilitative process of developing, supporting, and coordinating cooperative group efforts as both the end and the means of reform in schools.

As a result, the principal's role changed from authority figure to process helper, consultant, curriculum leader, supervisor, public relations representative, and leader on the home front. Those occupying the role were expected to demonstrate democratic rather than autocratic leadership, to be directly involved with the school's instructional program, and to communicate the practices and priorities of the school to the community. The business-management doctrine was abandoned and the "social conscience" of administrators was awakened.

After World War II, communities began to rebuild, the economy began to rebound, and liberal progressive educators began to speak out. Although the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision happened in 1954, the ramifications of this Supreme Court case and the notion of inequitable schooling were not truly dealt with until the 1960s and 1970s. In 1957 however, when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the effects were immediate. As fear and panic gripped the nation, a major crusade against ignorance initiated the anti-intellectualism campaign against schools in general,

and principals in particular. Metaphors for the principal in the 1950s include the principal as administrator, defender of educational practice, provider of empirical evidence, efficient manager of time, and overseer of minute details.

The constancy and change of the principalship during the social and political turbulence of the 1960s highlight the tension between forces seeking stability and maintenance of traditional values and those pressing for change and the emergence of diverse values. While schools concentrated on academic excellence, particularly in math and science, principals drew on empirically developed strategies for management, organization, and stability, often neglecting the instructional arena as a domain of primary concern. The role of the principal during this time shifted to that of protector of bureaucracy, user of scientific strategies, accountable leader, and inhabitant of a role in conflict. Principals were caught between the constancy of bureaucratic rational thought and the outcries for a social revolution.

The growth of social problems in the 1970s required principals to provide a wide variety of remedies that turned their primary attention away from academic leadership. They were expected to lead students, teachers, and the larger community; to impart meaning to educational efforts; to juggle a number of roles that often required competing skills; to relate well to others; and to facilitate positive interactions between students and teachers. Public confidence in education declined in the 1970s, and the theme of accountability surfaced for the first time.

A Reform Era

During the reform stage of the 1980s and the restructuring stage of the 1990s, principals emerged as primary players in the improvement of school instructional programs. The instructional leadership role of the 1980s highlighted the centrality of the principal's role in coordinating and controlling curriculum and instruction. During this decade, principals were seen as problem solvers, resource providers, instructional leaders, visionaries, and change agents. They managed people, implemented policies, and provided resources to facilitate the teaching and learning process. Principals also developed

and communicated a picture of the ideal school while facilitating needed changes in educational operations to ensure student learning and school effectiveness.

In contrast, the transformational role of the 1990s emphasized the diffuse nature of school leadership and the role of principals as leaders of leaders. Restructuring during the 1990s brought the knowledge needed for school improvement back to the school and the role of the principal back to the image of leader, servant, organizational architect, social architect, educator, moral agent, and community member. During this phase, it was the responsibility of the principal to lead the transition from a bureaucratic model of schooling to a postindustrial model. The role of the principal had come full circle from 1840 to 2000, from “head teacher” to “teacher of teachers.” The description of moral, ethical, and servant leadership echoes the earlier role of principal as evangelical missionary, values broker, and spiritual leader. And, the notion of goals, objectives, and benchmarks mirrors the earlier concept of efficiency, scientific management, and bureaucracy.

Looking Ahead

As history continues to repeat itself, the twenty-first century presents new challenges and promises for the principalship role. Charged with the mission of improving teaching and learning for *all* children, the position has become progressively more and more demanding and fraught with fragmentation, variety, and brevity. The role has evolved into administering a highly specialized, extensively regulated, and enormously complex human organization—far more complex than at its emergence a hundred years ago. The emphasis has also shifted from pointing out the processes that must be used by principals to more of a values-based, outcomes-based approach to what schools are supposed to accomplish.

The shift in transforming schools from a power-over to a power-with approach signifies a reorientation toward moral leadership, professional empowerment, and collegial interdependence. Through collaboration, communication, and experimentation, principals in the twenty-first century can be learner centered, vision driven, action oriented, and reflectively confident in

their ability to instigate reform and stimulate success for all students.

Kathleen M. Brown

See also American Education, Themes in the History of

See Visual History Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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PRISON EDUCATION

Prison education is any type of education that has inmates of prisons or jails for students. This includes high school or its equivalency, vocational and academic courses of study, undergraduate, graduate, continuing, certificate, and degree programs. Prison education means different things to different people. The reformer may see it as a means of improving prison conditions. The prison staff may see it as a way to keep prisoners occupied. Educators may see it as remedy for past injustices and researchers may see it as a way to reduce recidivism. Prisoners themselves may see it as a way to pass the time. Taxpayers may see it as a privilege for undeserving students.

Despite the differing attitudes, opinions, and purposes that surround this issue, criminal recidivism (the tendency to relapse into criminal behavior) rates indicate that prison alone is not a deterrent to crime. Society in general, and inmates in particular, need ways to understand, address, treat, and ultimately prevent recurrent criminal behavior. Education is one such method. This entry looks at the history of prison education, debates over its effectiveness, and its current status.

Historical Background

In the 200-year history of prisons in the United States, some type of prison education has always existed. Education has played a role in the social mission of the prison throughout its history, and its role has been shaped and changed in the systemic conflict between security, punishment, and treatment.

The Pennsylvania System

The first prison in the United States was run by Quakers in Philadelphia in 1791. They felt that solitude and the Bible would rehabilitate better than public humiliation or corporal punishment. The rehabilitative ideal affirms that the primary purpose of prison is to effect changes in the characters, attitudes, and behavior of convicted offenders, so as to strengthen the social defense against unwanted behavior, but also to contribute to the welfare and satisfactions of offenders. Education, predominantly religious in content, was seen as an integral part of this ideal and was incorporated in 1798. Quaker rehabilitation-based prisons became known as the Pennsylvania system. Later, in the 1820s, a competing system lacking an educational component, known as the Auburn system, was developed in New York State.

Alternative Systems

In the Pennsylvania system, prisoners were totally isolated except for nightly visits from a chaplain. This chaplain would provide reading lessons to facilitate the reading of the Bible. In the Auburn system, men labored together all day in total silence. The latter's founders believed that prisoners needed to be treated severely, producing terror and suffering, and they doubted that the prisoners were reformable. By the 1840s, the Pennsylvania system was losing popularity and the Auburn system was adopted by most states.

Toward the end of the 1800s, a different view of criminality emerged, spearheaded by Zebulon Brockway. He felt that some of the blame for a criminal's behavior fell to society, stemming from environmental influences and poverty. Therefore, he believed that education could provide a regeneration of the individual as well as the individual's successful reintegration into

society. This began the Reformatory era and the first ventures into postsecondary corrections education.

Higher Education

The first higher education courses in prisons were correspondence courses from Columbia University. In the 1920s, other, primarily land-grant colleges, began offering courses in prison, including studies in agriculture, real estate, salesmanship, and remedial level academic courses. College-level studies were given at Sing Sing prison by Columbia University beginning in 1923.

The state of California had the most extensive prison education programs in the country. In 1928, San Quentin prison reported that there were 438 prisoners enrolled in University of California courses. Midwestern inmates took extension courses from colleges and state education agencies. Southern states offered little to no education with the exception of a few, isolated literacy programs. After World War II, due to the GI Bill, adult higher education grew quickly. State colleges and universities increasingly developed continuing education divisions and community colleges. Prison higher education benefited from this growth.

The first degree program in prison was initiated in 1953 by the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale at the Menard State Prison. Inmates were funded by state aid and university grants. Lack of funding was a persistent problem with prison higher education and its growth slowed in the 1950s. By 1965, only twelve postsecondary college education (PSCE) programs were operating on a regular basis.

Pell Grants

Perhaps the single most important event in the development of PSCE occurred in 1965 with the passage of Title IV of the Higher Education Act, which included Pell Grants that were available to prisoners, to pay for higher education. The 1960s and 1970s experienced growth in PSCE unlike any other time in history. Funds were available from public sources, private sources, federal, state and local government, and foundations, although very few received funding from their parent organizations (colleges and universities, etc.). Rehabilitation was a top priority for prisons, which were renamed correctional institutions. The types of

education programs attended typically included adult basic education, high school, GED preparation, life skills, vocational training, and postsecondary education. In 1968, there were college programs in thirteen states, and by 1970, there were college programs in thirty-three states. PSCE grew from 182 programs in 1973, to 350 programs in 1982. In 1981, at least 28,000 prisoners were participating in higher education.

Despite criticism, prison education continued and many researchers attempted to prove its efficacy by studying programs and with small-scale syntheses of prior research. Many of these had vague or mixed findings, however, most found somewhat positive connections (i.e., negative correlations, etc.) between PSCE and recidivism. One study showed that inmates with at least two years of college have a 10 percent re-arrest rate, compared to a national re-arrest rate of approximately 60 percent.

In 1992, Pell Grants for PSCE were reauthorized with assurances that the Pell Grant was to be used to supplement rather than supplant state funding. In 1994, forty-three states provided associate's degrees and thirty-one states offered bachelor's degrees. Nine states offered master's degrees and three offered doctorates. By 1994, more than 60,000 prisoners appeared to be involved in college-level course work. This growth ended in September of 1994.

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, became public law 103-322 on September 20, 1994. Section 20411 of this act amends the Higher Education Act of 1965 to prohibit awards of Pell Grants to any individual incarcerated in a federal or state penal institution. Once federal aid for prison education was eliminated, state aid was also cut. In 1990, there were 350 higher education programs for inmates. In 1997, there were 8. If prisons are offering any education at all, it is increasingly likely to be computer-based distance learning or housed in programs directly controlled by state departments of corrections.

Pros and Cons

A debate surrounds what types of education are best for inmates. Current trends are away from traditional college courses held in prison, and moving toward an

education component specifically designed for prisoners. Since a traditional college education includes problem-solving and critical thinking skills, a more global worldview, and an understanding of society, it is a matter of debate that programs that focus on literacy, mathematics, occupational factors, good behaviors, attitudes, and discipline, only (for example), enough to enable an inmate to make qualitative changes and achieve legitimate success in life.

The argument for educating prisoners goes beyond the notion of criminals' perceived worthiness or, more likely, unworthiness, of such an effort. Examining the constructs of crime and punishment further complicates the issue. Freud believed that the reason governments forbid wrongdoing is not their desire to abolish it but their desire to monopolize it. Michel Foucault felt that society deliberately created the notion of crime in order to justify law enforcement that was available in case it was needed to suppress political dissent. The concept of crime was also used to funnel aggressive members of society's lower class away from revolution against the dominant social structure.

Rehabilitation demands the constant search for the sources of criminality, which inevitably leads to discussions of how certain social contexts place youth at risk. The fact that the predominance of prisoners come from low socioeconomic families and communities, typically have had less education, both in terms of years completed and the quality of instruction and resources available, is no coincidence. It is a fact that, nationwide, over 70 percent of all people entering state correctional facilities have not completed high school, lending credibility to the assertion that education and criminal behavior are negatively correlated.

Outlook

The tough-on-crime stance of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries makes it highly unlikely that a rebirth of the rehabilitation movement will be easily rekindled though legislation or government programs. Despite two decades of decline in correctional treatment, the rehabilitative ideal has shown amazing tenacity.

Although a return to the pre-1994 funding of PSCE would improve and expand its role and impact

enormously, it is doubtful that this will occur. Alternative funding is in place in some areas and some grants are available for those inmates under twenty-six years old. Most mission statements of higher education institutions include some kind of commitment to the community. Educational partnerships with correctional institutions are worth consideration and investigation in line with that mission.

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See also Correspondence Schools; Delinquency Education

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PRIVATIZATION

Privatization represents a worldview that privileges individualism and promotes competition. It operates on the assumed validity of neoclassical economics and the presumption of “free markets.” For schools, privatization is seen in and represented by Channel One television in classrooms, advertisements on stadium scoreboards, soft drink vending machines in hallways, fast food franchises in cafeterias, and textbook covers handed out by teachers. This entry describes privatization in schools and discusses its impact on religious schools.

Characteristics of Privatization

Privatization is perhaps most clearly seen in initiatives to turn public schools into money-making enterprises. The Edison Project and Educational Alternatives, Inc. are examples of this sort of privatization initiative. Privatization is also seen when central offices expand staff responsibilities or hire “public” employees to develop “school-business partnerships” with private corporations. Privatization includes voucher initiatives, for-profit charter schools, and contracting for goods and services in schools. To be sure, these last examples are akin to the practice of contracting for goods and services that have existed in public schools for quite some time.

Peter Drucker’s mid-twentieth-century concept of privatization helps us clarify the practice of public school districts entering into contracts with private, for-profit organizations to deliver educational goods and services. Accordingly, U.S. public schools *already* practice a form of privatization and have done so for quite a long time. They contract out services to companies or entities that provide school districts instructional media (Channel One), books (textbook adoptions), food (cafeteria, fast food franchises, vending machines), transportation (buses), custodial services, and so on.

The idea of privatization is even further clarified by noting proponents’ arguments for it: privatization brings the efficiency of the marketplace to public schooling; because schools do not keep pace with international standards, they must respond to the competitive demands of the marketplace; and privatized schools would be more accountable, cost effective, and entrepreneurial in promoting teacher and parent empowerment. Privatization advocates argue for eliminating government oversight and dispensing with social and collective values because government, on the measures of cost and efficiency, is not as profitable as private industry.

Traditional discussions about privatization of contemporary U.S. public schools usually distinguish between a few forms of private schools in order to clarify how the larger neoclassical privatization effort includes shifting public funds to private entities. This shift does not typically concern private or independent schools, like the

more elite institutions including Choate Rosemary Hall, Phillips Exeter Academy, and St. Andrews School. These are not-for-profit corporations that exist for the sole purpose of schooling young people.

Privatization and Religious Schools

Religious schools such as those affiliated with the Roman Catholic, Independent Christian, Adventist, and other faiths are also private schools. Generally, however, they are not our concern because the free market arguments for competition that are furthered by privatization advocates are not as important to the success of religious and not-for-profit schools as tradition, church affiliations, wealth, and endowments.

Thus, entry is further restricted to keep out those who do not fit the model of a particular school. Even with the irony of restricted competition, however, private religious schools have recently benefited from court rulings that instantiate vouchers and funnel public money into private and religious school coffers. Various states also have versions of privatization in the form of tax credits, tax deductions, and vouchers. Charter schools are another example of creeping privatization, even though they are ostensibly funded and established from the public rather than private sector. Charter schools are typically legally autonomous publicly funded schools operating under explicit contracts with local school boards.

Objections to privatization include the argument that privatization diverts money from public schools to private and parochial schools and, therefore, public accountability is reduced and limited. Some argue that privatization increases segregation and reinforces socioeconomic disparities or that by abolishing the separation between church and state, privatization effectively has the government endorsing one religion over another. In the case of tax credits and tax deductions that mandate families pay tuition prior to reimbursement on their next tax return, privatization efforts significantly help wealthy families more than poor families.

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See also Economic Inequality

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PRIVILEGE

Many approaches can be taken to better understand the relationship between privilege and education. A foundations of education approach assumes multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary applications and explore the relationship by using historical, philosophical, political, and sociological perspectives. A legal approach that may look at case law argues that education is either a right or a privilege in both the private and public domain. Still another approach would be to look at the relationship between privilege and education with a global lens whereby different countries are assessed as to their regard for education and who receives it. This entry makes a quick survey of thinking in all of these areas.

U.S. Values in Conflict

In the United States, Thomas Jefferson was perhaps the most articulate spokesperson on behalf of free education for all children. He believed that a democracy depended upon a literate and informed citizenry. Another icon of

early American education was Benjamin Franklin, who advocated education as the mechanism by which individuals achieved self-improvement. Such noble ideals primarily privileged affluent White male children, however. The story of American education tells of the struggle for inclusion by the poor, girls, slaves, and children of color, along with immigrant, disabled, and other marginalized groups.

If philosophy involves questions of values, beliefs, and visions of possibilities, then scholars should ask how a society uses philosophical guidance to inform activity around the relationship between privilege and education. In American society, the Constitution and Declaration of Independence espouse belief in individual freedoms and rights; they value equality and encourage pursuit of happiness. People are free to adopt idealist, realist, pragmatist, or criticalist philosophical stances on issues. Ultimately, each school of thought must respond to the question of whether it is right or wrong to privilege some over others in education.

Perpetuating Position and Power

Schools are not the only place where those in society get their education. Schooling refers to the academic and extracurricular activities and socialization process that occurs in schools. Education, on the other hand, involves reason, intellect, intuition, and creativity; elements that contribute to human (re)creation. Hierarchical arrangements in society tend to be politically constructed along racial, class, and gender lines. Some scholars accuse schools of “educating” individuals according to their “assigned” position in society. A first-class citizen (White, affluent, male) is expected to get a first-class education whereas a second-class citizen (Black, poor, female) may expect to get a second-class education. The point of these scholars is that people’s respective educations are designed to reinforce and perpetuate their social positions. Disproportionate power relations among politically formed groups underscore the relationship between privilege and education.

Sociologists are concerned with the issue of whether external forces determine an individual’s actions or whether individuals are capable of freely shaping the world. It is difficult to imagine an individual who has been “educated” to assume a powerless second-class

position in society and who also believes his or her contributions to society are valued by the world. Groups that lack power are somewhat justified in their belief that external forces determine their mobility and access to privilege and education. Dominant groups are privileged to adopt a hegemonic attitude, one that allows their worldview to prevail over subordinate groups. The common, often subtle, message connecting schools and society is that individuals from subordinate groups can rise above their circumstances to enjoy the benefits and privileges of first-class citizenship if they too adopt the worldview of those in power. A merit system that requires skill at passing tests is promoted among all groups as an equitable and just way of awarding benefits and privileges. This aristocracy of intelligence, or meritocracy, is then touted as the reason why some make it and some do not.

What the Law Says

The Constitution of the United States is more explicit about protecting rights than it is about protecting privileges. It does not determine that anyone has a right or a privilege to an education, but instead assigns the task of educating citizens to the states where they reside. In 1973 the Supreme Court declared in *San Antonio v. Rodriguez* that education is not a fundamental right under the U.S. Constitution. North Carolina, on the other hand, states in Section 15 of its constitution that the people have a right to the privilege of education, and it is the duty of the state to guard and maintain that right. Still, movement toward establishing the concept of education as a fundamental right at the national level remains a goal for some legal, policy, and educational research advocates.

A number of state legal cases, for example, *Edgewood v. Alamo Heights* in Texas and *Baldwin Park v. Beverly Hills* and *Serrano v. Priest* in California, have piqued national consciousness around several issues including the fundamentality of public education, the struggle of haves versus have-nots, and the battle against discrimination. Great disparity in public educational quality is a result of the formula used to fund public education based on property taxes. Some states have attempted to remedy the funding disparity between affluent and poor districts by consolidating

school districts, arranging contractual agreements between districts, and allowing for creative transfer of commercial property and retail sales taxes. The fact is that lengthy legal battles over the last several decades have yielded tenuous victories at best. Some equal educational opportunity research advocates have concluded that “adequacy” has appeared to replace “equity” as the organizing legal concept for judicially assisted school finance reform.

Apparently the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown* has offered minimal definitive direction for the legal battles that have followed it, leading *Brown* critics to declare the decision more of a symbolic victory than a substantive one as far as equal educational opportunity is concerned. American society has been historically structured along racial lines, where Whiteness confers privilege and Blackness either negates or questions the suitability of privilege. In systematically unjust societies, differential possession of basic human and political rights becomes a privilege. Racialized social privileges such as education then become a highly contested politicized issue that forces equal educational opportunity advocates to fight to move education from the realm of privilege to the realm of human and civil right.

Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights recognizes the right of everyone to an education that contributes to the full development of the human personality, its sense of dignity, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It further affirms that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society; promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic, or religious groups; and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. The differential regard for education as a right or a privilege among states within the United States and among countries throughout the world indicates the amount of work to be done to bring about compliance with the International Covenant’s belief in the redemptive value of education in the world community.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also Affirmative Action; African American Education; Antiracist Education; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Civil Rights Movement; Democracy and Education; Education, History of; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Hegemony; International Expositions; Philosophy of Education; Politics of Education; Sociology of Education; Values Education; White Privilege

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PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

Progressive education refers to a philosophy of education and educational practices that began in the late 1890s and has persisted to the present. Often associated with the writings of American philosopher John Dewey, it has been the subject of intense debate throughout this period. This entry reviews the fundamental principles of progressive education, looks at its development over time in the United States, and offers a brief current perspective.

Purposes

The purpose of education has been seen in a variety of ways: religious, utilitarian, civic, and social mobility. In the late nineteenth century, progressive reformers insisted that government be responsive to the welfare of its citizens rather than to the welfare of corporations. Reformers such as Horace Mann in the nineteenth century had looked to schools as a means of addressing social problems, so reformers once again looked to schools as a means of preserving and promoting democracy within the new urban and industrial social order.

While there is no one definition of progressive education, there are four dominant themes that have defined it:

1. an expansion of the school to include a direct concern for health, occupation, and community life;
2. the use of more caring, active, and organized teaching methods based on research in philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences;
3. the development of teaching methods aimed at different kinds and classes of children;
4. the use of systematic and organized methods for the administration and management of the schools.

John Dewey's Role

John Dewey, although born and raised in Vermont, had by 1894 become thoroughly enmeshed in the problems of urbanization as a resident of Chicago and chair of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago. Distressed with the abrupt dislocation of families from rural to urban environments; concerned with the loss of traditional ways of understanding the maintenance of civilization; anxious about the effects unleashed individualism and rampant materialism would have upon a democratic society, Dewey sought answers in pedagogic practice.

Dewey argued for a restructuring of schools along the lines of “embryonic communities” and for the creation of a curriculum, that would allow for the child’s interests and developmental level. Dewey believed that the end of education was growth, which was firmly posited within a democratic society.

To implement his ideas, Dewey created the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. There, children studied basic subjects in an integrated curriculum. Dewey advocated active learning, starting with the needs and interests of the child; he emphasized the role of experience in education and introduced the notion of teacher as facilitator of learning, rather than the font from which all knowledge flows. The school, according to Dewey, was a “miniature community, an embryonic society” and discipline was a tool that would develop “a spirit of social cooperation and community life.”

Dewey’s ideas about education, often referred to as “progressive,” proposed that educators start with the

needs and interests of the child in the classroom and allow the child to participate in planning his/her course of study; his idea school advocated project method or group learning and depended heavily upon experiential learning.

Dewey’s progressive methodology rested upon the notion that children were active, organic beings, growing and changing, and required a course of study that would reflect their particular stage of development. He advocated both freedom and responsibility for students since those are vital components of democratic living. He believed that the school should reflect the community, in order to enable students when they graduate, to assume societal roles, and to maintain the democratic way of life. Democracy was particularly important for Dewey. And he believed that it could be more perfectly realized through education—education that would continually reconstruct and reorganize society.

Dewey’s vision of schools was rooted in the social order; he did not see ideas as separate from social conditions. He fervently believed that philosophy had a responsibility to society and that ideas required laboratory testing; hence the importance of the school as a place where ideas can be implemented, challenged, restructured, reconstructed with the goal of implementing them to improve the social order. Moreover, he believed that school should function as preparation for life in a democratic society.

In a progressive setting, the teacher is no longer the authoritarian source of all knowledge. Rather, the teacher assumes the peripheral position of facilitator. The teacher encourages, offers suggestions, questions, helps plan and implement courses of study. The teacher also writes the curriculum and must have a command of several disciplines in order to create and implement the curriculum. Dewey proposed that children learn both individually and in groups.

While few can dispute Dewey’s influence upon educational reformers, few would take issue with the notion that Dewey was often misread, misunderstood, and misinterpreted. Thus Dewey’s emphasis upon the child’s impulses, feelings, and interests led to a form of progressive education that often became synonymous with permissiveness, and his emphasis upon vocations ultimately led the way for “life adjustment” curriculum reformers.

Strands of Progressive Education

There have been three strands of progressive education: (1) child centered, (2) social efficiency, and (3) social reconstructionism.

G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924) believed that children's development reflects the stages of development of civilization. Thus schools, according to Hall, should tailor their curricula to the stages of child development. Hall argued that traditional schools stifled the child's natural impulses, and suggested that schools individualize instruction and attend to the needs and interests of the children they educate. This strand of progressive reform became known as child-centered reform.

On the flip side of child-centered reform was social efficiency reform, which encouraged educators to be "socially efficient" in the ways they went about educating students. This led to a belief that schools should be a meaningful experience for students and that schools should prepare students to earn a living and for life. This strand resulted in "life adjustment" education, the purpose of which was to have children conform to the demands of society, a far cry from Dewey's idea that the schools should be a "lever for social reform."

Social reconstructionism emphasized the community side of the equation, especially with regard to the development of a more just, humane, and egalitarian society. Based upon the work of Kenneth Benne and George Counts at Teachers College, Columbia University, social reconstructionists viewed schools as the key to building a new social order.

Historical Development

1900–1945

Before the 1920s, progressive reformers tended to concentrate their efforts in public education, applying scientific management techniques to the administration of schools, reforming curriculum, and creating secondary, vocational schools. Around the 1920s many progressive educators began to focus on private schools attended by middle-class children. These schools, often the creation of parent cooperatives or talented practitioners, stressed individual freedom and that schools help children develop their potentials.

These schools, commonly referred to by educators as "child centered" were often founded by female practitioners reacting against the strict methods of the existing public schools.

Whereas these child-centered progressive schools were almost all independent private schools, public education was dominated by the social engineering strand of progressivism. The high school was transformed from an exclusively academic institution at the turn of the century to one dominated by life-adjustment functions by the 1930s and later to social class and race-based tracking systems that separated academic and vocational education. Public progressive education from the 1930s to the 1960s often stressed life adjustment rather than intellectual functions and often helped to reproduce rather than ameliorate social class, race, and gender inequalities. However, the paradox of private child-centered schools was that they catered to an overwhelmingly affluent population, thus contradicting Dewey's belief that progressive schools should be democratic.

1945–1960

During the post-World War II period, the patterns that emerged during the progressive era were continued. First, the debate about the goals of education (i.e., academic, social, or both) and whether all children should receive the same education remained an important one. Second, the demand for the expansion of educational opportunity became perhaps the most prominent feature of educational reform. Efforts were also directed at finding ways to translate these expanded opportunities into more equal educational outcomes at all levels of education. As in the first half of the twentieth century, so too, in the second half, the compatibility of expanded educational opportunity with the maintenance of educational standards would create significant problems. Thus, the tensions between equity and excellence became crucial in the debates of this period.

These debates can be best understood by examining reform cycles of the twentieth century, which revolved between progressive and traditional visions of schooling. On the one hand, traditionalists believed in knowledge-centered education, a traditional subject-centered

curriculum, teacher-centered education, discipline and authority, and the defense of academic standards in the name of excellence. On the other hand, progressives believed in experiential education, a curriculum that responded to both the needs of students and the times, child-centered education, freedom and individualism, and the relativism of academic standards in the name of equity. Although these poles and educational practices rarely were in only one direction, the conflicts over educational policies and practices seemed to move back and forth between these two extremes.

From 1945 to 1955, conservative critics attacked progressive education. Critics assailed progressive education for its sacrificing of intellectual goals to social ones. They argued that the life adjustment education of the period combined with an increasingly anti-intellectual curriculum destroyed the traditional academic functions of schooling. Throughout the 1950s the debate between progressives who defended the social basis of the curriculum and critics who demanded a more academic curriculum raged on. What was often referred to as “the great debate” ended with the Soviet launching of the space satellite *Sputnik*. The idea that the Soviets would win the race for space resulted in a national commitment to improve educational standards in general and to increase mathematical and scientific literacy, in particular. From 1957 through the mid-1960s, the emphasis shifted to the pursuit of excellence and curriculum reformers attempted to redesign the curricula in ways that would lead to the return of academic standards.

1960s to the Present

By the mid-1960s, however, the shift in educational priorities moved again toward the progressive side. This occurred in two distinct but overlapping ways. First, the civil rights movement led to an emphasis on equity issues. Thus, federal legislation, such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, emphasized the education of disadvantaged children. Second, in the context of the antiwar movement of the times, the general criticism of American society, and the persistent failure of the schools to ameliorate problems of poverty and of racial minorities, a “new

progressivism” developed that linked the failure of the schools to the problems in society. Ushered in by the publication of A. S. Neill’s *Summerhill* in 1960, a book about an English boarding school with few, if any, rules and which was dedicated to the happiness of the child, the new progressivism provided an intellectual and pedagogical assault on the putative sins of traditional education, its authoritarianism, its racism, its misplaced values of intellectualism, and its failure to meet the emotional and psychological needs of children.

U.S. progressive educators studied British progressive or open education, which resulted in significant experimentation in some American schools. Emphasis on individualism and relevant education, along with the challenge to the unquestioned authority of the teacher, resulted in “alternative,” “free,” or “open” education: schooling that once again shifted attention away from content to process. There is little evidence to suggest that the open classroom was a national phenomena. Nonetheless, progressive education during this period challenged traditional schooling and attempted to provide educational opportunity for the disadvantaged.

By the late 1970s, conservative critics began to react to the progressive reforms of the 1960s to 1970s. They argued that liberal reforms in pedagogy and curriculum and in the arena of educational opportunity had resulted in the decline of authority and standards. Furthermore, the critics argued that the preoccupation with using the schools to ameliorate social problems, however well intended, not only failed to do this, but was part of an overall process that resulted in mass mediocrity.

In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence issued *A Nation at Risk*. This report provided an indictment of American education, citing high rates of adult illiteracy, declining SAT scores, and low scores on international comparisons of knowledge by American students as examples of the decline of literacy and standards. From 1983 to the present, attention has been given to the improvement of curriculum, the tightening of standards, and a move toward the setting of academic goals and their assessment. The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was the culmination of these efforts. NCLB also stressed equity, as its goal is to eliminate the achievement gap between groups by 2014.

Contemporary Progressive Reforms

Although this conservative standards movement dominated U.S. education from 1983 to the present, from the 1990s there has been an increased interest in progressive education, especially as it relates to attempts to balance individualism and community. Progressive reforms echo many of the earlier concerns of progressive education. They stress diversity, child-centeredness, small school size, active learning, integrated curricula, and democracy.

In the early part of the twenty-first century, progressive reformers stressed school size as vital to urban school reform. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has given hundreds of millions of dollars to break up large urban schools into smaller, more progressive schools. In New York City, New Visions for Public Schools has founded over 100 small schools with philosophies similar to that of the Center for Collaborative Education. Although preliminary data on the achievement of children from low-income families seems promising, it is too early to draw conclusions.

Despite continual criticism, progressive education remains an important part of U.S. education. Even one of its severe critics, historian Diane Ravitch, acknowledges the wonderful education her children received in a New York City progressive private school. She argues that all children should have the opportunity for such an education, which combines academic rigor with child-centered process. It remains to be seen if the contemporary progressive public schools will fulfill her wish.

Susan F. Semel

See also Alternative Schools; Dalton Plan; Dalton School

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PROJECT METHOD

The project method was developed by William Heard Kilpatrick (1871–1965) during the progressive period in American education. Based on the teachings of John Dewey (1859–1952), it incorporated modifications and focused on a curriculum which used the child's life experiences and interests.

Kilpatrick was Dewey's student at Teachers College, Columbia University. Kilpatrick's focus was upon the use of successful living in a democratic society. He emphasized problem-area studies or social living themes which had a moral outcome that was organized around the children's interests. Subject matter was only used to fulfill the method's educational purpose.

Kilpatrick taught courses in the history of education at Teachers College and published *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York* in 1912, based on his doctoral dissertation. He wrote about and critically examined the Montessori system and Froebel's kindergarten in 1916.

Kilpatrick believed the best guarantee of sharpened intellectual results and enhanced moral judgment was in a curriculum reorganized around projects. By 1918, he prepared an essay, "The Project Method," which first appeared in the *Teachers College Record*. His essay placed the purposeful act at the heart of the educative process. This publication brought Kilpatrick national and international fame. Over 60,000 reprints of the article circulated during the next twenty-five years. His aim was to show how purposeful activity in a social

environment was capable of reconciling Edward L. Thorndike's connectionism with Dewey's view of experience and education. He believed that by emphasizing purposeful activity, consonant with the child's own goals, he would take maximum account of Thorndike's law of effect, thereby enhancing both direct and concomitant learning. And by using a social environment, he believed certain ethical outcomes would also result.

Kilpatrick's essay "The Project Method" proposed that actual experience offered typical moral life experiences more than the usual school curriculum did, thus ensuring permanent acquisition of intelligent moral character. In 1925 he wrote *Foundations of Method*, which elaborated on the project method. He professed that subject matter could never be set in advance; it would have to result from activities the students pursued and planned. His four steps were: purposing, planning, executing, and judging. According to him, the only way to learn well is to practice living well, thus he favored a child-centered approach over a subject matter one. Kilpatrick used his classes to disseminate these progressive education ideas. Over the years as a professor at Teachers College, he taught approximately 35,000 students from all over the country.

Kilpatrick's work on the project method appears to be the version of progressive education that remains most used and best known. By 1940 small evidences of the project method were clearly used in American classrooms, though often out of their progressive philosophical context.

Sally H. Wertheim

See also Philosophy of Education

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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PSYCHOANALYSIS AND EDUCATION

Psychoanalysis and education have a long history of overlapping concerns and contrasting issues. Sigmund Freud once remarked that education makes psychoanalysis both possible and necessary. In this sense, psychoanalysis might be understood as the prescription for problems created by education. On the other hand, ideas about learning and processes of learning are at the heart of psychoanalysis, so educators might benefit from understanding their work in psychoanalytic terms. This entry will provide several examples of such terms and their relevance for education: *learning*, *resistance*, *transference*, *countertransference*, and *attachment*.

Learning

Psychoanalysis and education have a long history of overlap and quarrel, but they both focus on human development. Many psychoanalysts were also trained in education, for example, Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Ernst Kris, and Erik Erikson. Similarly, educational writers such as John Dewey and William James studied works in psychoanalysis. More recently, educational thinkers such as Deborah Britzman, Alan Block, Alice Pitt, Sharon Todd, and Shoshanna Felman have applied ideas of psychoanalysis to educational theory and at the same time have offered ideas to psychoanalysis.

Anna Freud once claimed that teaching is "learning twice"; first one learns as one prepares for one's students, and then one learns from one's students as one teaches. Yet, the learning alluded to in this instance is not so much an anticipation of what the students will learn or think about; rather, it is more of a pedagogical disposition, in the sense that the double movement from the material to the potential created in the educational encounter implicates learners in their own learning.

Many educational objectives preoccupy themselves with the quick application of knowledge to the solution of problems. Psychoanalytic conceptions of learning, however, slow us down and ask us to look at the kinds of learning that might come before application.

This “other” type of learning that is often hidden by educational objectives often has more to do with confronting anxiety and exploring identity.

Another approach to learning from psychoanalysis accepts the perpetual “loss” endemic to educational practice, by which it is recognized that the teacher is always pursuing knowledge of her or his students, yet never actually obtaining it. The Western system of education is not designed to notice that learning occurs over time, or even that accidents, chance, and frustration may be as much the source of learning as the effects of learning, and may not even be obviously related to any specific actions on the part of an adult. In general, educators focus on what they can observe teachers doing.

Modern educational theory persists in placing the teacher at the center of education, despite a claim to student-centered learning. Such theory creates “blind spots” that shut out the serious work of the learner, ignore the serious mistakes that cannot be admitted or debated, conflicts that are central to the experiences of learning, and so on. Instead of a clear set of understandings about what makes “learning happen,” the result is a lot of defensiveness on the part of the adult, as if the work of learning is only an authentication of or an answer to the question of the adult’s capacity to control, to predict, and to measure “progress.” A psychoanalytic perspective like this raises the paradoxes or contradictions between principles or conclusions that seem equally necessary and reasonable.

Teachers enter the educational encounter with a whole lot of stuff that they want to share with youth. Teachers know a great deal. If *students* knew the same things, they would be able to do so much! On the other hand, teachers never really can know what the students are doing, how they learn, precisely, what is happening inside their minds. Is there a chemical change in the brain or heart? A neuronetwork restructuring that is formed in response to a question from a teacher or other student in the class? Teachers act as if their specific actions *cause* precise changes in the student, none of which can ever really be known. Or educators may write a history of the event afterward in which they claim that a specific task or a specific way of asking a question led to a new conceptual understanding on the part of a student, even

though there really is no way of knowing at the moment that such a pedagogical move would have that precise effect. This is what comes to be known as a practitioner’s wisdom: Over time experience seems to provide so many case studies of what might or might not happen that the teacher seems to develop a repertoire of potential proactive and reactive actions. Teachers are always feeling as if the objects of their attention are “purloined,” that is, lost, displaced, or misplaced (perhaps stolen?).

Resistance

The concept of resistance can be used to consider events in which it seems that students are not learning. First of all, it must be realized that, from a psychoanalytic perspective, resistance is a part of learning. People must go through resistance to genuinely learn. Resistance occurs when someone meets the otherness of their own unconscious knowledge. People always resist confronting the unconscious. They try to meet the unconscious, and instead, the unconscious is forever creating itself anew from the bits and pieces of everyday life that recall wishes that are taboo and experiences that are too painful to confront head on. Learning might be said to deal with, on the one hand, the curious ways in which ideas and affect organize and reorganize each other and attach themselves to new experiences; on the other hand, learning has to do with the method of approach—how to “go there.” To “go there,” one passes through resistance.

When Freud first started working in psychoanalysis, he thought that resistances to learning were like barriers that the unconscious constructed to protect what was hidden there. Later he refined his theory. He decided that the barriers were constructed by the ego as a defense against such knowledge. What might it mean for teaching mathematics to consider resistance to learning as a mechanism of defense against unconscious knowledge? The French theorist Jacques Lacan called unconscious knowledge “knowledge that cannot tolerate one’s knowing that one knows.” Learning poses dangers to the learners: They must pass through resistance in order to learn. This insight—that knowledge may be refused because it may be threatening to

one's sense of self—is painful for teachers, but their desire that the learner just accept and understand the value of mathematics is also partly a symptom of teachers' own struggle to master their own difficulties.

New knowledge provokes a crisis within the self when it is felt as interference, or as a critique of the self's coherence or view of the world. These crises call forth a “crisis of witnessing” in which the learner is incapable of an adequate response because the knowledge offered is dissonant in the order of trauma; the response can only be a working through—a mourning—of belated knowledge. The confronted self vacillates, sometimes violently and sometimes passively, sometimes imperceptibly, and sometimes shockingly, between resistance as symptom and the working through of resistance.

When the movements of affect and idea are in conflict, varying forms of aggression also can be staged as the self struggles for elusive mastery through strategies such as the discounting of an experience as having nothing to do with the self and the freezing of the event in a history that has no present. These mechanisms of defense—undoing what has already happened and isolating the event in a time that has long past—are key ways the ego attempts to console itself. But the cost of consolation is severe.

Our first interpretation of resistance is often to label it as behavior problems. Teachers feel angry, annoyed, or helpless, and they want to do something about their own feelings. The trick is to recall that these behaviors are just as possibly signs that important learning is taking place. If teachers move directly to punishment or correction, they may be inadvertently teaching the student to avoid the hard work of learning, to not-learn, since trying to learn is a punishable act. How ironic! A critical response to resistance behavior requires that teachers internally monitor themselves:

I feel angry . . . so stop thinking of myself and focus on the student: talk to the student about the mathematics, backtrack with her or him to the point where the resistance can be identified; help the student look at the moment in time when the knowledge was lost.

Teaching may not be the same as acting as a psychoanalyst, but there are many parallels. During the course of every psychoanalytic therapy, the patient

will behave in ways that interfere with the progress of the treatment. This interference is called resistance. Because psychoanalytic therapy helps the patient achieve freedom of thought and action by talking freely, the negative emotional forces that caused his or her symptoms manifest themselves as obstacles to the talking therapy. Similarly, teachers should not be surprised if students exhibit behaviors of resistance throughout every educational curriculum.

In school, too, teachers want students to speak about their thoughts, to share their ideas and beliefs and opinions, and the difficulties of confronting new knowledge will be manifested in behaviors that delay learning. Like a patient undergoing analysis, a student may exhibit any of the following: become unable to talk any longer; feel he or she has nothing to say; need to keep secrets from his or her teacher; withhold things from the teacher because he or she is ashamed of them; feel that what he or she has to say isn't important; repeat him- or herself constantly; refrain from discussing certain topics; want to do something other than talk; desire advice rather than understanding; talk only about thoughts and not feelings; talk only about feelings and not thoughts.

These and many other forms of possible resistance keep students from learning about themselves and from growing and becoming the people they want to be. A patient and analyst study together the meaning and purpose of the resistance and try to understand the key to unlocking it and allowing the patient to continue growing. Many therapists recognize that a patient may *need* to resist, and they use a relaxed approach as an aid in overcoming the problem. Similarly, a teacher and his or her students must together study their resistance to learning, the meaning and purpose of this resistance, and try to understand the key to unlocking it and allowing the students to keep growing. And teachers recognize that resistance to learning is a part of learning itself; students need to do this in order to learn.

Transference and Countertransference

In response, teachers might work to create a “holding environment” in which students can do the work of repair that constitutes therapy. The primary work

to establish such an environment is to listen and to understand how the student is forming relations of meaning. In the process, however, a teacher must develop the skills to recognize when transference and/or countertransference is occurring. Transference is the redirection of feelings and desires, especially those retained from childhood, onto another person. A teacher may be aware of such redirection occurring in the actions and feelings of a student; more difficult is to recognize such transference occurring in the feelings and desires of the teacher her- or himself, an equally likely occurrence, sometimes called countertransference. Countertransference can allow a teacher to gain insight into the kinds of emotions and reactions the student often tends to induce in others. In this way, the countertransference is a welcomed phenomenon which can prove invaluable to the relationship.

Attachment

Attachment is a tie that one person forms between him- or herself and another specific one (usually a parent), such a tie that binds them together in space and endures over time. Psychoanalysts might say that children need to form attachments to a parent in order to be able to form other sorts of attachments—to others, to the idea of leaning, to the value of school, and so on. Many students do not come to a classroom or other educational experience ready to form such attachments. Because of this, many schools and teachers work to create communities where students can feel like they are valued and secure, in order to develop the necessary attachment requisite to learning.

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See also Ideology and Schooling; Philosophy of Education; Resistance, Student

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PYGMALION EFFECT

The *Pygmalion effect* refers to the notion that teachers' expectations of their students may come to serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The process can be summarized as follows: Teachers form certain expectations about their students. These expectations are then communicated through teachers' day-to-day interactions with their students, their educational planning, and the way they assess their students. Students tend to respond by adjusting their behaviors to correspond with teachers' expectations and interactions. Teachers' expectations are eventually fulfilled and a circle of self-fulfilling prophecies is created. This entry describes the history of the idea and its implications for education.

Historical Context

The phrase *self-fulfilling prophecy* was coined in 1948 by twentieth-century sociologist Robert K. Merton, who asserts that once an expectation is formed, even if it is erroneous, people tend to act in ways that are consistent with that expectation and, quite often, the expectation will come true. Merton describes a self-fulfilling prophecy as an initial false belief about a situation that guides a person to take on a new behavior that causes the original false belief to come true.

Self-fulfilling prophecies can be observed in a variety of social institutions, and educational institutions are no exception. The *Pygmalion effect* takes its name from the mythological sculptor, Pygmalion, who created a woman, Galatea, so beautiful that he prayed to the gods to make her a real woman. It was first demonstrated in a classic study by Harvard University professor and psychologist Robert Rosenthal and elementary school principal Lenore Jacobson. Concerned about the failure of disadvantaged children in the public school system, Rosenthal and Jacobson set up a study in an elementary school they called Oak School. The researchers hypothesized that a relationship exists between teachers' expectations and students' academic performance.

In the spring of 1964, they administered an intelligence test they called The Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition to all students who might return to Oak School the following fall. They led the teachers to believe that the test could identify those students who would intellectually "bloom" and show a "spurt" of rapid, intellectual growth within the near future. Just prior to the beginning of the following school year, teachers were given a list with the names of those students who, on the basis of the test, could be expected to intellectually "bloom" and "spurt." However, these lists contained the names of students who were randomly selected by the researchers; the only difference between the identified "spurters," 20 percent of the student body, and the rest of the children was in the minds of the teachers.

At the end of the academic year, Rosenthal and Jacobson readministered the intelligence test to all the students. Results indicated that students labeled *bloomers* and *spurters*, outperformed students in the control group. This was particularly true for first and second graders. First graders in the experimental condition showed average gains of 15.4 IQ points compared to gains of 12 IQ points for control students, while second graders in the experimental condition showed average gains of 16.5 IQ points compared to 7 IQ points for the control students. In general, students in the experimental condition showed a 12.22 IQ-point gain compared to an 8.42 gain for the control students across all grades.

It was also found that the academic performance of students in the experimental group improved, and they

were described by their teachers as more likely to succeed in the future, more intellectually curious, and happier. Rosenthal and Jacobson concluded that a relationship *does* exist between teachers' expectations and students' academic performance and that the Pygmalion effect or self-fulfilling prophecy was at work in the classroom.

Implications for Education

Rosenthal and Jacobson's study serves to alert educators about the role that teachers' expectations may have on students' academic performance. Expectations based on preconceived notions about students' abilities can be communicated in a variety of ways, including but not limited to paying more attention to students perceived to be high achievers, giving more praise for correct responses and criticizing less for incorrect responses, allowing more waiting time for responding to questions, providing more accurate and more detailed feedback, and assigning more demanding work.

Expectations may also be based on factors that extend beyond the cognitive capabilities of students and may lead to inequalities in the classroom. For example, teachers' beliefs about gender differences, student behavior, ethnically different students, and students from different socioeconomic classes may direct teachers to create a type of classroom environment in which their treatment of these beliefs and the accompanying expectations will, in effect, help their prophecies come true. Furthermore, teachers' expectations may also impact students with special needs since these students are often labeled according to their performance on tests, which may in turn lead some teachers to justify reduced expectations.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's model of Pygmalion in the classroom remains relevant to contemporary classroom practice. Given the diversity of students in today's classrooms, teachers can use the *Pygmalion effect* to help them eliminate inequalities in the classroom by fostering a climate of positive expectations for all students. James Rhem urges teachers to realize that teaching involves more than just the transfer of facts. Teachers should expect more from their students than what they think is possible and create conditions

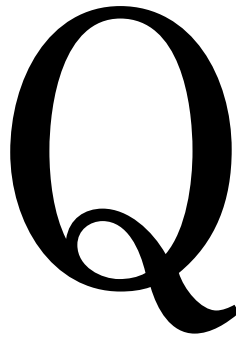
to help students fulfill positive teacher expectations. Despite the great pressure to meet the required standards, teachers need to find ways to help all students reach their potential beyond the minimum expectations. Essentially, every teacher should strive to become a Pygmalion and transform every student into a Galatea.

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See also Teacher Beliefs About Students

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QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The rise of qualitative research has generated a great deal of renewed interest in the social and cultural foundations of education. Formerly, research and educational foundations were connected largely through the philosophy of science, and that connection was usually limited to the narrow specialization known as logical positivism. Positivism served as the foundation for quantitative and experimental research designs. Yet with the emergence of qualitative inquiry in the 1980s and 1990s, researchers sought support for their work from a much broader range of scholarly traditions. Today, these traditions include not only the social sciences, but also phenomenology, hermeneutics, critical theory, postmodernism, and aesthetics.

Recent developments in qualitative research are examined below in three sections. The first section recounts the growth of qualitative approaches as one of the leading trends in contemporary educational research. How did educational research, formerly a small and often obscure specialty within the social sciences, become as remarkably diverse as it is today? The second section categorizes current approaches to qualitative research based on their conceptual foundations. These categories include social science-based research, continental perspectives, and the arts. The third section briefly examines some of the ongoing challenges associated with each category.

The Rise of Qualitative Research

Before the 1970s, educational research was dominated largely by the social sciences. Psychology in particular was seen as an appropriate home for educational researchers because of that discipline's early interest in theories of learning. Psychology was also attractive to educational researchers because it claimed status as a science. In particular, psychological research vigorously sought to emulate the natural and physical sciences by emphasizing objective procedures, experimental designs, rigorous measurement, and statistical forms of analysis. In turn, early educational research vigorously sought to emulate psychology on the same basis. Early educational psychologists such as Edward L. Thorndike and John B. Watson were committed believers in building a science of education, and that mission was to cast a long shadow across twentieth-century educational research.

Anthropology and sociology, not psychology, were the primary avenues through which qualitative methods first entered educational research. Although these disciplines were widely respected, they lacked the same degree of scientific luster as psychology. Partly for this reason, early qualitative studies were suspect from the beginning, and to counter suspicion, early researchers were devoutly loyal to their discipline. Initially, at least, anthropologists conducted anthropological studies that happened to be on education or carried out in educational settings. Likewise, sociologists

conducted sociological studies that happened to be on education or carried out in educational settings. As researchers became accustomed to the “field-based” methods of their social science colleagues, qualitative research slowly gained acceptance as a valid form of educational inquiry.

At the same time, the late 1960s and early 1970s brought a new skepticism of social science and especially its tight embrace of positivism. Widely read books such as Thomas Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* portrayed science as a historical and social endeavor. Scholars came to write about the “linguistic turn” in the natural as well as the social sciences. This movement sought to recognize how language plays an active role in shaping a field’s knowledge base. Later, sociology and anthropology were to draw more openly on the humanities as well. Concepts such as “thick description” made their way into ethnography, and scholars wrote of the “sociological imagination.” Although these developments helped to invigorate the social sciences, researcher objectivity was tainted, and by implication, science itself was no longer regarded as the sole legitimate source of knowledge.

Educational research was again influenced by these broader developments. Researchers began to question the very possibility of a science of education and the likelihood of ever discovering universal laws. Some of the earliest critics came not from the field’s still small qualitative wing, but from its quantitative majority. Lee Cronbach, for example, wrote with growing discontent over the limitations of a strictly scientific approach. A leading psychometrician, Cronbach argued in a 1974 address to the American Psychological Association that the unstable and dynamic nature of human culture ultimately prevented the social sciences from accumulating the types of predictive generalizations found in the physical and natural sciences. Donald Campbell, a well-known research design specialist, also provides an example of changing perspectives. Campbell’s early views privileged quantitative research over qualitative research on all counts. Later, he reversed this position by arguing that in many cases, qualitative rather than quantitative findings should be regarded as the more trustworthy.

Expanding the Foundations of Research

The measured skepticism of the 1970s marked a new openness toward innovative research methods and a greater range of research approaches. These developments did not mean that qualitative research was now suddenly welcomed with open arms. On the contrary, debates over the acceptability of qualitative methods in education have always been intense. Throughout the 1980s, these debates were so animated that they came to be called “the paradigm wars.” Nevertheless, persistent clamor has not prevented qualitative research from flourishing into a broad constellation of approaches, orientations, and distinct methodologies. Although such broadly ranging work is difficult to review, the following section organizes different types of qualitative research into three broad groups: (1) social science–based research, (2) continental perspectives, and (3) arts-based inquiry. Although these categories overlap, each category draws on a distinct set of foundational assumptions about the nature of knowledge and how knowledge grows.

Research Based on the Social Sciences

The influence of social science and its positivist foundations has already been noted. These early foundations eventually gave rise to postpositivism. Researchers who embrace postpositivism acknowledge that science cannot establish truth in an absolute or pure sense. They do, however, see considerable merit in using procedural objectivity (i.e., rigorous measurement and scientific methods) to detect and eliminate mistaken beliefs. Thus, the growth of knowledge in this approach is accomplished by a gradual but persistent reduction of error.

Some qualitative researchers continue to look to postpositivism to support their work as a scientific endeavor. Others have turned to constructivism, a position that is increasingly common within the various qualitative camps of social research. Constructivism is rooted in the empirical pragmatism of John Dewey and the genetic epistemology of Jean Piaget. This position rejects the assumption that knowledge consists of an accurate or error-free representation of reality. Instead, constructivists hold that knowledge is created

through an interaction between researchers and their objects of study. In other words, knowledge is a product of cognition and socialization; it is construed rather than discovered. As a result, knowledge grows horizontally rather than vertically. Progress is made by moving from a simple or singular view of reality to increasingly complex, differentiated, and multiple perspectives.

Continental Perspectives

Postpositivism and constructivism continue the long-standing relationship between education and the social sciences. An increasingly important but less conventional source of foundational support is associated with the traditions of continental philosophy. Approaches in this category include phenomenology, critical theory, hermeneutics, and postmodernism. It is not possible to do justice to these diverse philosophical movements in the limited space at hand. Nevertheless, continental perspectives will be recognized, even if briefly, because they have provided a rich and widely recognized set of foundational assumptions for qualitative research.

The first continental approach is phenomenology. In the field of philosophy, phenomenology refers to both a complex tradition and a technical method. The method, sometimes referred to as “bracketing,” is associated with the work of Edmund Husserl and his colleague Alfred Schutz. It involves an effort to set aside our taken-for-granted assumptions about a particular phenomenon in order to examine it in a more complete way. Qualitative researchers rarely follow this method in any strict sense. Instead, they have been attracted to phenomenology because of its strong emphasis on human consciousness, meaning, and subjectivity. Phenomenology has been especially useful to researchers who are interested in topics such as engagement, attention, identity, affect, caring, and rapport. The basic approach is to systematically vary the contexts of meaning associated with a given phenomenon. Qualitative researchers usually avoid words such as *essence* and *nature*, terms that have been used in philosophical phenomenology. However, they do seek to identify the thematic features of a particular phenomenon and how a range of meanings becomes attached to it.

Critical theory is a second tradition often identified with continental thought. Although critical theory has strongly influenced many forms of social science, the foundational assumptions that have guided qualitative research originate in a philosophical stance. Moreover, the emphasis of critical theory on social justice and activism stands in sharp contrast to the aloof detachment so often recommended in the canons of social science. In particular, critical research is rooted in Karl Marx’s definition of critical theory as a way to support the social and political struggles of a given age. Today, these struggles include the problems of racism, sexism, homophobia, anthropocentrism, and oppressive class structures. When investigating such problems, critical researchers see detachment as neither desirable nor possible.

Instead, critical theory holds that all research is political because it is embedded within socially and historically situated relationships of power. These relationships privilege certain groups over others to create social inequities. The aims of critical research are to reveal and critique these inequities. In particular, the oppression of specific social groups is most troublesome when the mechanisms of oppression are either hidden from consciousness or viewed as a natural part of life. Thus, critical research assumes several functions. First, it seeks to help others recognize that oppressive structures exist and that these structures are unwarranted. Second, critical research seeks strategies for eliminating oppression through political action. Ultimately, the growth of knowledge is measured in terms of democratic participation and social justice.

Hermeneutics is a third broad tradition in continental philosophy that has shaped qualitative forms of research. This tradition may seem an odd juxtaposition with critical theory because the scholarly origins of hermeneutics concern how to interpret biblical texts. Today, however, hermeneutics encompasses a broad range of scholarship, and many different types of qualitative researchers (including critical theorists) may employ hermeneutic methods. These methods are concerned foremost with the interpretation of meaning. Social and educational events are understood by *reading* them, and such readings rely on what is called the hermeneutic circle. Although this term can have

different meanings, it usually refers to a way of examining a text by moving back and forth between the parts of the text and the text as a whole. In hermeneutics, knowledge is a process achieved not through formulaic analyses, but through an ongoing and ever-questioning dialogue among the researchers interested in a given topic.

Postmodernism is a fourth continental philosophy that provides qualitative research with foundational support (and challenges). Postmodernism overlaps with phenomenology, critical theory, and hermeneutics in the sense that all of these earlier traditions have represented a move away from the Enlightenment foundations of modern philosophy. However, whether or not postmodernism is itself a philosophy remains unclear. Postmodernism has been described as a mood, a contemporary condition, a view, and even a malaise. Regardless of what postmodernism is, wide-ranging writers associated with this movement (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault) are best known for challenging the Cartesian modes of rationality in which knowledge is viewed as liberating and progressive.

If modernity holds that language, culture, and knowledge are important tools that people use, postmodernism holds that people not only use these tools but are used by them. What postmodern writers refer to as the “death of the subject,” for example, asserts that the modern subject who constitutes meaning is actually constituted by cultural and historical patterns of thought. These patterns include such grand narratives as humanism, formalism, and structuralism.

Postmodernism has informed qualitative research in several significant ways. Some researchers cite postmodernist writers to emphasize the differences between themselves and those they study. The failure of modern research has been to minimize these differences by “totalizing” others through an indiscriminate application of the grand narratives mentioned above. Other researchers attribute a renewed skepticism of research to postmodern “self-reflexivity.” Researchers who engage in self-reflexivity are constantly asking how their own understandings are both partial and limited to what may be highly specific cultural understandings. Finally, some researchers have used postmodernism to

experiment with mixing various literary and scholarly genres in the reporting of qualitative research.

Arts-Based Approaches

The preceding sections have identified two broad sources of foundational support for qualitative research: the social sciences and continental perspectives. A third general source is that of the arts. Again, significant overlap could be noted between the arts and many of the other traditions already considered. The postmodern mixing of genres just noted, for example, draws upon the arts. However, arts-based research is known also for its distinct principles and practices. Specifically, arts-based research has taken its lead from the work of scholars and critics in fields such as literature, drama, dance, music, and the visual arts.

One aim of art criticism is to help its audience better understand a particular exhibition, play, symphony, or film. Critics are also interested in helping others understand the genres to which these particular works belong. John Dewey defined the aims of criticism as the re-education of perception. Successful criticism provides new ways of seeing by helping people notice what they would otherwise miss. From this perspective, the growth of knowledge is not principally in the accumulation of facts. Rather, knowledge growth is represented in the enhanced ability to understand objects of study.

The objects of arts-based research are not limited to “great works” or outstanding performances. On the contrary, research in this category may investigate ordinary classrooms, school leadership styles, routine curriculum materials such as textbooks and computer software, lesson plans, classroom decor, or student dress styles. Arts-based research differs from other traditions by actively seeking to recognize the aesthetic foundations of education. Elliot Eisner, who developed an early arts-based approach known as educational criticism, argues that classroom instruction may exhibit a range of artistic dimensions. Like artists, teachers seek emergent ends, and their work requires complex and often subtly nuanced skills. Like artists, teachers work within commonly recognized “genres” (e.g., the lecture, role-playing, Socratic dialogue),

and yet who teachers are as individuals also makes a difference in the outcomes of their work. Like art, teaching is shaped by its historical context, and it is open to multiple interpretations. Finally, teaching relies on an amalgam of practiced routine, qualitative judgment, and imagination. All of these artistic dimensions of teaching are open to research.

A final characteristic of arts-based research is that such studies often employ artistic techniques in the reporting of research. In text-based reports, many arts-based researchers consciously use literary forms of language that include metaphor, alliteration, character development, imagery, symbolism, and other rhetorical tropes. Some recent qualitative dissertations in education have taken the form of biographies and novels, for example. In addition, poetry, installation art, dance, drama, and readers' theater have all been used to present research findings at recent professional conferences, including conferences of the American Educational Research Association.

Ongoing Challenges

Each of the foundational categories mentioned above presents a unique set of challenges for contemporary qualitative researchers. Postpositivism and constructivism, for example, are both rooted in the Enlightenment's progressive view of change. Both traditions also privilege a view of rationality as the possession of individuals. These views tend to discount many forms of traditional culture. In today's global context, the result is often a mismatch between research-based technologies and cultural sustainability. Thus, research-"validated" educational programs may actually threaten rather than promote the well-being of some peoples.

Qualitative studies that draw on continental traditions face a different set of challenges. These approaches have given rise to hypersensitivity over the dangers of using knowledge as a tool of cultural domination. Postmodernism in particular holds that all knowledge is local, partial, and suspect. On these grounds, postmodernism has been called an "anti-epistemology." The challenge with this stance is in learning to question privileged knowledge without

dismissing what legitimacy that knowledge does have, particularly at a time when women and minorities are now claiming their own rights to this same knowledge.

The challenges of arts-based research stem mainly from its novelty within the educational research community. In particular, many criteria commonly used in art scholarship and criticism do not seem to align well with conventional research standards. Disagreement among different art critics, for example, is often valued. Compare this desire for differing perceptions and interpretations with what conventional researchers rightly strive for in terms of interrater reliability. The readers of arts-based research may expect different accounts of similar objects or events, from which different conclusions may be drawn. What, then, does this expectation mean for the replication of a study? Is replication no longer important, or can that concept be reconceptualized to better fit arts-based research? Such issues remain unresolved.

This entry examined the rise of qualitative research in education. It also presented three broad categories of contemporary qualitative research based on the sources from which each type of research draws its foundational support. The first category, social science-based research, includes the traditions of postpositivism and constructivism. Continental perspectives include phenomenology, critical theory, hermeneutics, and postmodernism. Arts-based research includes approaches that borrow from fields such as literary and art criticism. The final section of the entry briefly identified some of the challenges associated with each category. These challenges emphasize the need for further foundational analyses and innovation on the part of future researchers.

David J. Flinders

See also Educational Research, History of

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QUEER THEORY

Queer theory functions as a mode of analysis, and it challenges normative ideologies, that is, taken-for-granted assumptions pertaining to sexuality and identity. It contends that identities are elastic and do not determine who people are because identity is not connected to fixed ideas or essences. Queer theory assumes that sexual identities are a result of representations; more than a marker of who people are, identity is a result of what they do—in effect, a performance. Queer theory is important in education because it questions received (predominant) notions of academic disciplinary knowledge, textual and cultural production and interpretation, identity, and difference, but it does not limit its focus to sexual issues.

Identity is a critical and persistent question. Individuals discover their identity by sampling from those that society/culture presents as possibilities. Identity politics, which hinges on marginalized or racialized groups, stresses definition and essentialism even though this can create further marginalization. Queer theory engages in a critique of received identity and suggests that any identity can be potentially redefined or reinvented by its owner.

For example, the norms that govern gender identification are established on a male/female dichotomy because, in general, humans tend to be one sex or the other and express their gender within strict parameters. That is why individuals who do not appear to conform to established gender norms may suffer discrimination at work and outright prejudice in social settings. Heterosexuality is accepted as the received causal connection of chromosomal sex, gender, and sexuality (or sexual desire). However, queer theory argues that heterosexuality is an effect of this continuum and not its source. It is the behavior that gives rise to the identity, not the biology.

Queer Pedagogy

Queer is a variable concept. It can mean odd, funny, curious, unexpected, or remarkable. Thus, queer theory aligns to any academic discipline or discourse and is not limited to sexuality and gender issues, although it legitimizes gender and sexuality as subjects of study. The curriculum becomes queer when it attempts to understand sexuality, gender, identity, and knowing as relational rather than as objects. Queer theory ruptures with essentialism and allies itself with critical pedagogy.

Queer theory critically questions the heterogeneity of identity formation in texts. It gives depth and focus to gay/lesbian scholarship and cultural theory. It also informs disability studies by redefining disability outside the hegemonic ableist discourse, the normative able/disabled, normal/abnormal dichotomies constructed through social contexts. In disability studies, queer theory supports self-definition and challenges the effects of passing or having an invisible disability.

Philosophical/Theoretical Antecedents

Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), Walter Benjamin (1895–1940), and Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), founding members of the Frankfurt School, promulgate the concept that theory needs to be connected to action. Critical theory does not merely explain social phenomena; it aims to change social institutions. Poststructuralism, rather than a school, represents a group of approaches, theoretical positions, and thinkers, most notably Jacques Derrida (1930–2004). Poststructuralism posits that intellectual faculties are not determined by biological essentialism but are the result of socialization. The subject is decentralized and occupies various sites determined by culture and physical practices.

Queer theory continues the project of the Frankfurt School, poststructuralism, and borrows from 1980s “high” theory, which focuses on decentering subjectivity and undoing identity categories to inform and give direction to social, philosophical, and cultural questions.

Michel Foucault (1926–1984), influenced by the ideas of the Frankfurt School, developed several important concepts that serve as the intellectual foundation

of queer theory. In *The History of Sexuality, Volume One: The Will to Knowledge* (1976) and other works, Foucault describes genealogical critique as the process that shows the consequences of denoting as cause or origin the identity categories that are themselves a result of institutions, received practices, and discourses. A discourse, in turn, constructs a topic with the language of institutions; it is a medium that produces, defines, and legitimizes power relations with the objects of our knowledge. Power, to Foucault, is a process, a technique or action (not strength per se); power is not so much owned but employed. Furthermore, an “identity” is not a fixed component inside a person. Rather, it is a temporary construction that changes with the situation. Interactions with others communicate people’s identities.

Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) is one of the pioneer texts of queer theory. Building on the work of Foucault, Butler asserts that feminists mistakenly describe “women” as a monolithic group with shared characteristics. She challenges the “heterosexual matrix” that establishes a causal relationship among sex, gender, and sexuality (i.e., that chromosomal sex determines gender and gender defines behavior). The heterosexual matrix is a binary cultural framework. This model separates humans into men and women with an inherent bias toward compulsory heterosexuality and pathologizes any deviation from this norm.

Even though feminists resist the notion that biology determines identity, the underlying discourse posits that feminine and masculine genders would be expressed on male and female bodies. Butler suggests that gender is not a fixed characteristic but a flexible variable that changes with context and time. Gender, Butler suggests, is not something one is but something one does. Sex and gender do not cause sexuality. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, an important contributor to queer studies, clarifies this assertion by stating that adhering to historical social constructions of the hetero/homo duality are insufficient to account for all dimensions of sexuality.

Teresa de Lauretis is generally credited with first using the term *queer theory*. She later abandons the term because, to her, it has been co-opted to represent the

very things it opposes. Because of its flexibility, queer theory is a useful tool in many areas of study. Important thinkers in queer theory come from fields as diverse as religion, literature, anthropology, communication, philosophy, and sociology. Judith Halberstam, David Halperin, John Boswell (1947–1994), Michael Warner, Kate Bornstein, Gloria Anzaldúa (1942–2004)—these are just a few of the thinkers who have contributed and continue to challenge queer theory with their writing.

Precedents in Education

Multicultural Education

Queer theory is a relatively recent phenomenon; however, it has clear precedents in the social and cultural foundations of education, particularly in multicultural education. In its most basic expression, multicultural education defines a civic curriculum that encourages a multiplicity of perspectives. Groups outside of the mainstream find a voice and representation even in the most elementary application of multicultural programs.

Although multicultural education has been in vogue in the past two decades, James Banks traces its origins to the work of late nineteenth-century Black scholars. In the early twentieth century, John Dewey (1859–1952), a noted philosopher and leader of the progressive education movement, advocated for a new type of education based on the mixed ethnic origins of the United States. Then, in the period around World War I, Horace Kallen (1882–1974), Dewey’s student and follower, introduced the term *cultural pluralism* into the educational discourse and suggested that non-English culture should have a place in American public schools. Rachel Davis DuBois (1892–1993), an activist schoolteacher, spearheaded the 1920s intercultural education movement, which features assemblies that highlight the contributions of ethnic and “racial” groups to American culture.

The modern multicultural education movement is indebted to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and carries its imprimatur and values. Multicultural education reflects the needs and goals of society. In the 1960s and 1970s, programs focused on integration: not only of Blacks and Whites, but also

of females. The 1980s saw a rise in bilingual programs, and the 1990s focused on prejudice reduction programs. Recently, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, and queer (LGBTQ), as well as disability, appear as categories in multicultural education programs that challenge the perceived status quo.

Ethnic Studies

Protests against the Vietnam War and the fervor of the civil rights movement propelled students and grassroots community organizers, in the late 1960s, to challenge pervading academic structures. College students demonstrated and even occupied administration offices in college campuses across the nation. These efforts yielded, in 1968, the first ethnic studies program in San Francisco State. Chicana/o or Mexican American, Africana or Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Asian American, Hispanic, American Indian—these programs reflected the student population and legitimized, at least in an academic setting, the lives and cultures of overlooked Americans.

Eventually, Woman Studies programs also became part of the academic landscape, and in time, some of these programs became departments. As with multicultural curriculum reform in grade school, these higher education programs reflected the political and social tenor of the nation, and their names changed accordingly. Thus, Africana Studies gave way to Black Studies and later to African American Studies. Hispanic Studies morphs into Latina/o Studies, and American Indian programs change to Native American Studies.

The devastation of AIDS in the 1980s and its concomitant activism introduces Gay/Lesbian Studies to sanctioned academic inquiry. City College of San Francisco is the first school to create a Department of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Studies. Just as in multicultural education programs, Disability Studies also gains credence as a field of study. Eventually, the penchant for postmodern minoritizing—that is, recognizing and giving voice to any group, no matter how small it may be—introduces programs such as Americana Studies, Irish Studies, Caribbean Studies, and Whiteness Studies to many campuses.

LGBTQ Studies

Gay/Lesbian Studies focuses on the historical definitions of sexuality and the construction of normative versus deviant sexual behavior. This discipline interrogates how societal definitions of sexuality and sexual behavior mark or reinforce that identity. Like other specialized group studies, gay and lesbian discourse focuses on shared identities and community. This is not always a good thing as it can lead to exclusion. Subsequently, Gay/Lesbian Studies has been criticized for having a White, middle-class, masculinist, Western bias. The need to include people who do not fit easily into gay/lesbian categories has expanded the title of some of these programs to include bisexual, transgender, transsexual, and queer (LGBTQ). Some schools call these programs Sexual Diversity Studies or Sexuality Studies, yet others opt for the more inclusive but problematic Queer Studies.

Queer theory is one of various modes of analyses that inform queer studies. Queer Studies investigates issues of gender identity and sexual orientation in contemporary politics, literature, art, and historical figures/works that have been overlooked in the academic canon. Queer Studies examines how gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, and queer identities shape everyday life and connects these issues to the oppression of women, disadvantaged classes, and racialized groups. Thus, there is often a reciprocal relationship between direct action groups such as ACT UP and Queer Nation and queer theory. Because queer is a protean concept, research in this area is fluid and broad.

Conclusion

Queer theory informs the current educational, social, and philosophical debate over the soundness of using sexuality to understand human emotions, behavior, and sexual desire. By using a poststructuralist approach and borrowing from critical theory, it sees sexuality as relational and describes identity outside of normative molds. It challenges binary opposition and mediates between normative ideologies and material practices. In education, it opens the possibilities for analysis or discourse without delimiting the choices.

Because of the very nature of this discourse, it is neither a monolithic school of thought nor a political action group. Even scholars such as Caleb Crain, who works within its scope, criticize it. Crain believes that queer theory is a utopian ideology that mixes politics with history and suggests that it is a passing fad. After its demise, he says, queer theory will not leave behind queer facts. There will still be gaps in understanding of lesbian and gay lives that are contextualized in history and represented in culture.

Manuel Bello

See also Critical Theory; Feminist Theory in Education; Gender and School Violence; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students and Teachers: Rights of;

Multiculturalism, Philosophical Implications; Postmodernism

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R

RAP MUSIC AND ORAL LITERACY

Rap music, also referred to as MCing or “rhyming,” is one of the original elements of hip hop culture. The other elements of hip hop culture include graffiti art or “graf” writing; DJing, or “turntabling”; and breakdancing, also known as “breakin’,” popularized by “b-boys” and “b-girls” since hip hop’s origination in the early 1970s in the South and West Bronx. Each of these elements played a significant role in the development of hip hop from a relatively unknown and largely ignored inner-city subculture into a global phenomenon. Rap, in particular, can serve as a way to develop appreciation for and promote oral literacy among young people. This entry reviews its history and some ways that it has been and can be incorporated in education.

Rap and Verbal Virtuosity

The history of the DJ and the verbal virtuosity of the MC (Master of Ceremonies) can be traced back to a wide variety of oratorical precedents, including West African griots and Jamaican “toasting” dating back to the mid- to late 1800s. Rap music has its roots in the great oral traditions of West Africa and specifically the epic histories of the West African griots, a gendered reference to the learned art of storytelling the history and genealogy of one’s family or tribal community.

Because history was not written down, griots were highly respected for and skilled at memorizing, reciting, and interpreting complex histories that dated back centuries in both oral and vocal form. Whereas griots recited or sang long epics that lasted hours, sometimes days, from the oral tradition’s inception, griottes (female storytellers) had a strong presence, usually singing or playing music at certain segments of the narrative. The prestigious and coveted role of the griot (besides being a historian and genealogist) varied from diplomat to royal advisor for West African kings, to entertainers, teachers, messengers, praise singers, and interpreters or translators.

Other oral traditions derived from West Africa were talking blues songs; schoolyard and jailhouse toasts (long rhyming poems recounting outlandish deeds and misdeeds); the trading of tall tales; and “the dozens” (a ritualized word game with rhyming and exchanging of insults, usually directed toward members of the opponent’s family, such as “Your mama . . .” jokes). The content of traditional African tales or toasts celebrated notorious mythical males boasting about their triumphs, status, and/or power.

Another oratorical precedent that influenced DJs, MCs, and modern-day rap music originated from Jamaica, in the form of “toasting.” Jamaican toasting is the poetic and rhymed form of storytelling usually told in the first person; it varies from egotistical or boastful toasts, to misogynistic, violent, and/or otherwise demeaning toasts.

U.S. Expressions

Rap music, a contemporary manifestation of a rich tradition of orality, includes the use of words in the drum rhythms from jazz musicians such as Frankie Newton and Louis Prima in the 1930s; the irregular rhythms of the snare and bass drum in bebop beginning in the 1940s; the hipster-jive announcing styles of 1950s rhythm 'n' blues deejays such as Georgie Woods, Jocko Henderson, and Ewart Beckford, better known as "U-Roy"; the inclusion of ritualistic insults or "the dozens" in songs by blues singers like Bo Diddley; and, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the political rhetoric of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, as well as the Black Power poetry of Amiri Baraka, Gil Scott-Heron, the Last Poets, Sonia Sanchez, and Nikki Giovanni.

Modern-day rap began as a variation of toasting. Within this context, toasting can be described as when DJs rapped or rhymed short phrases between or over the music or beats played on the turntable. The ability of the DJ to incite and energize the crowd by yelling "shout outs," or by acknowledging those in attendance (an important example of call-and-response audience interaction), were the earliest forms of oral literacy in hip hop and rap. By using short phrases, such as "mic check" or "yes, yes, y'all, you don't stop" and other popular catch phrases or expressions of the time, the DJ created an atmosphere of anticipation and stimulation among the crowd.

In addition to the short rhymes or toasts growing longer in length, the lyrical content developed into clever and shrewd verses. At the same time, the complexity involved in mixing, cutting, and scratching (i.e., producing) beats on two turntables encouraged DJs to delegate the responsibility of rhyming to the MC.

Jamaican-born DJ Kool Herc (born Clive Campbell) has been credited for being the earliest and most influential hip hop DJ to combine characteristics of Jamaican "dancehall culture" or "blues dances" (similar to modern-day reggae) with the foundational elements of hip hop culture. He moved from Kingston, Jamaica, to the Bronx in 1967. Herc was also renowned for playing multigenre musical sounds ranging from disco and funk to soul and rhythm 'n' blues. He initiated the technique of isolating and

looping "break beats." Other noteworthy and significant DJs who aesthetically influenced the oral expressions of MCs include DJ Afrika Bambaataa, DJ Grandmaster Flash, DJ Grandmaster Flowers, DJ Hollywood, Eddie Cheeba, and Disco King Mario.

MCs devoted their time to perfecting the craft of lyrical mastery in order to create robust and original rhymes delivered on time to the beat of the music. DJ Kool Herc's *Kool Herc and the Herculoids*, consisting of Coke La Rock and Clark Kent, was one of the first MC tandems to coordinate performances. Around the same time, Grandmaster Flash formed a five-member MC team known as *Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five*. The intricate routines in the *Furious Five*'s performances and the synchronization performed in the rhymes from all five MCs elevated the art of MCing to higher, more complex levels. Other noteworthy MCs include DJ Grand Wizard Theodore and the Fantastic Five, the Treacherous Three, Love Bug Starski, Busy Bee, The Cold Crush Brothers, and Kurtis Blow.

MCs also freestyled, engaging one another in lyrical combat through a sequence of discursive turns. Freestyling occurs when MCs perform mostly spontaneous rhymes reflective of their immediate environment and/or competition with an opponent. Some legendary and notorious MC battles included Busy Bee versus Kool Moe Dee, The Juice Crew's MC Shan versus Boogie Down Production's KRS-ONE, N.W.A.'s Dr. Dre versus N.W.A.'s Eazy-E, Tupac versus The Notorious B.I.G., Jay Z versus Nas, and JaRule versus 50 Cent. Freestyling, battling, and their attendant discourses work together in hip hop culture to promote oral literacy.

Educational Use

Educators incorporating rap music as a form of oral literacy have used modernized methods such as freestyling, battling, and spoken-word poetry in the classroom to enhance literacy skills. Examples may include asking students to tell a story in the form of rap or performance poetry. Because youth today are extremely knowledgeable regarding rap lyrics and can recite the popular hits verbatim, educators also can take advantage of their students' expertise and ask

them to translate the lyrics, via written or spoken form, into standard American English, thus covering the conventions of language and grammar.

Students may also be given instructions to analyze, critique, and deconstruct the hidden and/or explicit messages embedded in rap lyrics, particularly mainstream lyrics, which are often replete with violent and misogynistic messages. Transforming or rewriting these lyrics into positive raps or poems can be performed orally, and, more importantly for educators, students can be assessed for reading, writing, listening, speaking, critical reflection and understanding, and performing skills—all of which fall under the English Language Arts standards.

Priya Parmar

See also Literacy in American Culture

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READING, HISTORY OF

How individuals learn to read and how to best instruct individuals in reading have been two questions that have long intrigued educators and medical doctors alike. Each investigation has shed light on how reading is learned, and each has influenced how instruction in reading is provided. Although several centuries have passed since the first American settlers began teaching their young to read, evident still are

the methods used then and the tug of war between teaching letters and sounds and teaching whole words. This entry looks at that history.

Colonial America

From the history of America emerges the history of reading instruction in America. This history began in seventeenth-century colonial New England. The methods used today can be traced to methods from England brought to America by early settlers. During this period in American history, the purpose of reading cannot be teased away from religion. Early books for young readers were meant to indoctrinate. The purpose for learning to read was to be able to read the Bible and keep to its teachings.

A child of the colonies was taught to read from a hornbook and by the alphabet spelling method. A hornbook was often made out of wood and in the shape of a paddle. The lesson was on a single sheet of paper or carved directly into the wood and protected by a sheet of horn—a thin scraping of an animal's horn that produced the transparent sheet that protected the lesson. The lesson consisted of lower- and upper-case alphabet letters, Arabic numbers and Roman numerals from one to ten, and the Lord's Prayer. Some hornbooks also had vowel and consonant sounds. The alphabet spelling method is a type of synthetic method of teaching reading whereby one starts with letters and then moves on to syllables, words, and sentences. During the colonial period, children were taught to read by spelling the word first and then saying the word.

After the hornbook, a child moved on to read from a primer. A primer was a small book of prayers. Primers consisted of the alphabet, vowels, consonants, syllables, alphabet verses (religious couplets illustrating each letter of the alphabet with a corresponding black-and-white picture made from woodcuts), Biblical verses, and the Lord's Prayer. During the colonial period, *The New England Primer* was the popular primer for reading instruction. Upon mastering the primer, a child moved on to read a book of psalms known as the Psalter; after that, the New Testament; and eventually, the entire Bible.

The New Nation

Popular during the colonial period, spellers continued in use until the early eighteenth century. Spellers focused on spelling, but they were also used to teach reading, writing, and religion. In 1783, Noah Webster published the first volume of his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*. This book was a speller. It was followed in 1784 by a grammar and in 1785 by a reader. Webster's spelling book eventually became known as *The American Spelling Book* and more colloquially as the Blue-Back Speller because of the book's blue covers.

After the American Revolution, the purpose of spellers was to infuse nationalism, namely by creating a uniform American language, establishing national loyalty, and developing moral citizens. Because of the emphasis on educating moral citizens, religious teachings included in previous spellers were replaced with moral teachings. Patriotic speeches were also added to additional versions of spellers. Emphasis was placed on standardizing a system of pronunciation, so reading instruction of the period focused on rules and exercises in proper American pronunciation—basically, decoding.

Whereas spellers introduced children to reading, readers were intended for children who could read. In 1823, the popular reader was Lindley Murray's *English Reader*. Its aim was to improve the art of reading, elicit the readers' emotions, and inspire righteousness. In contrast, in 1835, Lyman Cobb wrote *The North American Reader*, a book of mostly expository texts that continued the aim of infusing patriotism and creating moral citizens.

Methods of dividing students into classes based on age and assigning these students one teacher were influenced by the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), whose methods influenced reading instruction developments such as the word method of reading, the use of pictures in readers, and accessing students' prior knowledge before reading. At the same time, the introduction of an increasingly graded school system (an innovation introduced from Prussia during the first half of the nineteenth century) led to graded readers.

During the period prior to the Civil War, readers began to include texts on a wider range of subjects and less patriotic material. More informational and expository text than fictional material was included. During this time, there also emerged considerable debate over which method of teaching reading was best—the ABC method or the word method; however, silent reading was becoming the new focus. Word lists were also a new focus.

Josiah Bumstead's reader deviated from other readers in that it provided word lists grouped by categories (e.g., the body). In addition, the shift from solely teaching letter names to also teaching the sounds of letters, known as the alphabet-phonetic method, was a major change in reading instruction, evidence of which can be found in David B. Tower's *The Gradual Primer*. Many primers also connected writing with reading and included the copying of sentences as an activity. The most popular and comprehensive readers were the *McGuffey's Readers*, first introduced in 1836. This graded series had readers specifically designed for each elementary grade level.

A New Methodology

Rebecca Pollard's 1889 work *Synthetic Methods* was the first textbook to focus on phonetics. This prompted the reorganization of several basal readers around phonetics (e.g., *Beacon Readers*, *Gordon Readers*, and *Ward's Readers*). At the same time, other authors were using an analytic method in their readers and phonetics was secondary. The sentence or story method, which elaborated on the word method, was the main focus. Sentences and stories focused on rhyme (e.g., *Aldine Readers*), and some texts had folktales as their basis (e.g., Reading-Literature series). Basals were progressing toward literary readers organized around texts of interest to children and complete with pictures.

The early 1900s saw a nascent interest in reading research. The physiological and psychological laboratory studies that were conducted focused on reading ability and disability. Edward L. Thorndike's handwriting scale, published in 1910, marks the beginning of scientific investigation in the area of reading. It was

not until 1915 that a standardized test of reading was published. This has to do partially with the attention given to meaning over pronunciation and the fact that before this time, reading instruction focused on oral reading, which was time-consuming to measure.

With the shift toward silent reading, reading comprehension and rate were able to be measured in large groups. What was measured soon became what teachers focused on, thereby emphasizing silent reading. This focus led researchers to examine the differences between oral and silent reading. Educational periodicals, professional books, and basal readers also advocated the silent reading method. Soon thereafter, attention drawn to the fact that U.S. soldiers fighting in World War I did not have basic reading skills led to demands for the improvement of reading instruction, which led to additional research to identify and examine the fundamentals of reading.

It was also during this early period of the twentieth century that basal readers became popular. They were accompanied by teachers' manuals, student workbooks, tests, and other supplemental resources for the teacher to use. The text selections were structured around directed reading lessons and teaching activities. Students were asked to read silently, answer vocabulary and comprehension questions, and participate in a class discussion about the text read.

New Initiatives

In 1955, Rudolf Flesch's book *Why Johnny Can't Read*, along with world events like the flight of *Sputnik*, rekindled the debate between phonics and the whole-word method of learning to read and put pressure on educators to better educate students. This national focus on education prompted governmental support and funding. It was during this time that reading instruction was implemented beyond the elementary years. With this drive to teach reading to adolescents and adults so that they might procure jobs, remedial reading courses were made available in schools. In addition, a bill was passed to provide financial support for research and programs on reading education.

Around this time, many professional books on the subject of reading appeared. In 1967, Jeanne Chall's

book *Learning to Read: The Great Debate* suggested that phonics instruction yielded better reading outcomes than the whole-word method of reading instruction. Studies during this period, such as Bond and Dykstra's *First Grade Reading Studies*, published in 1967, concurred.

Soon thereafter, in the early 1970s, the whole-language approach to reading instruction, started by Kenneth Goodman and Frank Smith, came to contest with the basal texts. The whole-language camp believed that basal readers were not authentic texts for reading instruction. Basals had controlled vocabulary; too much of a focus on skills; and boring stories that lacked diversity in plot, themes, and ethnicity of characters.

In addition, the instruction promoted by basals (such as ability grouping and round-robin reading) did not foster effective reading practices. Along the same lines, a literature-based approach to reading was advocated around the same time. Literature-based basals were composed of authentic and age-appropriate texts taken from actual children's literature texts.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, The National Reading Panel, using as a springboard the information compiled by the National Research Council in Snow, Burns, and Griffin's *Preventing Reading Failure* (1998), evaluated research-based knowledge of reading. The National Reading Panel singled out five big areas of reading that the panel believed should be central to any federally funded reading initiative. The Big Five, as the areas are referred to, are phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, comprehension, and fluency. With the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and the Reading First initiative (a nationwide effort to produce successful readers), the Big Five have been substantially emphasized as areas on which educators need to focus instruction and assessment.

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See also Education, History of

See Visual History Chapter 5, The McGuffey Readers and Textbook Depictions of Teachers; Chapter 17, Reading and Libraries

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RECONCEPTUALIST MODELS OF EDUCATION

Reconceptualist scholarship began as a reaction to traditional ways of looking at curriculum. Whereas traditional curriculum scholarship focused on design, implementation, and evaluation of curricular materials, the work of reconceptualist scholars became more theoretical and focused on understanding of context. The more traditional curriculum scholarship had its roots in educational administration, whereas the reconceptualized curriculum thinking was based upon history, sociology, philosophy, literary criticism, political science, psychology, aesthetics, and anthropology. The shift moved much of the curriculum conversation—beginning in the 1970s and increasing through the 1980s and 1990s—from the social sciences to issues of personal authenticity and social justice.

Reconceptualist Ideas

Reconceptualist scholarship approached curriculum as an act of critical self-reflection. Reconceptualists were skeptical of dominant ideas from social science and positivist notions of knowledge. They promoted a more holistic way of knowing that focuses on inner consciousness. They believed that there are multiple ways of knowing the world and understanding one's self. They rejected claims of certainty, arguing that knowing is always mediated by subjective understandings and interpretations. As such, they argued that educators cannot claim to know outcomes of a lesson in advance of that lesson. Classroom encounters are subject to the complex nature of the engagement between a teacher and his or her students as well as possibilities that emerge by virtue of their coming together.

Reconceptualists were also skeptical about relying on knowledge rendered and conveyed purely through language. The world can be perceived and understood in ways that transcend language, they believe. Therefore, educators need to recognize that language can be problematic because the images and ideas it forms can impose ways of responding that are more technical and seemingly objective. With these ideas in mind, reconceptualists argued that curriculum is not merely some imposed plan. It is, instead, a dynamic occurrence based on complex interactions of people.

Paul Klohr, a major figure in the early days of reconceptualist scholarship, identified a number of themes that distinguished reconceptualist theorizing from traditional curriculum work. He noted that reconceptualist theorizing posed an organic and holistic view of humankind. Knowledge and culture are created and sustained by individuals, in this view, and curriculum theory originates in the experiences of the theorizer and is shaped largely by the preconscious realm of that experience. According to Klohr, personal liberty and higher levels of consciousness are central values in reconceptualist curriculum work. Furthermore, diversity and pluralism must be sought as achieved social ends in the work of schooling. To this end, the political and social conditions surrounding and influencing schooling must be critiqued, and through the use of new language, reconceptualized possibilities need to be articulated.

Reconceptualist Scholars

Two scholars, Dwayne Huebner and James Macdonald, were most instrumental in initiating reconceptualist perspectives of schooling. Although their initial work responding to traditional curriculum theorizing began in the 1950s and 1960s, the movement itself did not take significant shape until the 1970s, when a number of their students began writing in the field. Their efforts as well as the work of two other prominent figures, Maxine Greene and William Pinar, help to shed light on the assumptions that guided the reconceptualist movement of the 1970s.

Dwayne Huebner was a central figure associated with the beginnings of reconceptualist scholarship.

Huebner's work focused largely on language and its importance in articulating values and affecting practices in schools. With this in mind, Huebner argued that the traditional language of curriculum perpetuated technical rational ways of being in schools. In response, he believed that educators should be mindful of how language shapes their work and seek out other value systems, language, and metaphors to change the experiences in the classroom. Huebner believed that ethics and aesthetics should guide the way educators think about and work within schools. He believed both ethics and aesthetics help educators avoid the means–end thinking and being within traditional classrooms. Whereas technical rational thinking focused on separating out parts of the world, aesthetic rationality sought integration.

Huebner also focused on temporality within his scholarship. According to Huebner, an individual's life cannot be described by what he or she does at a particular place and time. One's identity is shaped by the course of his or her life, and as such it is futile to try to encapsulate school experiences into objective and predetermined ends. Thus, Huebner argued that educators should move away from scientific and empirical language when talking about curriculum. He further argued that curriculum scholars needed to focus more on the complexity of interactions among humans, using new language and forms or metaphors to explore the significance of phenomena in education, and to engage in thoughtful work within schools. The shift, according to Huebner and other reconceptualist scholars, moved curriculum work into a larger and more complex context and away from what was perceived to be quick fixes for education.

James Macdonald was another prominent figure in the reconceptualist movement. Macdonald viewed critical self-reflection as a way to move beyond the typical means–ends way of looking at curriculum and schooling. Macdonald argued that educators must be mindful of the language being used to discuss the nature and purpose of schooling because the language used often dictates what happens, and it does so often from a perceived position of objectivity. As a result, much of what is learned in schools is technical and emerges from very low levels of thinking. In contrast,

Macdonald argued that schools should help to develop critically aware persons who are able to consider how personal values affect norms of the larger society and then respond to those values. Ultimately, Macdonald envisioned schools as places for self-honesty—where what one says and what one does are consistent with what one believes.

Although she did not consider herself a reconceptualist, Maxine Greene is another scholar whose ideas fall within reconceptualist perspectives. For Greene, imagination provides possibilities for how one perceives one's self and one's place in the world. With this in mind, Greene argued that art and literature draw individuals out of their objectified existences. Greene further argued that education should help individuals become "wide awake" about their place in the world in order to respond to that world. According to Greene, each experience shared between a teacher and a student becomes a unique encounter. Therefore, educators should be mindful of the possibilities within and among these encounters. This awareness requires a constant striving toward heightened consciousness that makes up the force and focus of curriculum work. Greene's call for heightened consciousness goes beyond a phenomenological exercise. For Greene, heightened consciousness is necessary in order to recognize and respond to injustice.

Another scholar closely associated with reconceptualist scholarship is William Pinar. Pinar's work focused on the knowing individual within the context of a challenging world. According to Pinar, it is the responsibility of an individual to use autobiography in order to better understand him- or herself in relation to social challenges. Based upon phenomenological inquiry, Pinar advocated *currere* as a form of curriculum theory. *Currere* transcends the traditional notions of prescribed ends within an educational experience to focus on a more authentic and engaged lived experience within the classroom.

Pinar has been not only instrumental in forming and articulating critical ideas within the reconceptualist movement, but also the primary means through which the reconceptualist movement has been identified as a movement and distinguished from traditional curriculum work. In his 1975 book *Curriculum*

Theorizing: The Reconceptualists, Pinar calls the changes taking place in the 1970s “reconceptualist.” Furthermore, Pinar played a key role in introducing the movement to the larger field of curriculum when, in 1974, he was asked to provide a state-of-the-field address for the Curriculum Division (Division B) of the American Educational Research Association.

Publications and Conferences

Throughout the 1970s, reconceptualist scholarship was manifested within a number of special conferences and publications. One such conference was the Rochester Conference of 1973. Papers from this conference indicated a new sense of skepticism regarding public schools. Presenters argued that schools could not be sites of liberation and change, and therefore curriculum workers should not maintain faith in schools as the source of their work. Attendees eschewed the focus on practical work advocated by Schwab and argued that curriculum work needed to be theoretical and political.

Similar small conferences took place at different universities throughout the 1970s, and in 1978, a new series of conferences began in conjunction with the establishment of the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, the primary publication for reconceptualist scholarship. William Pinar started the journal in 1978 as a means to support the work of new scholars, and the annual conferences sponsored by the journal provided additional space in which new scholars could find like-minded individuals to share ideas.

Shifting Directions

Beginning in the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, forms of curriculum theorizing associated with the reconceptualist movement began to move in two directions. Some scholars writing in a reconceptualist vein did so largely motivated by issues of phenomenology and existentialism, whereas others were motivated more by Marxist ideology and issues of social justice. William Pinar distinguished these differences as “post critical,” referring to the more phenomenological/existential focus, and “critical,” referring to the more Marxist focus.

Both movements within reconceptualist scholarship were influenced heavily by the work of Paulo Freire. Freire’s notion of praxis—conscious, determined, and informed action—as well as his notions of critical consciousness and language of possibility became critical tenets among reconceptualists. According to Freire, it is critical to know one’s self in order to be a subject engaged within the world. With that critical self-awareness, it is then crucial that one acts within the world to make it a more just place. Thus, the work of Freire served as a coherent framework under which reconceptualist scholarship grew and developed.

The Legacy

According to a number of the scholars associated with the reconceptualist movement, reconceptualization of the field has occurred, and as such, the movement has disappeared. Merely opposing traditional curriculum theorizing was not a strong enough force to maintain a unity of ideology among the very diverse scholars. The two directions of reconceptualist scholarship—the phenomenological/existential and the critical—have diverged further since the 1980s. Pinar and others note that the demise of the reconceptualist movement is actually a testament to its success. Thinking about schooling is no longer limited to technical perspectives.

A current legacy from the reconceptualist movement can be seen in the work of such scholars as James Henderson, Jim Sears, and Patrick Slattery. Their scholarship, as well as the work of others in the field, builds upon the ideas of reconceptualist theory in an effort to have a greater effect on the state of schooling. These scholars and others continue to pursue curriculum as a means to understand the complexity of schooling and society, but they have extended that work to explicitly address the theory-practice divide between scholars and practitioners as well as the need for scholars to be directly involved in school reform and social change. Additional small conferences and publications have emerged in an effort to extend the phenomenological, existential, and critical perspectives of the original reconceptualist scholars. One organization that has emerged from

the original small conferences to extend reconceptualist ideas is the Curriculum and Pedagogy Group.

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See also Curriculum Theory

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Web Sites

Curriculum and Pedagogy:
<http://www.curriculumandpedagogy.org>

REGGIO EMILIA APPROACH

Reggio Emilia is a prosperous region in northern Italy with a population of approximately 150,000. The people of this region have a history of civic engagement and cohesive communities based on reciprocity, trust, and networking. During World War II reconstruction, citizens of the area, under the visionary guidance of Loris Malaguzzi (1920–1994), developed an educational system within its municipal schools for young children ages 3 months to 6 years. This infant-toddler and pre-primary delivery system is grounded in the idea that all children, including very young children, have the right to an education and that the local citizenry can and should take direct responsibility for educating those children.

Reggio Emilia schools are a means to support the community's many needs and to provide a public space for community members, parents, and teachers to dialogue, connect, and instill ethics in the young. Parental knowledge contributions are essential for learning, thus forming a conceptual triad between child, parent, and staff member. Piaget's concept of creating rich and invigorating learning environments for children is a major pedagogical foundation in Reggio Emilia. So, too, is the perspective of theorist Lev Vygotsky, who valued the importance of the relationship between thought and language, co-construction of knowledge among learners, and the zone of proximal development.

In this approach, children are held to have a legitimate right to intellectual development and to an education that inspires curiosity and discovery through a variety of language forms. Children take an active role working alongside others to explore, discover, and create knowledge for themselves. Through this process of self-discovery and investigation, the child and the teacher act as researchers by exploring questions, finding solutions, and formulating new questions.

Knowledge is a dynamic element that is socially constructed within the relationship of child-child interaction, and interactions between child and adult. These interactions include discord and debate, both of which are valued as opportunities for advanced thinking. Because knowledge formation is dynamic and consistent with constructivist theory, the children of Reggio Emilia develop multiple ways of investigating ideas and interpreting multiple forms of knowledge. Children are encouraged to engage in the "100 languages" of expression and communication derived through oral, artistic, dramatic, musical, dance, and other creative media. In the United States, there are several Reggio Emilia-inspired schools.

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See also Early Childhood Education

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RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Because the U.S. Constitution clearly prohibits the promotion of religion in public schools, the courts have rigorously enforced rules against such activities as morning prayer and Bible reading. The teaching of religion as an academic subject, however, may be permissible, and indeed, some research suggests that it may produce desirable results. The latter practice is the subject of this entry.

What Is Legal

At issue in the case *Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963) was a policy of the state of Pennsylvania requiring students who attended public school to read at least 10 verses from the Bible everyday. In addition, Abington Township required the students in its district to recite the Lord's Prayer after completing these readings. Students could be exempted if their parents wrote a note requesting that their children be excluded from these exercises.

The U.S. Supreme Court found that the required activities encroached on both the free exercise clause and the establishment clause of the First Amendment,

because the readings and recitations were essentially religious ceremonies and were “intended by the State to be so.” Moreover, Justice Clark argued in the main opinion that the ability of a parent to excuse a child from these ceremonies by a written note was irrelevant because it did not prevent the school's actions from violating the establishment clause. The Court's decision and a series of others made it clear that public schools could not engage in devotional teaching of religion. At the same time, the Court in *Abington* also noted that *academic* teaching about religion was constitutional.

Some researchers believe that state-supported institutions have excluded religion and religious ways of thinking through a misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the First Amendment. Although the guidelines of the U.S. Department of Education forbid public school teachers from engaging in religious activities in the classroom, they affirm that the establishment clause does not mean that religion is strictly forbidden from public school in all aspects. The Bible, the Koran, and other religious texts may be studied or otherwise used in public schools for their literary, poetic, or historical aspects, but public schools cannot teach that the religious tenets of these texts are true or false.

Furthermore, a student's freedom of speech includes the right to discuss religious issues with classmates and to distribute literature, both religious and nonreligious, on campus. In fact, censorship of this nature would itself violate the free speech and establishment clauses.

Social Context

U.S. schools admit students of various religious orientations and those with no religious affiliation. Statistics indicate that nine out of ten Americans believe in the existence of God and that among developed nations, the United States is the most religiously diverse society and the most religious. Projections by religious sociologists and urban planners suggest that what has been a White Protestant majority among members of religious groups in the United States will change with the growing number of Latino Catholics and evangelicals, with increases in the number of Latter-Day Saints, Muslims, Buddhists, and Hindus,

and with the emergence of more nonreligious people in the population. It is projected that by 2040, minorities will represent more than half of the K–12 student population in the United States.

In 2003, the Pew Forum on Religious & Public Life advised that the United States is currently confronting expanding religious diversity. Consequently, some believe that there is a need for understanding religious differences and learning about the religious traditions of others in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Some argue that studying religion would provide knowledge and information that exists nowhere else in the curriculum, and they also emphasize that including religion in the curriculum shows respect. Subsequently, some have called for greater incorporation of religion or spiritual guidance in public schools, particularly in the wake of such high school tragedies as those at Columbine and Jonesboro.

Examples of State Involvement

Charles Haynes, a religion scholar, notes that a new consensus on the importance of teaching about religion has begun to influence state frameworks and standards for social studies as well as the treatment of religion in textbooks widely used in public schools. North Carolina and Utah teach about religion in social studies classes, and in California, the history-social science framework and the new history-social science content standards require considerable study of religion. California's students are expected to learn the religious dimensions of the American story, from the influence of religious groups on social reform movements to the religious revivals from Christian fundamentalism to the expanding religious pluralism of the twentieth century.

Begun by a retired Utah middle-grade teacher, Martha Ball, there are a number of what are referred to as 3Rs projects across the nation. 3Rs stands for Rights, Responsibilities, and Respect for Religious Liberty. States that have established 3Rs projects include California, Georgia, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, New York, and Utah. Ball continues to work to change attitudes about everyone's rights and responsibilities with reference to conflicts and debates revolving around our differences.

The 3Rs projects help school districts implement policies that protect the religious liberty rights of students by using First Amendment principles. These policies protect students of all faiths and no faith. Moreover, the projects prepare teachers to teach about religion in history in ways that are both constitutional and educational.

The movement to put religion as a subject, but not a devotional topic, in American classrooms is national in scope. The National Center for History in Schools (NCHS) guides many school districts in developing a curriculum. In that capacity, NCHS has listed religion as a critical element of history. In world history, the NCHS recommended the study of Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism. For U.S. history, NCHS recommended that students study religions that are representative of the modern population in order to understand "religious diversity and its impact on American institutions and values."

In 1998, Haynes advised that failure to provide the facts about religion can lead students to have the false impression that the religious experience of humanity is insignificant or unimportant. Moreover, the failure to understand even the basic symbols, practices, and concepts of the various religions makes much of history, literature, art, and contemporary life unintelligible. In this context, the study of religion is clearly an important subject for the curriculum of the schools.

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See also State Role in Education

See Visual History Chapter 6, Catholic Schools and the Separation of Church and State; Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Contemporary tensions in the relationship between religious fundamentalists and the public schools can be understood only within the historical context of the relationship between the schools and religion in general in the United States. It is also important to note that the debate, as defined in the United States, is limited almost solely to Protestant Christian fundamentalism. Although the current debate is often seen as a relatively recent move by powerful Christian conservatives to remove long-established church-state barriers, religion has been intimately connected to American education from its beginnings and was key to the early expansion of the public school system. In contrast, although the principle of a strict wall between church and state was established at the beginning of the nation, the enforcement of that principle is a somewhat recent phenomenon. Following some key definitions and a brief historical context, the focus of this entry will shift to the role that the courts have played in shaping the current relationship. The entry concludes with a description of the issues and trends that characterize the current relationship between the two institutions.

Historical Review

Christian fundamentalism is usually associated most closely with Protestantism and had its beginning—as

a theological school of thought and active movement—in the 1880s. The movement's beginnings were in the urban North; its more familiar association with the rural South came about only after the Scopes trial of 1925. Fundamentalism is characterized by its often dogmatic theology, assertiveness, and a sense of constantly being under siege by secular forces. What fundamentalists see as concerted, secular attacks on religious freedoms and the place of God in the school curriculum might be seen by others as gradual, inevitable cultural shifts.

For nearly 300 years, the religious influence on anything that could be defined as public schooling in the United States, while pervasive, was general in nature. Protestant in its leanings, the religious emphasis in public schools was on general biblical literacy, moral conduct, and the instillation of uniform values and identity. So the charge by fundamentalist Christians that public education has taken a secular turn away from religious values is, to a limited extent, an accurate one. It would be more difficult to support the charge that the change is due to the attacks of special interest groups such as secular humanists, the American Civil Liberties Union, or the Communist party—all of which have been labeled as the source of the problem at one point or another—against the wishes of the general population.

Instead, the shift was due more to societal changes brought about as a result of massive immigration, pragmatic and progressive philosophy, urbanization, growth in public education, and a growing faith in science and technology. The merging of these influences, especially at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, made any consensus of religious values nearly impossible and even resented by many in the nation. What became more prominent in public education was a sort of civil religion that emphasized ideals such as the importance of individual character in social mobility; the relationship between personal industry, moral rectitude, and merit; and a determined effort to unify America's diverse population through education.

These same changes that many perceived as progress or signs of modernism were accompanied by a lack of certainty and stability to which fundamentalist theology was one response. Two phenomena

especially revealed what has now become a familiar, issue-oriented attack response by fundamentalist Christians. One was the fear of communist influence after World War I. The second was the growing influence of Darwin's theory of evolution. The need to respond to those perceived threats to the United States' spiritual welfare set the stage for the fundamentalist activism that is still powerful today.

In 1925, John Scopes was put on trial in Dayton, Tennessee, for teaching evolution in his high school biology class. The dramatic and flashy trial ended with the jury finding Scopes guilty of violating the letter of the law and fining him \$100. The judgment was later overturned due to a technicality. Legally, the impact of the decision was minimal. The same cannot be said for its educational and cultural impact. On one hand, Clarence Darrow, Scopes's defense attorney, succeeded in creating a national stereotype of fundamentalism and southern culture in general as ignorant and anti-intellectual. Nonetheless, the fundamentalist position won a clear victory in terms of future curriculum decisions. Immediately after the trial, Ginn and Company, the publisher of the textbook used by Scopes, dropped all references to evolution and downgraded the status of Darwin in the field of biology. Evolution did not return to textbooks until the 1950s, and textbook publishers remain cautious regarding controversial topics to the present day.

Over time, three issues in particular have motivated fundamentalist activism in public education: teaching of evolution, school prayer, and disputes over the teaching of values. Among the tactics used to fight curriculum battles have been boycotts and protests of text and library materials, election of sympathetic members to local school boards in order to influence curriculum policy, and use of the courts. It is the latter, especially when cases have made it to the Supreme Court, that have had the most influential or public impact on church/state issues in the schools.

Court Rulings

Over the past sixty years, the extent to which fundamentalism has accomplished its goals in relation to public education has been determined largely by the courts. Since 1940, there have been no fewer than

forty Circuit Court of Appeals and Supreme Court decisions related to public schools and religious liberty. Although the courts have been fairly consistent in ruling in favor of the freedom of individual religious expression, they have been equally consistent in ruling against any policy or practice that might impose a specific religious perspective on students within a school setting.

More specifically, in two of its key areas of interest—teaching evolution and school-led or required prayer—the fundamentalist position has been ruled unconstitutional in every major Supreme Court decision. The other major issue—values-oriented curricula—has typically been settled before reaching the courts. One case that did reach the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (*Peloza v. Capistrano*) in 1994 was related to a school district's use of the *Impressions* reading curriculum. In that case, the Court ruled that the curriculum did not, in fact, constitute a promotion of witchcraft and denigration of Christianity, as charged by various evangelical fundamentalist groups.

A lack of influence through the courts, however, has not limited the real or perceived influence of fundamentalist activists on day-to-day decision making in public education. After the Scopes trial, the next major period of activism for fundamentalist Christians came in the post-World War II era as school reform efforts such as progressive education and life adjustment education came under fire from a number of critics. Groups such as the Christian Nationalist Crusade claimed that along with low academic standards, godless communism had found its way into the schools and was trying to destroy American and Christian values.

The 1970s and 1980s proved to be the next, and perhaps most influential, periods of fundamentalist activism. A string of court-based setbacks throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s did not deter the more grassroots tactic of censorship and protest. Between approximately 1974 and 1985, there was a dramatic jump in the number of challenges to textbooks and library acquisitions, and according to some reports, nearly half of those challenges resulted in the removal of the challenged materials. Some of the debates during this period were so emotionally charged that they sparked acts of violence. One of the earliest challenges, in 1975 in Kanawha County, West Virginia, resulted in

strikes, fire bombings, destruction of property, and even shootings and beatings. A few years later, in 1977, fundamentalist groups in Warsaw, Indiana, publicly burned copies of Sidney Simon's book *Values Clarification*.

From its beginnings in the 1880s, fundamentalist Christianity has sought to influence public education, as well as other public institutions, but for much of the time, it was not generally well-organized or unified by any nationally coordinated groups. Therefore, most efforts were local in nature and limited in their influence. That began to change in the late 1970s and especially during the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s, at which point the movement came to be known more commonly as the Christian or religious Right. Early leaders of the movement, such as Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, found a sympathetic and compatible ear in Ronald Reagan as he ran for president, and they put their efforts into helping to elect a number of conservative candidates in 1980, including Reagan himself. In return, many of Reagan's educational and social policy proposals were heavily influenced by those fundamentalist groups. This pattern has continued to varying degrees since that time and has recently been reinvigorated by ties to the George W. Bush presidency that are even closer than those during the Reagan era.

Current Status

Some issues remain the same for fundamentalists—school prayer and concerns over the teaching of evolution. A relatively new issue that may pose the greatest threat to public education, however, is the issue of education vouchers, which would allow parents to send children to private and parochial schools at public expense. If successful, this movement would not attempt to change the content of public education but instead would, according to some observers, undermine the schools by draining them of much needed funding and active, concerned parents. Local court decisions have been mixed, and there has not yet been a definitive Supreme Court decision regarding the constitutionality of vouchers.

At present, a number of conflicting cultural and political trends make it difficult to determine the

extent to which fundamentalist Christianity will find more or less success in its efforts to change public education. The movement has never had a more sympathetic presidential administration, and a strident conservatism in many areas of the country has attempted to bring religion more directly into public institutions. Perhaps more importantly, recent Supreme Court appointments have given the body an apparently conservative bent. But even there, the past has shown that a judge's previous rulings and writings are not always indicative of high court behaviors. Moreover, there is little evidence that the country as a whole has experienced any type of wide-scale religious awakening that would lead to greater acceptance of the imposition of a single religious perspective in the public schools.

There is also some evidence that even though conservative Christians still make up a significant voting bloc, the national cohesion provided by groups such as the Moral Majority has weakened, and more progressive evangelical spokespersons such as Sojourners' Jim Wallis are gaining influence. Other fundamentalist leaders are encouraging parents to simply home-school their children rather than fight battles in the public schools. Finally, there is some movement among liberal Christians and Democratic politicians to consider the role of religious faith in the lives of Americans more seriously in future policy decisions. Some observers suggest that, if that occurs, it could diffuse the siege mentality and perceived hostility that fuels the fundamentalist reaction to schools and thus lessen the power of the movement.

Rick A. Breault

See also Pledge of Allegiance; Politics of Education; Sociology of Education

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REPRODUCTION, EDUCATIONAL

According to reproduction theories, societal institutions perpetuate or reproduce the wider structures of inequality and oppression in society. Social reproduction theorists draw upon the work of Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and primarily Karl Marx to demonstrate how societal institutions reproduce and maintain the capitalist economic order.

According to these theories, schools play a fundamental role in this process. Social reproduction theories, also known as structural dominance theories, show a link or correspondence between the structure of schooling and the structure of the capitalist economy. There is, according to this approach, a tight fit between schools and the wider social and economic order. Bowles and Gintis present one of the strongest arguments from this perspective in their 1976 book *Schooling in Capitalist America*. The authors begin by providing a background of progressive educational reforms in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s to improve educational successes of children from working- and lower-class backgrounds. Despite these reforms, most of these children continued to be academically unsuccessful, as investments in education led to neither equality of opportunity nor equality of results.

Bowles and Gintis asked the question, “Why have these liberal educational reforms for economic equality failed?” The answer, according to the authors, lies in the economic structures of U.S. society. They argue that there is a correspondence between schools and the dominant social order. Students are integrated into the capitalist economy through a structural correspondence between the school’s social relations and those of production.

This occurs through a number of different processes. First, power and authority are similarly organized on a hierarchical basis in schools and factories. Schools in working-class neighborhoods tend to be more regimented and rule based, and they concentrate on behavior management more than do schools in middle- and upper-class neighborhoods, Bowles and Gintis found. This prepares working-class students for their place at the bottom of the social and economic order, as they learn to be properly subordinate within schools and outside in society. As working-class students experience a lack of control over the curriculum, working-class adults face the same situation in their work, the authors suggest. Through this process, students are alienated from their learning, reflecting the alienation that workers in a capitalist society face. Grades and other rewards in school also correspond to the role of wages in factories to motivate workers. Finally, individual competition is encouraged in schools as it is in factories. Children from working-class/poorer families tend to accept this as their fate. Their schooling prepares them to become accustomed to their limited role in society, whereas those at the top become equally accustomed to positions of privilege and domination, the theory concludes.

In a 1985 work, Oakes has shown how school tracking entrenches structural inequality in schools and in effect reproduces the dominant social and economic order. Social reproduction scholars outside of the United States have also shown how schools continue to reproduce structures of inequality, disadvantaging students from working-class families.

Antiracist educators and researchers have also explored the ways that schools reproduce racism in society. Although not drawing explicitly upon the same theories as social reproduction scholars, this work is similar in demonstrating the myth of meritocracy in education for students of minority racial and ethnic backgrounds. Similar arguments have also been made with respect to gender inequalities.

Marianne Larsen

See also Economic Inequality; Marxism; Privilege; Sociology of Education

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RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING CORPS (ROTC)

Under the Morrill Act of 1862, military training was compulsory for male students at land-grant colleges. Although military training had been taking place at some civilian colleges since 1819, the National Defense Act of 1916 established the Reserve Officer Training Corps to provide training to larger numbers of officers who would be needed for modern wars. Land-grant colleges typically required ROTC for all of their male students. Graduates of ROTC programs were inducted into the Officers Reserve Corps and could be called to active duty in the event of a war.

Navy ROTC training programs began in 1925 and were the first to offer the scholarships and other incentives that are now part of all ROTC programs. ROTC programs also exist for the Air Force and Marines. Junior ROTC programs, which focus on leadership skills, are available at many high schools. Students at more than 3,000 high schools participate in these programs.

During the Vietnam War era, many campus ROTC programs were disbanded because of faculty and student protests. At some institutions, ROTC still has not returned to campus. ROTC is now an elective part of the curriculum at many schools nationwide. Enrollment in the program dropped dramatically beginning in 2003 with the escalation of the war in Iraq.

Another issue that has plagued ROTC since the 1990s is the U.S. military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy regarding gays and lesbians in the military. This has led to protests on some campuses and the exclusion of ROTC programs at many institutions. Currently, there are about 45,000 students enrolled in

ROTC programs at American colleges and universities. More than 50 percent of commissioned officers in the U.S. Army are ROTC program graduates.

John P. Renaud

See also Morrill Act

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RESISTANCE, STUDENT

Student resistance to classroom instruction is often conceptualized as a student's critical rejection of formal and impositional academic content knowledge. Yet student resistance in K–12 and higher education can be understood in much broader and more nuanced terms. If student resistance is viewed as the willful (be it active or passive) rejection of academic content, then one can begin with John Dewey's comment in *How We Think* that teaching and learning are much like selling and buying: "One might as well say he has sold when no one has bought, as to say that he has taught when no one has learned" (p. 29).

Viewing student resistance through such a broad lens makes clear that this is a long-standing phenomenon cutting across categories of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Although such resistance may be labeled as academic "failure," it is just as possible to suggest that disengagement, withdrawal, and dropping out are legitimate modes of resisting schoolwork viewed as irrelevant to one's future.

The rise of critical theory in the 1960s and 1970s offered an important addition to the understanding of student resistance. Specifically, critical theorists argued that student resistance was a response to the hegemonic attributes of schooling as a White, middle-class, and body-less institution. Students' alienation from school was thus something done *to* students by external structures and norms as well as something done *by* students as an explicit rejection of such

external structures and norms. Such an articulation highlighted the mismatch between the cultural capital of lower-class and non-White youth and the dominant cultural capital of the school. Student resistance was thus viewed as a liberatory disruption of the “total institution” of an educational system that emphasized order, control, and passivity; resistance becomes a strategic move of empowerment devoted to displaying other modes of agency, intelligence, and self.

While critical theorists focused their attention on K–12 schools, a similar movement developed in higher education as Whiteness studies and anti-oppressive education (among other multiculturalist movements) synthesized such work within a developmental framework. Student resistance was viewed as a lack of self-knowledge about crucial aspects of one’s privileged identity—be it in terms of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, or (dis)ability. Where critical theorists viewed student resistance as a legitimate move of maintaining cultural identity in the face of hegemonic imposition, higher education scholars viewed such student resistance as the illegitimate maintenance of unexamined privileges in the face of a pedagogy of unmasking. It thus became important to move students in higher education through a developmental process of progressive stages: for example, from an unexamined identity to some form of identity crisis to a concluding reintegration stage.

Contrastingly, student resistance may also be viewed from an interactionist perspective of the co-construction of classroom life and student identity. Student resistance is here viewed as a strategic move in response to a previous strategic move made by the teacher or other students, which in turn was made in response to other previous moves, *ad infinitum*. Student resistance is thus a tactical, albeit hesitant, identity positioning vis-à-vis a host of layered, complex, and intertwined social, cultural, and academic issues. A simple example of such positioning is the student who is fundamentally resistant in one class yet deeply engaged in another. Student resistance is thus a contextual rather than internal marker of identity.

Student resistance may ultimately be viewed as the “I don’t buy it” response to the selling of school

knowledge. The rationale for and predominance of such a response will vary depending on the theoretical orientation and on the demographic characteristics of specific student populations. But student resistance will continue to be a prevalent feature of classroom life given the large percentages of nondominant youth still marginalized in K–16 education, the pervasive and unacknowledged Whiteness of the hidden curriculum of schooling, and the difficulty of linking classroom work to real-world relevance.

Dan W. Butin

See also Antiracist Education; Critical Theory; Culturally Responsive Teaching; Whiteness and Education; White Privilege

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RIGHTS OF STUDENTS

Prior to the 1950s and 1960s, students had few, if any, legal rights within public schools. It was subsequently ruled that state governments have created a property right to public education by establishing compulsory attendance laws. Therefore, students have procedural and substantive rights to due process in situations where school officials deny attendance (i.e., suspension or expulsion). Since the 1960s, state and federal courts have begun outlining the rights of students with regard to public schools, and students and parents have used litigation successfully to broaden those rights. Students maintain their constitutional rights when they enter public schools. However, the courts tend to support limitations when balancing student rights against the needs of public school boards to effectively manage

schools; maintain a safe environment for students, staff, and faculty; and meet educational goals. Federal statutes provide specific rights for students with and without disabilities. The federal government has also enacted many statutes ensuring that students' rights are protected.

This entry looks at student rights in the areas of public education, free speech, privacy, discipline, religion, and disabilities. The rights of students are often complicated and may vary from state to state. *Public School Law: Teachers' and Students' Rights*, by Cambron-McCabe, McCarthy, and Thomas, provides a more complete discussion of these rights.

Freedom of Speech

Tinker v. Des Moines (1969) was one of the first U.S. Supreme Court decisions affecting the rights of students. The Court ruled that students do not lose First Amendment rights to freedom of speech or expression when they enter public school. Students have the right to express their political and ideological views unless the expression interferes with school discipline.

The Supreme Court ruled in *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier* (1988) that public school administrators have the right to censor student expression in any school-sponsored publication or activity. The *Tinker* decision deals with a student's right of personal expression on school property, and *Hazelwood* establishes the authority of public school educators over school-sponsored publications. The Court established censorship criteria for school-sponsored publications.

School officials do not have the right to censor non-school-sponsored student publications. Students have the right to distribute materials they have prepared, including religious material. Public schools can limit the distribution of student publications according to reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions. Time, place, and manner restrictions must be content neutral, must not restrict all distribution of a particular type of communication, must show a substantial state interest justifying the limitations, and must be narrowly tailored so that the state interest is furthered and no more free speech expression is limited than necessary.

Right to a Public Education

The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution provides that states cannot "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." States have created a property right to attend public school by mandating that children attend school between certain ages. States or public schools cannot deprive a student of the right to attend public school without due process of law. Due process of law has two parts: procedural due process and substantive due process. When the state tries to deprive an individual of a property right, such as the right to attend public school, the state must notify the individual of any charges, provide an opportunity to counter the charges, and give a fair hearing. Under substantive due process, the state must be able to show that it based its actions on a reasonable goal or purpose and that the action is needed to reach that goal.

As long as a child's parents or legal guardians are residents in a school district (even if they are illegal aliens), the child is entitled to attend schools in the district. School districts are not required to provide an education for children who have taken up residence apart from their parents solely for educational reasons. Parents can satisfy the school attendance requirement by enrolling their children in private schools. Most states allow tutoring or home schooling to satisfy the mandate.

The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act of 2001, which is part of the No Child Left Behind Act, protects the education rights of children displaced because of disasters. Under the Act, homeless children have the right to go to school where they were enrolled before they became homeless, even if their new shelter is in another district.

Public schools must provide appropriate programs for students who have limited English proficiency (LEP). The Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974 requires public schools to help LEP students overcome language barriers. According to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, federally funded schools cannot prevent students from participating in any program or activity based on race, color, or national origin. Linguistic minorities are included under Title VI's national origin category.

Students do not have a property right to participate in extracurricular activities. The courts view participation in these activities as a privilege. School officials may deny participation in these activities without providing due process.

Privacy Rights

The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (FERPA) gives parents the right to see their child's educational records. Schools cannot release this information to third parties unless the parent(s) authorize release. Students who are 18 years old or older have a right to see their school records. Schools cannot release the educational records of these students to third parties, including a student's parents, without the student's authorization. If schools or educational agencies violate these FERPA regulations, the school or agency will lose federal funding.

Searches and Drug Testing

Students have a Fourth Amendment right "against unreasonable search and seizures"; however, the courts weigh this right against the school's interest in maintaining a safe campus. The need for a safe environment is viewed as an overriding state interest that may justify minimal intrusions into a student's constitutional protection against unreasonable search and seizures. The courts have found that the use of metal detectors in public schools is a minimal intrusion into students' rights when weighed against the school's need to provide a safe environment.

Public school authorities may search student lockers and personal belongings if there is reason to suspect that the student possesses items that are illegal or against school policy. School personnel do not need a search warrant to conduct searches of this type; however, law enforcement officers need a search warrant if they conduct a search at a school.

Students who voluntarily participate in athletics and extracurricular activities may be subject to random drug testing. Public schools cannot require a student who does not participate in these activities to take drug tests unless there is reasonable suspicion that the individual is under the influence of drugs.

Discipline

The federal courts have long upheld a school district's right to maintain discipline on its school campuses. Rules and regulations must be reasonable and needed to manage the school or to provide for the welfare of faculty, students, and staff. Students and their parents are entitled to a copy of school rules and regulations.

School officials may discipline students for breaking school rules and regulations, but should consider the student's age, mental capacity, and prior behavior and be sure the punishment is appropriate. The courts have also agreed that if a student's behavior away from school affects the welfare of the school, school administrators may discipline the student.

Suspension and expulsion are acceptable forms of punishment. It is possible for a student to lose his or her property right to an education for violating school regulations; however, students are entitled to due process procedures when faced with suspension or expulsion. Students have a right to due process before receiving punishment for violating school regulations. In the event that the school punishes a student illegally, the student has the right to have his or her status restored and his or her record expunged of all references to the punishment.

Unless prohibited by state law or school board policy, school administrators can use reasonable corporal punishment. Considerable debate surrounds the question of what is "reasonable." It is clear that minority children, children with disabilities, and boys are more frequently physically punished than other students. In all but six of the one hundred largest school districts in the United States, students are protected from corporal punishment in the form of paddling. In terms of legal guidelines, the student's substantive due process rights may be violated when corporal punishment reaches the level that the Fourth Circuit Court described in *Hall v. Tawney* (1980) as "brutal and inhumane abuse of official power literally shocking to the conscience."

It is also permissible for teachers and administrators to use reasonable academic sanctions as punishment for nonacademic purposes. Academic sanctions must also serve a recognized school purpose; for example, many courts have ruled that lowering grades for excessive absences does serve an educational purpose.

Religious Rights

The establishment clause of the First Amendment states that the federal government cannot create any law that establishes religion or prohibits an individual from freely practicing religion. The establishment clause applies to state government via the Fourteenth Amendment. Public schools cannot sponsor prayers, hold Bible readings, or encourage students to include religious messages in speeches, such as graduation addresses. Students have the right to pray or meditate silently or engage in private devotionals as long as these activities do not interfere with regular school activities. Courts have allowed teachers to provide a moment of silence in the classroom, but cannot encourage students to use that time for prayer.

The Equal Access Act requires that federally funded secondary schools allow religious clubs the right to meet during noninstructional periods if the school allows other student groups this privilege. The secondary school establishes a limited open forum for all student groups when it allows such groups to meet on campus during noninstructional periods.

Public schools may allow students release time to attend off-campus religious instruction classes, but cannot encourage students to attend these classes. The school cannot allow the use of school property for religious instruction.

Students have the right to excused absences for religious holidays and observances. Schools are not required to make allowances for such absences if doing so creates an undue hardship for the school. Students may also be exempt from any school activities that are in conflict with religious beliefs unless such an exemption interferes with academic requirements. In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled that Amish children are not required to attend school after completion of the eighth grade.

Students With Disabilities

Rights for students with disabilities are covered by the Rehabilitation Act of 1974, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Titles II and III of the ADA apply to public and private schools,

respectively. The ADA prohibits discrimination against disabled individuals regardless of age. The IDEA applies to children ages three through twenty-one with disabilities. These children are entitled to a free and appropriate public education (FAPE).

The FAPE requires that the disabled child be educated in the least restrictive environment. The public school must pay for and supervise each FAPE. School districts may place a child in a public or private school that is able to provide an appropriate education to meet the child's needs.

Marsha Little Matthews

See also Compulsory Educational Attendance Laws; Corporal Punishment; Disabilities, Physical Accommodations for People With; Equal Access Act; Homeless Children and Adolescents, Education of; Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; Least Restrictive Environment; Mainstreaming; No Child Left Behind Act; Parent Rights; State Role in Education; Surveillance in Schools

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RIGHTS OF TEACHERS

Historically, teachers in the United States have had few rights other than those granted by local school boards. Public school teachers do not lose their constitutional

rights when they sign a teaching contract; however, the courts tend to apply a balancing test when these rights are in conflict with legitimate school administration interests relating to the business of education. Teachers also are entitled to rights created by federal and state statutes. There has been considerable litigation since the mid-twentieth century over limitations imposed on teachers in and out of the classroom. As a result, the courts have defined the rights of teachers and permissible limitations on those rights and freedoms. Several federal acts provide additional protections via the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits states from depriving individuals “of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.”

This entry looks at teachers’ rights in the areas of speech/expression, privacy, religion, and employment. The rights of teachers are complicated and may vary from state to state. *Public School Law: Teachers’ and Students’ Rights*, by Cambron-McCabe, McCarthy, and Thomas, is recommended for a more complete discussion of these rights.

Freedom of Speech and Expression

Protected and Unprotected Speech

The courts have both supported and restricted the free speech rights of public school teachers. In 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Pickering v. Board of Education* that teachers have a First Amendment right to express viewpoints on matters of public concern. In *Pickering*, a teacher sent a letter to a newspaper criticizing the actions of the local school board. The school board dismissed the teacher, claiming parts of the letter were false and damaging to the board. The Court ruled on behalf of the teacher but noted there were circumstances where a school board’s interests would take precedence.

The Court set up a test balancing a citizen’s interest and constitutional right to express views on matters of public concern and the state’s interest in providing public services such as education. A school board can dismiss a teacher for what the board considers offensive speech or expression if, after conducting a reasonable investigation, the evidence supports the board’s position that the expression is not

protected speech. Unprotected speech includes expressing views regarding personal employment issues, comments or attacks on supervisors, or any expression that disrupts the activities of the school. Employers may also limit protected speech under reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions.

Curriculum Rights

Only school boards have the right to decide curriculum content. Teachers must get approval before using any unauthorized materials in the classroom or altering the approved curriculum in any manner. Teachers have the right to determine which strategies and methods are appropriate to use to teach the approved curriculum. Courts have generally looked at the age of the students, relevancy to course objectives, professional support, risk of school disruption, and community standards when evaluating the appropriateness of teaching strategies and materials.

Freedom of Association Rights

The Supreme Court noted under *Healy v. James* (1972) that the right to associate, while not explicitly mentioned in the First Amendment, is implicitly included under freedoms of speech, assembly, and petition. Teachers and other public employees have the right to join political organizations, labor unions, and other types of groups. Teachers may also engage in political activities such as campaigning. They can discuss campaign issues as part of classroom instruction, but must make sure the discussion is fair and balanced. Teachers cannot use the classroom to indoctrinate students or campaign.

Generally, teachers cannot be punished or suffer negative employment consequences based on participation in political groups and activities. School officials can dismiss or sanction employees if political activities impair the employee’s job performance, or the individual’s job involves policymaking duties. In addition, state laws can prohibit or restrict public school teachers from holding certain elected offices.

Although teachers have the right to form or join unions, state law determines whether to recognize the

union's authority to engage in collective bargaining on behalf of its members. Nonunion teachers have the right to express their views at scheduled school board meetings regarding issues in negotiation between the board and teachers' union. Except in limited circumstances, teachers do not have the right to strike.

Privacy Rights

Search and Seizure

The Fourth Amendment protects individuals from unreasonable searches and seizures by the government and requires a search warrant based on probable cause. The Supreme Court upheld warrantless searches of state employees under *O'Connor v. Ortega* (1987). The Court determined that state employers may search an employee's office if the search is work-related and necessary to conduct the employer's business. Public school teachers have a right to expect privacy when it comes to their desks and files on campus; however, school officials can search a teacher's desk and files without a search warrant if there is reasonable suspicion that the search is necessary to carry out educational objectives. In order for such a search to be constitutionally valid, the Court will determine whether the educational objectives are more important than the teacher's privacy expectations.

Drug and Alcohol Testing

School boards can require prospective teachers to submit to physical examinations as a requirement for employment. Court decisions regarding drug and alcohol testing of public employees indicate that this area of law is still changing. Courts have generally struck down state laws requiring mandatory drug testing of state employees unless the employee performs a safety-sensitive role. Court decisions have varied over what job duties constitute a safety-sensitive role in educational settings. Public school employees can be required to undergo testing where the employer has reasonable suspicion that an individual employee may be under the influence of drugs or alcohol; however, court decisions have varied with regard to what constitutes individualized suspicion and when state

employees can be required to undergo drug tests where no suspicion exists.

Lifestyle Choices

Public school teachers have a privacy right to choose their lifestyle. The courts have held that school boards cannot dismiss or sanction an employee just because the board does not support the employee's lifestyle choice. The board can restrict an employee's personal and private behavior if the board finds that the teacher's behavior negatively affects job performance or harms students. In *Montefusco v. Nassau County* (1999), the court ruled that the school board could impose sanctions against a teacher for possessing candid photos of minors in her home even though a criminal investigation did not find grounds for filing charges. This case and others indicate that school boards can fire a teacher based on evidence that would not support criminal charges; however, the courts have also ruled that rumor and innuendo are not sufficient grounds for dismissal.

Employment Rights

Protection Against Discrimination and Harassment

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (PDA) amendment to the Act prohibit discrimination practices in hiring, promotion, and compensation based on race, religion, national origin, color, gender, pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions. Title VII and the PDA also make decisions regarding termination, contract nonrenewal, or denial of tenure that are based on gender, pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions illegal. Employers can file for a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) if they can show that discrimination based on religion, gender, or national origin is reasonably necessary for the operation of business activities. An BFOQ cannot cite race or color as occupation qualifications.

Employees have the right to work in an environment free from sexual harassment. The courts have defined sexual harassment as sexual advances,

innuendoes, or demeaning gestures or acts that are repeated and unwelcome and based on gender rather than personal dislike or sexual orientation.

All employees have the right to work in an environment that is not hostile. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that any conduct that reasonably interferes with a person's ability to work, is intimidating, or is offensive may be hostile. The conduct cannot be merely offensive. The courts look at how often the conduct occurs, if the conduct is humiliating or physically threatening, and if the conduct interferes with the individual's work performance. The Supreme Court ruled in *Burlington Industries v. Ellerth* (1998) and *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton* (1998) that employers can be liable for the actions made by an employee's supervisor.

Disability Rights

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protects the rights of disabled individuals. Under this act, if an individual is otherwise qualified for a position with any program or activity receiving federal monies, the person cannot be disqualified solely based on a disability. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) requires employers to make reasonable accommodations for a qualified disabled employee; however, employers are not required to make any accommodation that results in undue hardship for the employer. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the ADA establish criteria for determining if a person qualifies as disabled.

Termination, Dismissal, and Nonrenewal Rights

Tenured and probationary teachers are entitled to due process procedures if dismissed for cause. Tenure grants the teacher a property interest in employment with the school; therefore, school boards can dismiss a tenured teacher only for cause as defined by state law. Causes for termination and dismissal vary from state to state. Most states include incompetence, immorality, insubordination, unprofessional conduct, and neglect of duty as grounds for termination or dismissal. School boards must meet numerous requirements when terminating or dismissing teachers; for example, probationary

teachers may be entitled to a hearing, depending on whether the dismissal involves certain rights or creates a situation whereby the teacher will be unable to find future work as a teacher or educator.

Nontenured teachers do not have any right of due process if the school board does not renew their contracts at the end of the contract period. It is common for state statutes to require notification of a teacher on or before a set date that his or her contract will not be renewed. Teacher contracts may be nonrenewed with or without cause, as long as the cause is not a constitutionally protected right.

Retirement and Benefits Rights

The courts have determined that employers cannot set up different requirements for retirement contributions based on gender. The Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) prohibits employers from setting a mandatory retirement age.

Unless state or local laws prohibit it, school boards may limit employee benefits, such as insurance and retirement benefits, to the legal spouses and dependents of the employee. The Defense of Marriage Act of 1996 allows states to deny employee benefits to same-sex partners who may have been legally married in another state or country.

Religious Rights

Public school employees have the right to reasonable accommodations to allow them to practice religious beliefs; however, the school does not have to make accommodations that may result in undue hardship on the school. Teachers do not have the right to indoctrinate students with a religious viewpoint inside or outside the classroom during normal school operating hours. It is permissible to teach about religion as long as it remains a topic and not dogma.

Marsha Little Matthews

See also Academic Freedom; Boards of Education; Corporal Punishment; Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Organizations for Teacher Educators; Rights of Students; State Role in Education; Teacher Certification

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ROSENWALD SCHOOLS

Rosenwald schools, named for the philanthropist who provided the initial funding for what ended up being thousands of schools, represent an important aspect of the development of Black education in the rural South during the segregation era. Julius Rosenwald, through his generosity, helped stimulate opportunities for the education of African Americans that otherwise would not have been possible. Although occasionally criticized for being part of the “Tuskegee machine,” the Rosenwald schools clearly contributed to an improved quality of education for southern Blacks in small towns and communities where such options did not otherwise exist. This entry looks at their history and contributions.

The Initial Funding

Julius Rosenwald was the president of the catalog and department store chain Sears, Roebuck and Company from 1908 to 1922, and the chairman of the company's board until his death in 1932. The son of German-Jewish immigrants, he was a classic example of a self-made man. As a successful Chicago clothier, he bought an interest in Sears, Roebuck and Company in 1895 and helped build it into a mail-order and merchandising giant.

In 1912, as part of a much larger philanthropic effort, Rosenwald gave \$25,000 to the Tuskegee Institute. At the suggestion of Tuskegee's president,

Booker T. Washington, part of this money was used to build six schools in rural Alabama. Pleased with the result, in 1917, Rosenwald established a challenge-grant program that led to the construction of nearly 5,000 schools throughout the rural South. Rosenwald hoped to build a school in every rural county in the South. By 1928, one in five schools for Black students in the South was a Rosenwald school. The schools provided space for more than 600,000 students. The program ended in 1932 with Rosenwald's death.

A Community Effort

Rosenwald did not want his name attached to his charitable works. He was one of the founders of the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago, for example, but his name is not on the museum. Despite his reticence to be publicly recognized, the rural Black schools he funded eventually came to be known as Rosenwald schools. Rosenwald's contributions did not completely pay for the schools. In fact, only about 15 percent of their costs were covered by him (Rosenwald contributed a total of \$4.4 million of the \$28 million that was spent on the building of the schools).

Instead, his contributions acted as a stimulus for local communities to use taxes to build new schools, as well as to raise their own funds generated through personal contributions. Fundraising events in the local Black community included chicken dinners and sandlot baseball games. Sharecropper farmers put aside part of their crop—creating “Rosenwald patches”—to contribute to the school fund. Children saved pennies in snuff boxes.

Rosenwald's efforts were important in that they provided the means by which local communities could move beyond the ramshackle and inadequate school building structures that were typically provided for Black students during the segregation era. The Rosenwald schools were simply constructed, primarily wood frame buildings, but represented a significant improvement. Playground space, maximum use of light (East-West sighting of windows), and proper toilet facilities were all included as part of the designs. Few of the Rosenwald schools are still used today.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also African American Education; Philanthropy, Educational

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RURAL AND ONE-ROOM SCHOOLS

One-room schools were widespread in America until the 1960s. Almost always located in rural areas, very small schools evoked strong feelings. Most educators criticized them and sought their elimination. Yet most rural citizens valued their local schools and fought efforts to merge tiny school districts. At the start of the twentieth century, there were nearly 200,000 one-room schools. The numbers fell steadily, to 60,000, by mid-century, and then the rate of change accelerated, leaving only 2,000 by 1970. As one-room schools disappeared, so did 90 percent of the districts that governed those schools. What accounts for the consolidation of tiny schools and small districts? This entry offers answers to that question and briefly describes the renewed interest in small schools as the twentieth century drew to a close.

What the Smallest Schools Lacked

When educators assailed the smallest schools, they stressed the problems of an “ungraded” organization. Having students of widely different ages in the same room precluded good teaching, most experts agreed.

Only an extraordinary teacher could provide suitable instruction to students far apart in academic preparation and social development. What the students shared—similar neighborhoods, common relatives, comparable experiences on the farm—mattered less than their differences, the experts said. Thus, students should be grouped by age in separate rooms.

Educational leaders thought that in high school, students should also be classified by ability and interests. It seemed impossible for a small school to do that. According to an influential report in 1959 by former Harvard University President James Conant, a decent high school needed at least 400 students in order to offer rigorous courses in mathematics, science, and foreign languages. Yet on the eve of World War II, 75 percent of the nation’s high schools had fewer than 200 students.

The smallest schools could not afford the facilities that a “modern” school offered. A large school could more readily provide the space and equipment for vocational coursework, especially home economics for girls and various shops for boys. Art, music, and drama could be taught in small schools, but the buildings lacked ample space for storage and performances. Athletics, the fastest-growing part of the curriculum during the enrollment surge of the 1930s, required extensive space, indoors and outdoors.

Rooms to serve the entire school could be justified if hundreds of students used those costly sites. Libraries, lunchrooms, auditoriums, swimming pools, and study halls were otherwise considered too expensive. The economies of scale seemed compelling, although educators acknowledged that financial savings were not guaranteed by larger size. The per-capita annual operating costs of new and larger buildings were sometimes less, sometimes more, than those of smaller schools. The educational advantages of larger schools were worth the price, educators argued.

Careers Paths That Led to the Cities

Most small rural schools could not match the professional attractions of a teaching career in a larger school and district. The chance to specialize in one subject was rare in the small school, and educators had little respect for the notion of the teacher as

generalist beyond the elementary grades. To save money and avoid surprises, most rural school boards hired young women who lived in or near the area. Typically, they taught for a few years and then either married or moved. Few supervisors were close at hand to lend assistance. The collegial support that was available—specialists from the state department of education, summer “institutes,” college courses—was sparse and patchy, in part because many officials and professors yearned to close small schools, not find ways to improve them.

For teachers interested in a lifelong career, the larger urban districts beckoned. Usually, the salaries and benefits were better than rural compensation. Tenure was more common. So were opportunities to earn advanced degrees in the evenings and summers. Of great importance was the liberation from constant surveillance. Well into the twentieth century, teachers in many small towns were expected to act like saints, forsaking leisure-time activities that might be controversial. Smoking, drinking, dating, or skipping church were out of the question. In the cities, by contrast, there was far less oversight of teachers’ personal lives.

An ambitious young administrator’s career path also led to larger districts. Salaries were significantly higher. Opportunities to innovate abounded because most urban districts, before the 1960s, were seen as leaders in school reform. School boards usually deferred to the credentialed experts who ran the sprawling systems like huge corporations. In contrast, the rural districts’ superintendents not only lacked the training of their urban counterparts but usually were at the mercy of school trustees who made a wide range of picayune decisions that were handled in the cities by educators.

Provincial Character of Small Rural Schools

To most prominent educators, the devotion of rural residents to small schools and districts reflected deeper problems with rural life. In some areas, especially the South, the challenge was poverty. In more prosperous regions, the residents were criticized as being too cheap and too conservative to support educational progress. They tolerated rickety buildings

without adequate sanitation, ventilation, and lighting. The tiniest villages supposedly did not know what was in their own best interest—they hurt themselves by not aligning with larger towns where wealthier farmers and businessmen were increasingly in control of agrarian life. Only by becoming more cosmopolitan could remote outposts keep their young people from leaving.

In response, many rural residents defended their local school as the heart and soul of the community. It was the one place where everyone could share the pleasures of music, drama, sports, and other wholesome entertainment. It was also a safe place where parents could feel assured that their values would be passed on and their way of life would be respected rather than questioned by teachers. Without its own school, a village might not survive. Newcomers would go elsewhere in the absence of the local school.

Consolidation therefore hinged on the willingness of state legislatures to intervene. Rather than mandate change, most legislatures relied on substantial financial incentives to rural districts if they would merge. The legislators were especially generous in providing assistance for transportation and construction costs. One upshot of casting school size as a question of rural folkways was a lost opportunity to debate the shortcomings of larger schools. Rarely did the rural proponents of small schools resist consolidation on the grounds of instructional practices. They would defend “the basics” and assail the larger schools’ broader curriculum as “frills,” but the opponents of consolidation usually presented no original vision of schooling. A fresh approach to agricultural education, creative roles for volunteer instructors, rigorous use of correspondence courses and educational television—those efforts to enrich rural education were rare. When there was a progressive educator in a small school, she usually tried to show that she could match what larger schools did rather than seek novel approaches designed for very small schools.

Renewed Interest in Small Schools

After decades of believing that bigger was better, the American faith in large schools diminished from the 1970s on. Big schools felt inhumane. Many students

without special abilities or disabilities lacked close connections with anyone on the faculty. Guidance counselors advised too many students to know most of them well, and high school teachers with 150 students could not tailor their instruction to individual needs. Moreover, some large schools were not safe. Although media reports of violence and drug abuse exaggerated the dangers, many parents felt that large urban schools were full of mischief.

No one called for a return to one-room schools, although the growing popularity of home schooling marked a commitment to a version of that format. The innovations that took hold were usually in the form of teams of teachers working together with the same students, several subdivisions (“houses”) within a large school, or the construction of new schools of significantly smaller size than their predecessors. No one enshrined the history of rural education—there was no distinctive pedagogy or curriculum associated with it for anyone to emulate. The value of knowing each student well was the legacy left by the tiny rural schools, and personal attention was attractive to educators in all sections of the country by the end of the twentieth century.

Robert Hampel

See also History of Education Society; Small Schools Movement

See Visual History Chapter 9, Frontier Teachers and Schools; Chapter 24, Schools and the Farm Security Administration

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RURAL EDUCATION

Conceptual foundations to define rural education are murky and eclectic. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nation building was the one educational mission driving rural education. The structure of rural schooling depended heavily on decisions made during the Civil War (1861–1865) and on the Homestead Act (1862). The Act and the actions taken as a result of it had an adverse effect on rural America, specifically in the center of the nation, where it created artificial communities based solely on land speculation, established an agricultural economic framework dependent on national markets that lasted until the farm and economic crises of the 1980s, and ultimately diminished the indigenous customs and belief systems about the way of life in rural America. At the same time, programs like the Cooperative Extension’s 4-H youth program and the rapid growth of community colleges in the 1970s offered higher education and adult education opportunities to many rural communities. These programs have struggled to serve a broader constituency in rural areas beyond agriculture.

No single definition exists to define rural America and its schools; some believe poverty is the one common thread, whereas others believe that any area that is not metropolitan is rural. Rural communities were never homogeneous. The schools that served these regions had to work with issues of race in the South and the Great Plains, and with considerable economic diversity, including fishing (New England), mining and rural industry (Appalachia and the West), farming and sharecropping (Great Plains), and ranching (Great Plains and the West). Concurrently, schools dealt with each unique population inhabiting schools (by ethnicity, religion, and social class). Changes in rural education may be region-specific, and generalizations about education in one rural area may or may not be

true for another. This entry attempts to define some common challenges and future prospects.

Problems and Realities

The United States, like the rest of the world, is steadily becoming more urban. Until the 1920 census, most people lived in small towns and rural areas. By 2000, most Americans lived in urban areas (and most lived in cities of 1 million or more). Currently, rural communities have higher poverty rates than their metropolitan counterparts. In the United States, one in four schoolchildren attends school in rural areas of fewer than 25,000, and 25 percent of all public schools in the United States are rural. Of the 250 poorest counties, 244 are rural. Poverty is a reality of rural living and for rural schools. The most recent U.S. Census confirms that school districts with fewer than 200 high school students are more than twice as likely to have high poverty rates as schools with 200 or more students. Nearly 10 million poor people live in rural America (one out of five residents). Rural minorities are significantly more impoverished as a percentage of the population. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of poor people living in rural America are White. Addressing rural education will require solutions to both the poverty gap of minorities and the impoverished conditions of all rural poor.

Rural schools have faith that technology will be the driving force of the rural economy and its schools in the twenty-first century. Improvements in communication and transportation have reduced rural isolation and differences in culture, information, and lifestyles. However, rural schools lack the necessary infrastructure to help overcome historical barriers associated with isolation. Rural America continues to provide the nation's food while also providing cheap labor, land for urban and suburban expansion, sites for hazardous waste storage, and natural settings for recreation. Although rural schools are located in some of the most beautiful areas, about half of rural students attend schools in inadequate buildings without proper laboratory facilities and classrooms; faulty foundations, roofs, and plumbing; environmental pollution; and inadequate library/media/technology access. In the past fifteen years, many successful lawsuits against

states—for example, Kentucky, New York, and Ohio—have attempted to correct this by charging negligence in school finance.

Consolidation of rural schools continues to be the controversial topic for policy makers, school administrators, and rural communities. Consolidation is driven by concerns of efficiency, economics, student achievement, school size, and community identity. Rural schools are also defined by a de facto national curriculum and institutional structure. The James B. Conant Report (1959) was influential in restructuring the small high school, calling for consolidation of small schools and the teaching of subject-based lessons. Conant advocated for consolidation and graduating classes of 100 or more in order to “have diversified curricula.”

In the 1980s, the Committee on Educational Excellence emphasized that good education was based on excellence in math, science, and reading. The effect of the report led to a second phase of rural educational restructuring that saw more consolidation than ever before. Currently, the effects of the No Child Left Behind Act's large-scale standardized assessments, declining enrollments and financial cutbacks, country school finance based on property taxes, lack of qualified teachers, and antiquated curriculum are driving school reorganization and consolidation.

Beyond these political forces, demographers believe that some rural areas adjacent to cities are becoming more metropolitan or are growing fast enough to become a metro area in their own right. Smaller rural schools also suffer from out-migration of both young and highly skilled workers, leaving an aging population and strained public services. Most areas have difficulty providing the human capital and infrastructure to attract new rural entrepreneurs. As a result, many rural areas and their schools rely on two fountains of growth: scenic amenities, environmental virtues, or unique products that reflect the cultural heritage (eastern West Virginia and western Maryland); and expanding agricultural and manufacturing opportunities alongside low-cost housing and new immigrant labor (Greenville, SC; Nebraska; Iowa; and Minnesota for food production at Con-Agra, IBP, and Cargill). The two fountains of growth listed above allow for development and sustainability but also produce distinct types of schools divided

along class lines. Rural schools now must deal with urban and suburban persons who telecommute to their work, diverse groups of white- and blue-collar labor, and immigrants and poor workers with social welfare issues never faced before.

Possibilities and Paradigms

There are some possible solutions that can help rural schools deal with the changing nature of rural America. The most plausible one is the use of regional educational service agencies in their states for school improvement. Second, incentive programs (similar to those in urban areas, such as loan repayment, low-cost housing, medical and retirement benefit packages for service, etc.) can help attract and retain quality teachers because rural teacher shortage affects all subjects, particularly math, science, and special education. A third possibility is changes in leadership and policy action from local-based politics to a more cosmopolitan notion of governance involving the community and its leaders; finances, regional economic conditions, state regulations, salaries, and an adequate variety of classes in running small schools are paramount for rural districts. The above are affected by the turnover of superintendents who are trusted in rural districts to assume those responsibilities, which mainly occurs among the smallest districts (fewer than 300 students) and the lack of focused efforts by school boards in disseminating their problems to local and state politicians.

Finally, rural schools must incorporate some common elements of rural curriculum and education that can form a long-term sustainable solution: (a) place-based education; (b) family and community

involvement; (c) partnership building between culture, business, and social services; (d) student leadership; and (e) entrepreneurial education (from 4-H, extension education, and vocational programs). These unique aspects of rural education are often eliminated as districts attempt to meet the requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act.

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See also No Child Left Behind Act

See Visual History Chapter 9, Frontier Teachers and Schools

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S

SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE

As elsewhere, America's school buildings (or their absence) have reflected American goals for pedagogy, citizenship, and schooling generally. Over the years, the prevailing design evolved from one-room schoolhouses to temple-like academies to flat-roofed utilitarian structures that maximize light. This entry summarizes that progress.

Early America

School architecture in colonial America was very limited. Town schools met in spare rooms of meeting houses, town halls, or shops. Dedicated school buildings appeared after U.S. independence. Built vernacularly, without architectural plans, most school buildings resembled cheap churches or homes. In rural districts—subsections of a town—neighbors would erect a simple schoolhouse, often on land unsuitable for farming or close to the road, which gable ends fronted. A counter ran around three sides of the interior wall, which students could use as a desk on benches facing outward. Center benches accommodated smaller pupils and higher winter attendance. Rural southern “old field” schools similarly occupied overworked farmland and lacked amenities.

After 1800, academies proliferated in towns and cities in both the North and the South. Boasting comfortable, well-equipped interiors, their impressive

Greek Revival architecture sought to attract students and link schooling to republican values.

Beginning in 1830, common school reformers included schoolhouse improvement among their broader goals. Concerned about children's health and learning environments, reformers lamented cracked walls, drafty fireplaces, few windows, primitive sanitary facilities, and poor ventilation. Besides solving those problems, reformers suggested facing pupils forward in rows. This layout would improve surveillance, which could reduce flogging and facilitate all-group pedagogy.

A New Emphasis

In 1837, when Horace Mann became Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, a supplement to his first annual report challenged Massachusetts towns to build new schools or improve old ones. Mann's Connecticut counterpart, Henry Barnard, issued similar articles and a book, *School Architecture*, in 1842. Many towns in those states and beyond met the call, building or renovating schoolhouses using reformers' designs.

Sited in more sheltered locations, new schools possessed playgrounds and outhouses. Some separated boys and girls in the classroom, sustaining the era's careful gendering of space. However, southern states, budding western settlements, and poorer towns everywhere implemented schoolhouse reforms more slowly.

Boston took another step into reform with the age-graded, twelve-classroom Quincy School in 1847, which supplanted the large, multiage classroom. Age

grading spread quickly in most cities. By the 1850s, many city school systems included high schools, whose buildings could rival academies in size, facilities, and aesthetic appeal. Typically brick, two to four stories high with pitched rooflines, and located on small sites where land expense dictated, these buildings incorporated classical elements like temple fronts.

After the Civil War

In the South after slavery, African American children and adults craved schooling, but facilities lagged behind educational needs. Although many areas nationwide provided inadequate segregated schooling, rural southern schools for African Americans were particularly shabby. Still, in 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld “separate but equal” public accommodations in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Many communities overlooked the “equal” part, dramatically shortchanging African American students in funding and facilities.

City school buildings grew again amid surging urban populations after the Civil War. Although some sported Victorian details after 1890, many acquired a factory-like look and feel, with their overcrowded classrooms, hallways, and playgrounds. But reformers could increasingly point to improved heating and ventilation; indoor plumbing; large windows; individual desks; and more blackboards, maps, and scientific apparatus. New York City’s school building superintendent C. B. J. Snyder developed the H-shaped school, which maximized light and air, and city schools installed electricity beginning in the 1890s.

Also beginning around 1890, as the mission of schooling expanded, schools gradually added gymnasiums, libraries, laboratories, art and music rooms, theaters, cafeterias, and workshops—developments boosted after 1910 by John Dewey’s progressive educational ideas, urging organic school-community connections. School Superintendent William W. Wirt of Gary, Indiana, created the Gary “work-study-play” plan to optimize facilities and activities in every school building, a design applied in many cities. Other school architects contributed ideas for more complex, multi-function schools, trying also to ensure flexibility for future pedagogical change.

The Twentieth Century

More than 200,000 rural, one-room schoolhouses were in use in 1920, many retrofitted with indoor plumbing, electricity, and larger windows. Improved transportation had increased access to advanced schooling for rural children, but it also enabled rural school consolidation to accelerate after 1910. Consolidated rural schools, built with expert designs, eventually doomed the one-room schoolhouse.

In growing suburbs after 1920, new schools of one or two stories enjoyed expansive footprints on sites of several acres, expressing their newly comprehensive mission. The Depression and World War II halted school construction for a generation. By 1950, this deferred demand plus the baby boom, along with migration southward, westward, and into suburbs, triggered a school building boom.

Postwar schools adopted modern architectural style, often with flat roofs and, some complained, bland, mall-like appearance. By the 1960s, as baby boomers hit their teens, new high schools appeared in suburbs and cities. Admiring British open classrooms intended to encourage self-directed learning, the Ford Foundation established the Educational Facilities Laboratory. The EFL promoted innovations such as movable walls, open designs, and educational use of new media.

Many school buildings fell into disrepair when enrollments dropped again in the 1970s, whereas others were converted to offices and apartments. By the 1990s, critical maintenance problems threatened numerous school buildings, and rapid growth areas faced an outright shortage of schools, problems that communities are scrambling to rectify. Positive trends today include designing school buildings with greater community use in mind, particularly regarding athletic and library facilities, and school libraries that integrate information resources beyond books. Besides capacity and maintenance, challenges in school architecture include air quality, handicapped access, energy efficiency, and security.

Rebecca R. Noel

See also African American Education; Comprehensive High Schools; Gary (Indiana) Model; Rural and One-Room Schools

See Visual History Chapter 4, The Common School Movement; Chapter 9, Frontier Teachers and Schools; Chapter 12, Frances Benjamin Johnston and the Washington, D.C., Schools; Chapter 24, The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

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SCHOOL CHOICE

For American students sixteen years of age or younger, public school attendance has been compulsory since a Supreme Court ruling in 1925. Choice in American schools was traditionally the option of the wealthy, who could pay for private education. Private schools over the past century have enrolled about 12 percent of American students, especially within the past twenty years; choice of school has been significantly expanded in the form of vouchers, charter schools, home-schooling, and magnet schools. This entry looks at existing forms of school choice and reviews some of the comparative literature.

Types of School Choice

At present, based on information from the Center for Educational Reform, there are about 51,000,000 students involved in K–12 schooling; the vast majority of these students are enrolled in traditional public schools. Students not attending public schools include about 5,200,000 in private schools; 2,500,000 in Catholic schools; 800,000 in charter schools; and 1,100,000 being homeschooled. The percentage of students attending private schools has been stable for the past 100 years (12–15 percent); in contrast, other

forms of choice have increased, especially in the past fifteen years.

For example, since the first legislation was approved to allow charter schools in Minnesota, the number of states allowing charter schools has risen to forty-five. In the 2004–2005 school year, about 450 new charter schools opened with an enrollment of roughly 76,000 students. Importantly, choice within the public school system has also increased in the form of more than 4,000 magnet schools. Magnet schools are public theme schools (e.g., math, science, and the performing arts) that allow students from diverse neighborhoods to attend.

The type of voucher programs and charter schools offered vary tremendously from state to state. Essentially, a voucher is a subsidy that pays some, or all, of a student's tuition to attend the private or Catholic school that a parent chooses. Eligibility for receiving vouchers varies widely, but typically low-income children in inner-city schools are the targeted recipients. Charter schools are public schools that have been approved by some form of state-level authorization. In charter schools, some regulations that other public schools face are waived (e.g., teacher certification requirements) to allow for more flexibility and experimentation. However, as Thomas Good and Jenifer Braden note, laws show tremendous variation.

Comparative Analysis

The effect of attending choice schools (voucher, charter, private, or home school), rather than traditional public schools, can be analyzed in a number of ways: Does a choice school attract better students or teachers? Do certain types of students do better in one type of school? Are some schools more efficient or economical than others? Here we limit the discussion to a comparison of the effects of instruction and student achievement.

Proponents of choice argue that the public school monopoly discourages competition or policies to encourage risk taking and experimentation. However, actual research on vouchers has been limited and hotly contested. Across extant research, there is no evidence to suggest that vouchers consistently have a positive impact on student programs or achievement. Some

studies show gains, whereas others do not. In general, the research on school vouchers has been limited to small studies in a particular city; however, this research in aggregate indicates that the programs do not have the positive effects that their proponents argue. Importantly, there is an absence of data that examine how instruction varies in choice schools, and indeed, some limited evidence suggests that instruction in private and public schools is more similar than different, as Richard Rothstein and his colleagues have noted.

Although estimates vary, it is safe to conclude that more than a million students are homeschooled in America. Homeschooling has been supported by the full political spectrum, and children are homeschooled for various reasons, including the enhancement of achievement, the protection of students from their peers, and for religious training. The curriculum followed varies tremendously, and there are many Web-based resources and organizations available to parents who choose to educate children at home. Although the effects of homeschooling on children's social development are debated, there is a small but consistent literature that suggests that, on average, homeschooled children achieve better than their peers in public schools. There is no research to describe how homeschooled students are instructed. Furthermore, evolving changes in public laws have made it increasingly easier for parents to provide school at home. The requirements that homeschooling parents must address vary from state to state. Increasingly, universities are making it easier for homeschooled children to meet university admission requirements.

Good and Braden reviewed the extant literature comparing charter and regular public schools and found wide variations in both forms of schools, but that on average, mean student performance was lower in charter schools than in traditional schools. The review noted the weakness of extant research and called for more and better research. It concluded that charter schools as a group showed little evidence of innovation, especially in the area of teaching and classroom reform. Given the absence of innovation, charter schools do not appear to be a powerful source for enhancing student achievement. Subsequent research on student achievement in charter schools has yielded even more disappointing results.

In the summer of 2004, the American Federation of Teachers published a large, comprehensive study comparing student achievement in charter and traditional public schools. This study used student scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) that were collected in a nationally representative sample. NAEP scores are typically considered the "gold standard" or "national report card" of educational achievement tests. This research found that students attending regular public schools had achievement levels that were a half-year higher than those in charter public schools. More favorable data on charter schools have been reported elsewhere by Caroline Hoxby. However, other researchers, including David Rogosa, have suggested that student achievement is better in traditional public schools and have directly challenged the Hoxby findings.

School choice is increasing in the United States, although the vast majority of youth continue to attend traditional public schools. Some would argue that expanded choice per se is a desirable outcome that allows more options for meeting the needs of the students. Many have claimed that choices (charter schools in particular) have led to more innovative forms of governance and parent involvement. However, the effect of choice on classroom learning and student achievement has been notably less than proponents predicted.

Thomas L. Good

See also Charter Schools; Compulsory Educational Attendance Laws; Homeschooling

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SCHOOL FUNDING

Funding of U.S. public schools has long been a focus of contention, primarily because children living in high-poverty and high-minority neighborhoods so often attend schools that have relatively few resources. Decades of litigation document a clash between commitments to “local control” of schools, on one hand, and the provision of equal educational opportunity, regardless of where one lives, on the other. This entry examines sources of funding for U.S. public schools, disparities in resources, and legal challenges to the continuing situation.

Sources of Funding

Unlike most industrialized nations, the United States relies heavily on local property taxes to fund its public schools. These revenues, which account for about 45 percent of total school funding, create significant disparities among school districts because local property

values vary so much. Even when property-poor communities tax themselves at higher *rates* than property-rich communities, as is often the case, they cannot raise comparable revenues because property *values* are so much lower.

State revenues are another significant source of funding for public schools. Because budget priorities and tax policies differ from state to state, the size of the state share varies considerably, but on average, it is about 47 percent of the total. Some states allocate funds in such a way as to reduce the disparities created by local property tax revenues, but many do not. A report by The Education Trust, a research and advocacy organization, found that in the six years it has been tracking the funding gap, the disparity between high- and low-poverty districts has remained unchanged. In 2003, in the nation as a whole, low-poverty school districts received approximately \$900 *more* in state and local funds than high-poverty districts. (High-poverty districts were defined as the 25 percent of districts with the highest levels of poverty, and low-poverty districts as the 25 percent with the lowest levels.)

The third source of funding for public schools, federal revenues, comprises only about 8 percent of the total. These revenues come primarily through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (reauthorized most recently as the No Child Left Behind Act). Although Title I funds often are used to bring spending in schools in poor neighborhoods up to par with spending in other neighborhoods, some funding is diverted to schools in wealthier neighborhoods.

Widespread Disparities

How large are disparities in school funding? In its 2006 *Quality Counts* report, *Education Week* reported that in 2003, average per-pupil spending (adjusted for regional cost differences) ranged from a high of \$11,031 in Washington, D.C., to a low of \$5,087 in Utah. Gaps among districts within states and among schools within districts exacerbate the state-to-state differences.

Funding disparities between large, predominantly minority city districts and nearby predominantly White suburban districts are particularly significant. Illinois Board of Education data for 2003, for example, show

per-pupil spending of \$8,482 in Chicago (87 percent minority), but \$17,291 in nearby suburban Highland Park (10 percent minority). Similar patterns can be found in the Philadelphia, Detroit, Milwaukee, Boston, and New York City areas.

Recent research has uncovered “hidden” disparities among schools within a single district resulting from the way teacher salaries are factored into district budgets. If one or more schools in a district have a disproportionate share of the highest paid teachers, this does not necessarily show up in districtwide budget reports. The highest paid teachers commonly are found in schools with the lowest poverty levels.

A 2006 report by the 21st Century School Fund documents additional inequities in spending on school construction and renovation. Despite record-level spending between 1995 and 2004, the most disadvantaged students received only about half as much per pupil as their wealthier counterparts. Furthermore, in the poorer schools, most of the funding went toward basic safety provisions (roof repairs or asbestos removal, for example) rather than educational enhancements such as science labs and computer rooms, as was the case in the wealthier districts.

Legal Challenges

Although the question of whether “money really matters” in schooling continues to arise in school-funding lawsuits, the ongoing litigation itself attests to broad agreement that much is at stake. Significant disparities in funding mean that students in property-rich districts typically attend classes in well-maintained buildings, with well-qualified and adequately compensated teachers and abundant opportunities to participate in art, music, and sports programs. Students in property-poor districts, however, often face years of schooling in buildings in disrepair, with teachers lacking credentials (or even full-time positions), outdated textbooks that must be shared, and few extracurricular activities.

As of 2006, school funding lawsuits had been brought in forty-five states, and plaintiffs had prevailed in almost two thirds of the cases. A landmark case, *San Antonio v. Rodriguez*, was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973. This case focused on large disparities in funding among property-rich and property-poor school

districts in Texas. The Supreme Court acknowledged the disparities but found no constitutional violation and no justification for altering the school funding system in a way that might lessen “local control.” This decision closed the door to appeals to the U.S. Constitution but did not stop lawsuits over school funding. Almost every state has language in its constitution that obligates it to provide some quality of public schooling statewide. Since *Rodriguez*, plaintiffs generally have asked courts to interpret provisions in state constitutions in ways that require states to provide funding that is more equitable, more adequate, or both.

“Adequacy” arguments constitute the most recent legal strategy in the ongoing battles over school funding. Adequacy sometimes has been defined as the level of funding required to provide all students with an opportunity to learn what they need to know to pass high-stakes tests—that is, tests used to determine promotion or graduation. However, it also has been defined as a baseline level of funding. Recognizing that “equal” funding can nevertheless be insufficient, many scholars and lawyers regard the pursuit of “adequate” funding as a more desirable objective than “equity” or “equality.” Others, however, see the pursuit of adequacy as tacit acceptance of a system of schooling that is both separate, in the sense of racially segregated to a significant extent, and unequal, in the sense of unfairly funded. Funding that allows for an adequate education for some children, but for a far more expensive (and much better) education for others, undercuts the ideal of equal educational opportunity.

The federal No Child Left Behind Act, reauthorized in 2007, promises to intensify these arguments in the years ahead. Questions will continue to be raised, in and out of courts, about how a law that attempts to hold all students and schools to the same high academic standards can be reconciled with structures of funding that year after year underwrite a top-quality education for some students (disproportionately White students in middle-class and wealthy communities) and a bare-bones minimum for others (disproportionately students of color in poor communities).

Sue Books

See also Economic Inequality; State Role in Education

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SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

The question of who governs our schools seems to be a simple one, easily answered by referring to the local school board, which is often responsible for making important decisions about budgets, personnel, and curriculum. Such an answer, however, doesn't adequately consider the constellation of governmental and nongovernmental forces that coalesce to shape educational policy and the ways in which educational decisions are made. Today, the center of power and authority in school decision making no longer resides with local school boards, but rather with state and federal governments. Historically, this has not always been the case, yet power has slowly been shifting away from local districts for the past thirty years. This move away from local control accelerated in the 1990s and has raised important questions about the proper location for governmental decision making regarding education. By outlining some of the major trends in the evolving nature of school governance, this entry provides a contemporary portrait of the state of school governance today. It is broken into four sections. The first considers the growth of the federal role in education and why it has expanded. The second looks at the increasing importance of the state, particularly with respect to financing education. The third examines additional

outside forces that are involved in and sometimes complicate educational governance. The final section of the entry considers the consequences of these changes for local school districts and some of the calls for reform in local school governance.

Growth of the Federal Role

Historically, the federal government has had a limited role in educational governance. During the nineteenth century, schools developed locally, and patterns of school governance and funding tended toward the use of locally elected school boards to oversee financial and curricular decisions. By the late 1800s, local school boards were well established, and local control of schools was beginning to result in discrepancies between the quality and type of education received in various districts. Governance became increasingly complicated as immigrant and Black communities began to vocalize their concerns about the inferior education their children were receiving. In this sense, local control was a two-edged sword: It allowed communities to develop and define schools around shared local values, while it also supported various discriminatory practices that left some groups, particularly Blacks and immigrant minorities, with substantially inferior educational opportunities.

The issue of racial segregation gained increasing attention throughout the early twentieth century and set the stage for increased federal involvement in educational governance beginning in the 1950s. Starting with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, school desegregation became a federal issue. Increasing amounts of federal resources were directed toward schools in an effort to create greater equality in educational opportunity for Blacks who had been denied access to White schools.

Beyond the issue of racial equality, however, the federal government also became involved in efforts to create greater economic equality, military defensive capacity, and improved economic productivity through investment in education. For example, in the wake of *Sputnik*, the 1957 National Defense Education Act focused directly on science education and the need to improve curriculum and instruction so that the country

could produce the scientists and engineers needed to strengthen national security during the Cold War. Another example of increased federal involvement was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which created Title I. This program provided a monetary incentive for school desegregation (segregated schools could not receive these funds) while also working to improve the educational experiences of poor children across the nation. In the 1970s, additional legislation such as the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 focused on the rights of individuals with disabilities. Title IX, passed in 1972, mandated equal rights for women with respect to participation in athletics.

The 1983 report by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk*, tightly linked the nation's future economic productivity to improved academic performance. This report set the parameters for federal involvement in the 1980s and 1990s, which had focused on getting states to measure their students' progress toward carefully defined curricular goals. David Conley contends that since the 1990s, the federal government has moved aggressively to force states into compliance with its educational initiatives through various means, including the use of the "bully pulpit," leveraged federal dollars, and new legislative requirements.

With respect to the bully pulpit, presidents and secretaries of education have increasingly used the media to influence educational policy. Their statements have been directly linked to the content of various reports such as *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and to the outcomes of national tests of student achievement such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), sometimes called "The Nation's Report Card." International comparisons in the areas of math and reading achievement have also gained media attention and raised concerns about the performance of our public educational system. Most federal funding for education is connected to federal initiatives such as the need for specific types of testing (i.e., participation in the NAEP), and to limitations on the types of programs that qualify for federal aid. Specifically, programs must be based on scientific research as defined by the U.S. Department of Education. Finally, legislative requirements, such as those embodied in No Child Left Behind

(NCLB), have become more comprehensive and influence issues ranging from compulsory testing to the obligation that schools teach about the U.S. Constitution on September 17, the date on which it was signed in 1787.

Continuing calls for equity in educational opportunities and outcomes, combined with a growing belief that the federal government should play a major role in improving the academic performance of public schools, makes it likely that the federal role in school governance will continue to grow over the next decade. The growth of federal involvement has had a significant impact on the state role in education as well as the local role. These are taken up in the next sections.

The State Role

Over the past three decades, states have played a larger role in school governance. Perhaps the biggest driving force behind this change has been the use of property taxes to provide local financing of education. This system has exacerbated inequalities between school districts because poor communities have been unable to raise the revenues necessary to improve their schools, and wealthy communities have had no incentive to share their resources. In the 1970s, school funding became the most important issue facing many states as interest groups and coalitions began to form around the issue of funding.

Initially, these groups attempted to demonstrate that unequal school funding was unconstitutional because it violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. This avenue for complaint was closed when the Supreme Court decided in *San Antonio v. Rodriguez* (1975) that school funding was not a federal issue but a state issue that would have to be resolved in state courts and legislatures. As a result, numerous state lawsuits throughout the 1970s claimed that school funding systems that perpetuated inequalities violated equal protection clauses within state constitutions. These cases were often successful and usually led to increases in the proportion of state spending on education. According to Allan Odden and Lawrence Picus, by the end of the 1970s, state spending as a proportion of overall educational spending had risen from 39 percent to 47 percent. This trend continued

through the 1980s, and new lawsuits focusing more on inequalities in educational outcomes, rather than opportunities, began to surface in the 1990s.

As states have taken on a greater fiscal burden, they have also taken on a greater role in school governance. By the late 1980s, increased state investments in education, combined with prodding from the federal level, resulted in greater state involvement in defining curriculum standards in various subject areas, creating graduation requirements, and developing statewide educational assessments. Throughout the 1990s, state mandates intensified and brought about further changes in these areas as states sought to address various inter-related issues in their effort to create systemic reform. NCLB has spurred states on to further develop their curricular goals, assessment systems, and plans to decrease gaps in the achievement of various racial and ethnic subgroups within the school population. Frederick Wirt and Michael Kirst indicate that districts have been left with little more than a “sandbox” within which they can construct local policy.

States have also been influential in developing alternatives to traditional public schools such as charter schools and voucher programs. The development of these alternatives is the result of disillusionment with the public schools’ ability to change and has been perceived as a threat by those within the educational establishment. These new models step outside of traditional bureaucratic structure in an effort to provide more efficient and flexible alternatives, although they may also reduce the democratic nature of public education. As with the federal role, it seems likely that state control over education will continue to increase over the next decade.

Other Forces Influencing Educational Governance

Beyond federal and state influences, a number of other forces tend to influence and also complicate the process of educational governance. Several of the most important include public pressure for school improvement, the influence of the business community, the power of the religious right, and the role of traditional educational interest groups such as teachers’ unions.

As public awareness of the performance of public schools has grown, so, too, has pressure for improvement. Much fanfare now surrounds the publication of both local and national performance data in the media. The Gallup Poll of the public’s attitude toward the public schools, published annually in *Phi Delta Kappan*, garners a great deal of attention and typically shows that although individuals feel confident about the quality of their local schools, they are concerned with the performance of public schools in general. These attitudes, coupled with a growing skepticism of government-run enterprises, have created a political climate where accountability-focused legislative measures have been quite successful.

An additional force fueling public awareness of educational issues has been the business community. To a large extent, business leaders have taken center stage in efforts to define educational standards and develop models of educational reform. Much of this participation has centered on arguments for greater social efficiency within the educational system and the idea that schools should help to prepare workers for the jobs needed in the new postindustrial economy. The business community’s support for vocationalism in public education is not new, yet rapid changes in the economy coupled with a growing disenchantment with government and the public provision of services have created an environment in which the market is seen as superior to bureaucracy in organizing human activity. With regard to education, this has meant growing support for a variety of market-oriented reforms, including charter schools, vouchers, and contracting for services with the private sector. It has been suggested that business interests have facilitated this change in attitude by exerting pressure to break public sector “monopolies” on various services, including utilities and education.

The religious right has also exerted influence over the governance of schools. Espousing concerns about state regulations meant to influence the moral conduct and beliefs of children, members of the religious right have created powerful coalitions that have been able to defeat and/or challenge various state and local educational initiatives. Two examples include the defeat of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in the 1980s and recent challenges regarding the teaching of evolution in public schools. In the first instance, the religious right

successfully defeated OBE by framing the issue as one in which the schools were encroaching on traditional values and parental authority. With regard to evolution, the religious right has been able to sustain efforts to introduce concepts such as intelligent design into the school curriculum despite a lack of evidence proving its credibility.

Finally, various traditional educational interest groups such as teachers' unions, taxpayer associations, and booster clubs try to influence educational governance in ways that favor group members. Conflicts among these groups over curriculum, funding, and control of the educational enterprise create a turbulent political environment leading to instability in educational goals and the creation of a climate of distrust.

Consequences for Local Districts

Given the trends discussed above, it seems clear that changes in federal and state policies regarding education will have a significant impact on local school governance. As the state and federal governments demand more from local districts, school board members and school administrators will need to redefine their roles in ways that may limit democratic participation but create greater equity and accountability. Some alternate models of governance currently being experimented with include mayoral takeovers of urban school districts, state takeovers of poorly performing districts, and market-driven models based on consumer choice such as charter schools and school vouchers. In general, these reforms serve to limit the power of locally elected school boards and create confusion within districts regarding lines of authority and the appropriate role of the school board. The challenge for school districts over the next decade will be to refine these governance models in ways that ensure both democratic participation and greater equality in educational outcomes.

Abe Feuerstein

See also Charter Schools; Economic Inequality; Educational Policy and the American Presidency; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; High-Stakes Testing; Religious Fundamentalism and Public Education; State Role in Education

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SCHOOL LAW

On average, a teacher violates the law on a daily or weekly basis. Why? Because approximately 75 percent of everything that a teacher does in a typical school day is affected by school law. These violations are generally not intentional, but result from a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge that a law exists. This makes sense after one understands the vast expanse of school law: all of the statutory law, case law, and statutory regulations that affect school districts, certified and noncertified employees, students, and taxpayers as they relate to the operation of a school district.

The goal of this entry is twofold: (1) to provide a basic overview of school law, and (2) to heighten awareness of the role the law plays in the school as well as its impact on K–12 educators. Consequently,

this entry will serve to heighten awareness that schools function in the midst of a complex legal environment that affects all aspects of public education.

Legal Impact on Schools

Public schools do not operate in a vacuum. They function in an environment that is responsive to external factors, which include parents, the business sector, and the religious community. One increasingly important external influence is the law. It is undeniable that statutes, regulations, and case law are now becoming major factors shaping public education.

As external groups attempt to monitor public education, there is an accompanying concept that state legislatures are enacting more statutes to regulate public education. For example, in 2006 alone, the Illinois General Assembly enacted more than sixty-five new laws that affected public education. To appreciate the extensive scope of school law, it is necessary to understand the numerous sources of laws that affect public education.

The U.S. Constitution does not address public education. More specifically, the word “education” is not found in the Constitution. Therefore, according to its Tenth Amendment, any powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved for the states. Therefore, education is an issue for which states have primary responsibility.

Despite the lack of expressed constitutional authority to govern education, however, the federal government—specifically, the executive and legislative branches—has a significant impact on public education. Specifically, legislative acts such as No Child Left Behind and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act are federal statutory provisions with which state and local educators must comply. How can this occur if the federal government does not have any reserved powers to govern education? The answer is “money.” The federal government can require certain actions by conditioning federal monies to schools upon compliance with its specifications. Thus, a state or local school district could decline the money and be free of the federal requirements, but for most districts, it is not financially feasible to bypass the federal financial assistance.

Each of the fifty states has a constitution that provides a framework for how it will provide free public education to elementary and secondary students. Most state constitutions include a provision on how public schools will be funded as well as a statement regarding the educational and curricular goals for local schools.

The legislature of each state plays a tremendous role in shaping public education via the enactment of statutory laws that affect state, regional, and local educational agencies. It is essential to realize that local schools can operate only within the parameters the state sets forth for local schools. Statutes are often broad policy statements and do not contain the specific directions necessary to operationalize the policy. For instance, one state enacted a law that there would be state curricular standards for all public schools, but did not provide the specific standards for each curricular area or grade level—it was left to the state educational agency to create regulations to make the statute functional.

Key Legal Issues for Teachers

Throughout the United States, certain legal issues continue to come to the forefront in public school districts. These are discussed briefly here.

Liability

As we live in an increasingly litigious society, the issue of liability is of growing concern to school districts as well as school employees. Civil liability is the type of liability most often incurred by school districts and employees. It is a noncriminal liability (usually monetary damages) and consists of either tort or contractual liability. A tort is a private injury, other than a breach of contract, for which the law provides a remedy in an action for damages. The two types of tort most often alleged in a school setting are negligence and intentional (willful/wanton) misconduct.

Negligence is the failure to exercise that degree of care that an ordinary person would exercise under similar conditions. The elements for negligence are (a) a legal obligation that a school or employee owed a victim, (b) a breach of that obligation, and (c) damages that proximately result. In other words, negligence is liability that results from an “accident” that should not

have occurred had employees been doing their job correctly. Most states have some type of statutory protection for school districts and their employees against liability for negligent actions.

On the other hand, intentional (willful/wanton) misconduct is an intentional act or an act committed under circumstances exhibiting a reckless disregard for the safety of others. It may also include the failure to exercise ordinary care to prevent injury after knowledge of impending danger. This results in personal liability because the employee acted unreasonably or in a manner outside of his or her official capacity.

Special Education

Under federal law, public schools have an obligation to provide a free and appropriate public education for all students between the ages of 3 and 21. Dating back to 1975, the federal government has taken the lead to ensure that students with a disability receive an individualized education program to determine an appropriate education in the least restrictive environment with their nondisabled peers. In 2004, Congress made its most recent reauthorization of the law, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

Parents of students with a disability who believe their child is not receiving adequate educational services can contest the level of services being offered by the public school. Federal law provides for a due process hearing in which an impartial hearing officer will hear the case and render a binding decision. Ultimately, the case can be reviewed by a federal district court. Depending upon the nature of the disability, students can also be afforded benefits under the Americans with Disabilities Act or Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act.

Constitutional Issues

As noted in the famous 1969 Supreme Court case, *Tinker v. Des Moines School District*, students do not lose their constitutional rights once they enter the school grounds. Granted, their rights are not co-terminous with adults' constitutional rights, but nonetheless, students still have constitutional protections. In the school environment, the most frequently used protections are those in the First, Fourth, and Fourteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

The First Amendment protects employees' and students' rights to freedom of press, petition, assembly, religion, and most notably, speech. Students sometimes erroneously believe they have unabridged rights to free speech. This right, however, is not absolute or without limitation. Courts have consistently held that the legal standard is to find the balance between preserving the educational integrity of the school versus protecting the speech rights of students.

The specific legal standard a court must employ depends upon the nature of the student speech. Courts have developed three categories of student speech: (1) student communication that takes place at school, but not as part of the curriculum; (2) communication that is part of a school program/curriculum; and (3) non-school-sponsored speech occurring off-campus. Curricular speech can be most easily regulated, whereas speech occurring totally off-campus (no "nexus" to the school) is afforded the most legal protection. All other speech occurring at school can be regulated only if it causes a material and substantial disruption to the educational environment.

The other major First Amendment protection relating to public education deals with religion. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides that Congress "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" and, furthermore, that it will "make no law . . . prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The primary accusation, though, is that a school official has taken an action that infringes upon the district's perceived obligation to be "religion free." This concept, however, is not consistent with case law, which clearly provides that schools are to be neutral toward religion. In practice, school officials have great difficulty implementing neutral policies toward religion. Such difficult issues often include distribution of literature and use of school facilities by religious organizations.

The Fourth Amendment protects students from "unreasonable" search and seizure. The reasonableness of a search in the school context is determined by balancing the student's legitimate expectation of privacy (when such expectation exists) against the need of the school to perform the search to maintain order and discipline. Case law provides that school administrators do not need the same level of proof to search a student (or his or her personal effects) as would a law

enforcement officer. Specifically, school officials need only “reasonable suspicion” that a crime or violation of state law or school rule has been or is about to be committed. In reviewing the legality of a search, courts must ensure that the search was justified at its inception, and that it was reasonably related in scope to the circumstances that originally justified the search (given the age and sex of the student as well as the nature of the infraction). The U.S. Supreme Court has extended permissible school searches to include the use of random urinalysis drug testing of extracurricular participants.

Finally, the Fourteenth Amendment provides public school employees and students the benefits of due process as well as equal protection of the law. The equal protection clause protects classifications of people and ensures that “similarly situated” people are not treated differently. The level of review that a court will afford an equal protection allegation depends upon the status of the victim. Only victims that are considered a “suspect classification” (based upon race, national origin, sex, or alienage) receive the highest level of scrutiny.

Regarding the due process clause, the Constitution provides that due process be afforded before there is a deprivation of “life, liberty, or property.” Procedural due process consists of two primary components: notification of the complaint against you as well as an opportunity to respond to those charges. The extensiveness of the notice and response depends upon the severity of what the accused could be deprived of. For example, a student who is about to be suspended from school will have a lesser expectation of due process than would a tenured teacher who might be terminated. That stands to reason because of the detailed procedures the law provides to terminate a tenured teacher.

Brad Colwell

See also Dress Codes; Surveillance in Schools; Title IX

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SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

Schools of education in the United States are a modern sociocultural product following on the heels of colonial expansion and competition, American and European revolutions, and the rise of nationalism and industrialization. They grew rapidly from humble beginnings. This entry explores their historical precedents, current problems, and possible solutions.

Historical Background

The history of American public education, including its growing staffing needs, begins with the advent of the common school (and continues with the comprehensive high school). Under the leadership of Horace Mann, it flourished for at least three reasons: the expanding republic's need for well-trained, professional teachers; the industry's need for educated workers; and families' widening visions of better lives for their children. In the South, education was largely a private affair, but elsewhere, there were three imbricate forms of professional education available to meet this demand: teachers' institutes, local academies, and state-supported normal schools.

The first two could not compete and disappeared. Only normal schools remained and survived until the 1930s, after which time they evolved into teachers' colleges; by the 1950s, most of them had become departments or schools of education inside universities. Their curricular needs were met by professors in research-oriented universities who produced and disseminated educational knowledge for normal school instructors to develop future common school administrators and teachers. This hierarchical structure and hybrid method produced a tenuous relationship between theoretical disciplines and practical pedagogical problems that persists to this day.

Current Problems

Several scholars have written about what they understand are the major problems facing schools of education today. David Labaree points to low status. He claims the main reason for this lies in the ways in which two market forces have shaped their development: social efficiency and social mobility. Schools of education, he argues, had to become “teacher factories” to produce a cheap supply of labor to meet the needs of industry, common schools, and comprehensive high schools. Unable to combine quantity with quality, schools settled on producing sundry ill-prepared teachers. Simultaneously, growing consumer demand for social mobility became an incentive for schools to recruit more students with expanded liberal arts curricula (thanks to university membership) and the promise of a bachelor’s degree, which had the effect of further depressing the need to raise the quality of teacher training programs.

The effect, Labaree argues, has been expanded social mobility at the cost of declining social efficiency and teacher quality. The growth of graduate programs of education has only worsened this condition. Contemporary trends in alternative certification and school choice continue to reinforce the need for education schools to produce teachers quickly and cheaply, which Labaree sees as evidence of an unabating trend.

Similar difficulties plague education researchers, claims Labaree. Schools of education prepare researchers to occupy the unenviable position of generating scholarship generally undervalued because it tends to be descriptive, variegated, and ephemeral; this phenomenon arises from the paradox of expecting education researchers to do pure research, on one hand, and recruiting them from the ranks of practitioners on the other. Another paradox is that two camps of researchers exist within schools of education—those who pursue research agendas and prepare future researchers, and those who prepare teachers and curricula; the pursuit of excellence in one tends to compromise the other.

In like fashion, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann has also written about the historically low status of education schools. Although Labaree considers the historic relationship between their status and women in brief,

Lagemann’s treatment of gender (and class) is more comprehensive. Although Lagemann agrees with Labaree that the influx of women into an expanding education enterprise has lowered the status of the teaching profession, Rita Kramer offers an analysis of why the profession still so suffers. She concludes that schools of education focus their efforts on preparing individuals to mend students’ broken self-esteem while scorning measurable learning outcomes. Their methods sacrifice accomplishment, understanding, and excellence to equity. “Excellence” she understands as denoting both academic achievement and promotion of a common nationality and culture.

Low status, however, is not the only challenge for schools of education. According to scholars like Robert McClintock, their problems are structural. He argues that the reason why schools of education are crippled in attempting to produce both researchers and practitioners is that professional schools are usually buttressed by independent academic departments (e.g., business by economics, medicine by the sciences). In the former, the two are conflated and thus weakened. In short, although he does not state it explicitly, we may infer that he would consider Labaree’s paradoxes irresolvable and criticize Lagemann’s intraeducation school proposal (see below) as limited in its capacity to generate success.

Possible Solutions

Despite their criticisms, many of these scholars offer some solutions. Labaree suggests improving scholars’ opinions regarding the quality of teachers that schools of education produce by encouraging them to acknowledge the unique difficulty of the teaching profession, which, unlike others built on willing clients who are served one at a time with minimal emotional attachment, often depends on appealing to students’ emotions in order to teach them predetermined subject matter in a school they are compelled to attend. Labaree also proposes that scholars acknowledge the difficulty of isolating and measuring the impact of a single teacher on a single student when the latter exists in a broader social context where interaction with other teachers is common. Moreover, the acknowledgment that Labaree seeks from scholars Lagemann wants

from public attitudes unwilling to accept the intricacies, challenges, and costs of doing education research well enough to inform policy and practice.

Within the schools themselves, Lagemann suggests that the relationship between research and practice should be fortified for the sake of creating knowledge relevant to institutional decision makers and advancing new knowledge, although she does not consider the economic forces that Labaree sees in such a proposal. For within the university, she recommends that education and noneducation faculty form interdisciplinary bonds so that cross-disciplinary scholarship may flourish.

In agreement with Labaree, the Holmes Group proposes professionalizing teaching and strengthening education school ties to the university (akin to Lagemann's suggestion), given the former's intellectually weak curricula and the latter's purview of research-based knowledge. However, Labaree thinks that this proposal may help teacher educators gain at the expense of practitioners and may not improve their status relative to their university colleagues (indeed, the forebears of professors of education are normal school teachers).

Suggesting the very opposite course, although agreeing that schools of education and their faculty indeed have a low status relative to their university counterparts, Geraldine Joncich Clifford and James W. Guthrie agree with the Holmes Group that teaching should be professionalized. However, they argue that this should be done by strengthening ties to the teaching profession instead because teacher education will never equal the arts and sciences. Any attempt to raise its status as the Holmes Group suggests runs the risk of further alienating the very people it should serve: practitioners. However, Labaree points out that this suggestion amounts to education professors abandoning their (uneasy) place among the high-status academic professoriate and running into the arms of a low-status occupation.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), although not entirely adopting these scholars' suggestions, does so in part. This national organization accredits schools of education. Authorized by the U.S. Department of Education, NCATE determines compliance with its teacher and professional preparation standards. In effect, NCATE

seeks to achieve quality control and reform teacher preparation programs. It provides national accreditation in an effort to lift education to a level of professionalism on par with other professions, such as medicine. In this way, NCATE seeks to assure the general public that graduates from its accredited institutions have the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to help all students learn. In an expanding standards-driven environment, NCATE expects its role to grow: NCATE currently accredits more than 620 schools of education, with nearly 100 more seeking its seal. Despite its involvement in teacher education, however, NCATE is silent about the troubled relationship between university and school of education faculty.

The exact nature and role of schools of education in society have generally been nebulous. Debate of these issues is lively and will likely persist into the foreseeable future.

Haroldo A. Fontaine

See also Comprehensive High Schools; Higher Education, History of; Holmes Group; Standards

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Web Sites

- Holmes Group: <http://www.holmespartnership.org>
- National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education: <http://www.ncate.org>

SCIENCE, IMPACT ON TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDUCATION

Scientific developments in the twentieth century have redefined the natural world in ways largely unforeseen by earlier generations. The impact of these developments has extended far beyond the laboratory and into nonscientific realms such as the arts, humanities, and social research. Consider, for instance, Salvador Dalí's "Persistence of Memory." Scholars point to the soft watches in this painting as representing the penetration of popular conceptions of Einsteinian relativity, time, and space in the art world. In terms of educational ideas and institutions, the impact of science and related societal-level developments has been profound. This is particularly true of advances in twentieth-century biology and physics, which highlight the interactions between science and education in relation to broad social and cultural concerns—the subject of this entry.

Biology

Some of the most impressive and broadly influential advances in twentieth-century biology have come from the field of biogenetics. The foundations of this field were laid in the initially dormant work of Austrian priest Gregor Mendel (1822–1884). His analysis of genetic variation in pea plants, not discovered until 1900, gave rise to the study of genetics. The significance of his work centered on ratios he developed suggesting that statistical laws governed trait variations as passed down from generation to generation. Reasons for the rise of the study of genetics include the success of Mendelian theory and methodology as well as interest in potential social applications of genetic research.

Eugenics

Popular interest in human genetic variation fueled societywide developments such as the eugenics movement. According to its leading proponent, Francis Galton (1822–1911), eugenics aimed at the improvement of human traits by way of a social policy governing human reproduction. Inspired, in part, by the

work of animal breeders (rather than by Mendel), Galton created statistical tools to study variation in human populations as well as the general stability of differences between race characteristics. A "hereditarian" school of thought developed around his work and these tools.

Formal institutional support for the school emerged with the founding of the Eugenics Laboratory at University College London (1906), the Balfour Chair of Genetics at Cambridge University (1912), and the Eugenics Record Office at New York's Cold Spring Harbor (1906). Social policy, influenced by the ideas of hereditarians, also appeared in the Immigration Act of 1924. This act sought to restrict non-western-European immigration. Meanwhile, seventeen state-level enactments supported sterilization of criminals, in many cases including those considered mentally feeble. By the 1930s, thousands of the so-called feeble-minded had been sterilized as a result. The state of Virginia carried out forced sterilizations until 1972.

Educational Impacts

The work of hereditarians had an immediate and lasting impact on education. Psychologist and eugenicist Henry Herbert Goddard helped construct America's first intelligence testing instruments and also wrote one of the most popular works in eugenics, *The Kallikak Family*. Goddard had originally imported the work of French psychologist Alfred Binet, originator of modern intelligence testing, and drew from it when appointed to a committee of psychologists charged with sorting U.S. military personnel during World War I.

After the war, Goddard and his colleagues, including Lewis Terman and Robert Yerkes, advocated the use of intelligence testing in schools to provide for an efficient means of sorting students into various tracks. What most testers believed they were testing was an inherited native intelligence unaffected by environmental factors. What Binet had long before discovered was that testing for intellectual abilities was highly influenced by social class and educational background. During the interwar period, the Army intelligence test became the foundation for the SAT. The SAT was first used mostly by high school students aiming to attend elite universities. The practice

expanded to approximately 2 million college aspirants by 1970. The impact of eugenicist thought on education, however, extended beyond testing and made its way into the textbook.

During the first half of the twentieth century, nearly three fourths of high school and college biology texts described the field of eugenics as a veritable science; about half of the same discussed favorable mating policies for socially superior individuals and the opposite for the socially inferior. Thus, students were not only tested as a result of eugenicist ideas about social efficiency but also taught sympathetic views about eugenics in biology texts.

Debates over the implications of intelligence testing continued throughout the second half of the twentieth century and, in part, culminated with the scholarly storm surrounding *The Bell Curve*, published in the mid-1990s. The authors, Richard Murray and Charles Herrnstein, argued for the dismantling of educational programs such as Head Start on the basis of intelligence testing that they believe suggests immutable native intelligence. More recent developments in genetics with the Human Genome Project have raised social and ethical questions about the role genetic testing will play in employment practices, the insurance industry, and access to education.

Physics

At the very start of the twentieth century, leading physicists declared that little else in their field was left to be discovered. Suggesting that the outlines of matter, energy, and motion had, with great clarity, been determined, they encouraged scientists to fill in the details rather than work on new conceptual frameworks. Within the first decades of the century, however, classical Newtonian physics was turned on its head with the rise of Einsteinian relativity, quantum mechanics, and puzzling discoveries in astrophysics. When it comes to popular conceptions of twentieth-century physics, the common inclination is to think of the atomic bomb (rather than relativity, quantum mechanics, or, more recently, string theory). Early developments in the study of atomic energy can be traced back to breakthroughs in the conception of the atom itself and, in 1939, the discovery of fission.

Nuclear Physics

The latter discovery opened the possibility of direct military and social applications of nuclear physics. Military applications were obvious, but hardly inevitable, in the construction of nuclear weapons. Because fission's discovery occurred within the context of the start of World War II, several nations launched research programs in the area. The most famous program, the Manhattan Project, focused the attention of more than a dozen Nobel laureates to the task of overcoming conceptual and technical hurdles in the race to create the first atomic bomb. Their efforts directly resulted in the weaponry used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

After World War II, continued research into such weapons as the hydrogen bomb and the neutron bomb were fueled by the Cold War arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the meantime, social applications of nuclear physics focused on the production of civilian energy. Russian scientists and technologists developed the first civilian reactor in 1954, with the British and Americans doing the same in the years that followed.

Educational Impacts

The impact that developments in physics had on education was felt at all levels. Through such programs as the Manhattan Project, higher education forged relationships with the military and industry that irrevocably changed the culture and nature of research in American colleges and universities. Physics became a dominant field of study that attracted billions of dollars for research (approximately 2 billion dollars were spent on the Manhattan Project alone) and assumed a formidable presence on university campuses. Competition increased between institutions for federal and other funding. Classified research, moreover, put a strain on scholars accustomed to higher education's culture of the free exchange of ideas. In short, American institutions of higher education were fundamentally transformed by collaborations formed with the military and industry as a result of developments in the field of physics.

Students in primary through secondary schools, meanwhile, received preparation for living in a world with the results of nuclear research. Curricular developments and school practices made educators conduits

of information on how to appreciate rather than fear atomic energy as well as how to respond to a nuclear catastrophe in the event of war. The Federal Civil Defense Administration disseminated educational materials, booklets, pamphlets, and animated film strips. Some taught about the “peaceful atom” that produced civilian energy; others, such as the animated “Duck and Cover,” offered advice on what to do in case of an atomic attack.

School practices also changed as a result, with planned and surprise drills occurring in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other major cities considered to be targets of Soviet aggression. In Los Angeles alone, thousands of teachers were enlisted to teach hundreds of thousands of students tactics for surviving a nuclear blast in the early 1950s. Meanwhile, schools themselves were fitted to serve not only as the locus of education, but also as community fallout shelters. The new “double duty” philosophy restructured the appearance of classrooms. Windows in the classroom, once valued as a fundamental aspect of school design, were seen as sources of weakness in the event of a nuclear attack and discouraged in new school construction.

A. J. Angulo

See also American Education, Themes in the History of; Eugenics; Higher Education, History of

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SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND EDUCATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Throughout American history, science, technology, and education have influenced one another in innumerable ways. This interplay has led to the establishment of institutions and ideas that have fundamentally shaped the experiences of students and educators alike. The intellectual, social, and cultural foundations of nineteenth-century education in particular were profoundly influenced by the impact of science and technology, as summarized in this entry.

Intellectual and Social Foundations

How did science and technology affect nineteenth-century education? Consider the following two ways: (1) the relationship between the expansion of knowledge and the curriculum and (2) the influence of scientific theories on ideas about access to education. In the first case, science failed to penetrate American higher education to any substantial degree until the early nineteenth century. Scientific knowledge generated from the so-called scientific revolution as well as developments in mathematical sciences during the eighteenth century far outstripped what was taught in colonial colleges. The classical curriculum tended to dominate the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century undergraduate course of study.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, however, college leaders began to recognize the vast explosion in scientific knowledge and its lack of study in higher education. Reform efforts appeared with the purpose of expanding scientific course offerings and increasing science faculty. In 1800, rare was the college that employed a single faculty member devoted exclusively to scientific studies. By 1860, these same institutions commonly had four. Social forces and developments during the antebellum period, such as rapid industrialization and the professionalization of science, facilitated the expansion of science instruction in education.

With the rise of industry came the decline of the apprenticeship model of education. The apprenticeship model had long afforded working classes a source of instruction that provided for social mobility. An apprentice would work for a master and, over the course of an extended period of time, learn all aspects of a trade and become a “master” in the process. Factory life provided no such social mobility, and thus, calls for practical and scientific instruction to replace the disappearing apprenticeship model encouraged the establishment of new kinds of institutes of technology, such as the Rensselaer School (1824) and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1861). As such, social and intellectual forces came to bear on American education during the antebellum period in ways that not only transformed programs of study but also changed the composition of faculty at traditional colleges and inspired the creation of new institutions.

In the second case, scientific theories developed in nineteenth-century biology and geology had an impact on ideas about human nature and thereby influenced access to education. One of the most often-cited examples emerged from the work of Edward Clarke, a Harvard University professor of medicine. In 1874, he published *Sex in Education*, which described case studies of what he perceived to be the debilitating effects of higher education on women. Stress on the mental faculties of his subjects came, he argued, as a result of their attempts to complete advanced courses of study.

Although access to education of whatever form is socially constructed, Clarke sought to settle the matter of “separate spheres,” the ideology that placed women at home and men in the world of work, on a scientific basis. “The question of [the] woman’s sphere, to use the modern phrase,” he stated in *Sex in Education*, “is not to be solved by applying to it abstract principles of right and wrong. Its solution must be obtained from physiology, not from ethics and metaphysics” (p. 12). His conclusion: Women should not attend higher education and should not attempt rigorous classical or scientific studies.

To add credibility to his conclusions, Clarke framed his work within biological theories then in ascendancy, such as Darwinian evolution, and suggested that women were less developed than men; that

the physiology of women, therefore, could not tolerate the mental strains that men could; and that women would, over time, be at risk of evolving male properties and characteristics if coeducation were permitted. Although Clarke’s impact was limited, the debates raised by his work revealed attempts to transform commonly accepted social norms into scientific terms for the purpose of shaping educational policy.

Similar scientific arguments about educational access were made with reference to race and class. Some supporters of industrial education for African Americans during the postbellum period, such as Samuel Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Institute, viewed the development of races in evolutionary terms. Herbert Spencer, a social scientist who coined the phrase “survival of the fittest,” argued by way of evolutionary metaphor that it was irrational to support government interventions such as public education that might aid the poor and weak in society. Both held ideas about access to education for minorities or the poor based on what they perceived to be scientific claims. Their ideas—particularly in the case of Spencer, who sold more than 300,000 books in America—reflected a broader, socially constructed sentiment.

Cultural Foundations

How have cultural and educational forces had an impact on the development of science and technology? Consider (a) the intersection of slaveholding culture, science, and education and (b) cultural debates over the curriculum. During the antebellum period, the culture of educational institutions in the South took a form different from those in other regions of the country. Slaveholding culture produced a turbulent, even violent society that was mirrored at southern colleges and university. Although institutions of higher education in other regions were not free of violence, the nature and character of acts differed: Attacks on property were more common in the North, whereas attacks on persons were more common in the South.

Several scientists, such as F. A. P. Barnard, James Joseph Sylvester, and William Barton Rogers, remarked on the differences between regions while in southern institutions and claimed this cultural attribute

as one reason why they left the South. The loss of active scholars and educational reformers, such as Rogers who left, in part, to establish MIT in Boston, hindered the development of science and technological instruction in the southern states.

Meanwhile, mid-nineteenth-century debates over the curriculum reflected cultural differences between classicists and scientists. It also affected mechanics' institutes and their attempts at diffusing middle-class morality to the working classes. In the first debate, scientific studies began to displace the classical curriculum. Concerns over the crowding of the curriculum emerged in response to reform efforts to change the undergraduate course of study and faculty composition and to establish independent institutes of technology, some of which offered exclusive attention to scientific and practical studies.

In some cases, the culture of classicism overlapped with the culture of religion. This meant that, with the process of modernization and the displacement of religion as a central authority in society, curricular change met resistance when it came to the addition of such sciences as biological evolution. Many of the battles associated with this culture clash were fought in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *North American Review*, the *New Englander*, and *Scientific American*. For some writers, nothing less than western civilization was at stake in the outcome. Both sides of the classical-scientific divide attempted to define what it meant to be an educated individual and the necessary prerequisites to achieve this end.

While traditional colleges debated what programs to offer, working classes at mechanics' institutes received technical education that often advanced middle-class cultural views on morality. Among the notions that influenced the mechanics' institute movement was the view that technical studies would be salutary to working classes in developing responsible attitudes toward alcohol and sexuality. In addition, libraries were carefully constructed so as not to include works that might inspire radical political ideologies. As such, from the view of founders and other civic leaders, the aim of courses in chemistry, mathematics, natural philosophy, and practical studies had more to do with creating middle-class gentlemen rather than preparing scientists and technicians.

Legacies of many nineteenth-century debates continued to appear throughout the twentieth century. Contemporary versions of the "crowding of the curriculum" have stemmed not from the expansion of science but from developments in humanistic and multicultural studies; however, proponents of basic forms of cultural literacy, such as E. D. Hirsch, have generated for their view similar arguments to those of nineteenth-century classicists who rejected increased attention to scientific studies. Meanwhile, the struggle for coeducation was, for the most part, not fought in scientific terms or through the use of scientific metaphors. But early twenty-first-century claims about differences between male and female physiology have been used to argue for a modifying of Title IX that secures equitable funding of women's athletics. These claims raise the prospect that socially constructed ideas about access may resurface along scientific lines.

A. J. Angulo

See also Science, Impact on Twentieth-Century Education

See Visual History Chapter 15, Progressive Reform and Schooling

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SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

One of the signal events in the history of modern organizational management was the 1911 publication

of Fredrick W. Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management*. This work, along with Taylor's widespread personal influence and the invention of the automobile assembly line by Henry Ford, gave the term *scientific management* a central place in the lexicon of both scholarly research and professional management practice. Although Taylor had used the phrase in an 1895 paper, it was the publication of the influential 1911 volume that moved the concept from innovative idea to established managerial practice.

At its inception, scientific management consisted of aggressive task specification and intense worker supervision. Time and motion studies were used to break production tasks into the smallest possible units, examine in detail how the most productive workers performed each task, and then carefully supervise all workers to ensure that each performed his or her tasks in the most efficient way possible. Taylor, recognizing that this initiative would not be attractive to workers, focused attention on linking compensation to task performance through piecework and other forms of incentive pay.

The intense managerial control of scientific management, in combination with the rational and functional design of bureaucratic organization, provided the cornerstones of modern organizations in government and education as well as in business and industry. Well before World War II, these twin concepts had become a kind of orthodox business and civic ideology. Raymond Callahan derisively called the introduction of this ideology into the management of public schools a "cult of efficiency." David Tyack described it as the ideological framework used to enhance professional control over the schools and, under professional leadership, to design education's "one best system."

Throughout the twentieth century, organizational theorists and leading industrialists maintained an intense love-hate relationship with the concept of scientific management. Enthusiasm for measurement of performance and micromanagement of worker task performance never waned, but criticism of both the dehumanizing and potentially destructive consequences of worker alienation and the overcentralization of organizational control began to surface almost as rapidly as the scientific management idea was carried forward by the Industrial Revolution.

By the 1930s, what came to be known as the human relations school of management had begun documenting the extent to which worker productivity is influenced by attitudes (pride of workmanship, enthusiasm for the work being done, a sense of identity with the employing firm, etc.) as well as task definition and the workers' technical skills. Management theories began to recognize both the limits of rationality and the more human dimensions of worker supervision. These movements eventually led to substantial interest in "job enrichment" and redesign or reengineering of corporations.

On a more technical level, the idea that task management of everything from automobile manufacture to reading instruction could be guided by scientific, data-driven management blossomed into a virtual obsession. A "theory movement," grounded in social scientific interpretations of organizational behavior, confidently predicted that task definition, functional organization designs, and careful measurement of product quality could lead to workplaces that are both humane and highly successful. W. E. Deming is widely credited with bringing scientific management concepts to bear on the rebuilding of Japanese industry following World War II and with making this devastated nation economically successful and a leader in the production of highly reliable and durable products in a broad range of industries including electronics and automobiles. Advances in theory and the advent of digital computers enabled the development of operations research, total quality management, and strategic planning, all aimed at refining the scientific management process and improving the micromanagement of production processes.

In public education, the latest round of scientific management theory lies at the heart of the federal government's No Child Left Behind policy (Public Law 107-110), which insists on outcomes measurement, scientifically based program improvement, and high-stakes accountability enforcement for professional educators. In a recent and provocative essay, Dorothy Shipps challenges the scientific management model, not for its dehumanization of workers or naïve confidence in rational task specification, but for its denial of the fundamental importance of democratic political principles. She argues that scientifically managed

organizations, particularly public bureaucracies like school systems, are driven by this ideology to reject democratic principles of decision making, thus becoming hopelessly insensitive to the rights and needs of clients (or customers) and forgetting the purposes for which they were established.

For Shipp, the tension is not between scientific management and respect for workers, but between organizational autonomy and the political legitimacy that comes with respect for democratic principles of decision making. This same challenge to the emphasis of scientific management on autonomous entrepreneurial control over organizational operations is being offered under the rubric of the "new institutionalism" by organizational theorists focusing their attention on the importance of links between organizations and their social environments.

Douglas E. Mitchell

See also Deskillings; Ideology and Schooling; Rights of Students

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imperialism. Theorizing and inquiry associated with slavery and conquest in part fueled the new studies. As Darwinism brought new interest in biological study, the scientific revolution demanded measurement and attention to method. Natural scientists, anatomists, biologists, physicians, neophyte anthropologists, ethnologists, social theorists, and even an occasional president of the United States turned their attention to race study and finding "scientific" evidence rendering dark people inferior. So-called proof of White superiority could justify social hierarchy. This entry looks at the development and eventual discrediting of these ideas.

Early Thinking

In 1735, acclaimed biological taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus was among the first to classify human beings by race. His essay "Systema Naturae" claimed that races exhibited different mental and moral traits. In 1781, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, physiologist and founder of modern anthropology, added aesthetic judgments to race. He introduced the term *Caucasian* because he considered White people to be as beautiful as the southern slopes of Mount Caucasus.

In 1799, British surgeon Charles White added that Blacks were a separate species, intermediate between Whites and apes. His book *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man and in Different Animals and Vegetables and From the Former to the Latter* (1799) argued that the feet, fingers, toes, legs, hair, cheekbones, skin, arm length, skull size, size of sex organs, and body odor placed Blacks closer to the animal kingdom.

French intellectual and journalist Arthur de Gobineau is often called the father of racism. Gobineau's theoretical racism was articulated in *Essai sur l'Inegalite des Races Humaines* (1854). He wrote that the racial question overshadowed all other issues in history. It was the inequality of races that explained all destiny. He further argued that all civilizations derived from the White race, especially the superior Aryan stock. Mankind is thus divided into races of unequal worth, and superior races are in a fight to maintain their position. He offered a hierarchy of race that would influence the next century and a half. The top group was the Caucasian, Semitic, or Japhetic people. The second or yellow group was the Altaic,

"SCIENTIFIC" RACISM

"Scientific" racism arose in the eighteenth century during the expansion of mercantilism and the rise of

Mongol, Finnish, and Tartar people. The lowest group was the Hamites or Blacks.

German zoologist and physician Ernst Haeckel wrote in the mid- to late 1800s, situating Blacks on an evolutionary tree below gorillas and chimpanzees. He put forward a hypothesis that each individual, in the course of his or her development, relives evolutionary history; that is, "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny."

A Justification for Slavery

As world hegemony and power shifted in the nineteenth century, America, with its virulent brand of slavery, became the main locus of White supremacy. Building its economy and social order on slave labor, the United States shaped a modern sociology of race.

Dr. Edward Jarvis, a specialist in mental disorders and president of the American Statistical Association, wrote in 1840 that insanity for Blacks in the North was ten times greater than for Blacks in the South. He concluded that slavery had a salutary effect on Blacks, sparing them the problems that free, self-acting individuals faced.

Physician John H. van Evrie authored *Negroes and Negro Slavery: The First an Inferior Race, the Latter Its Normal Condition* (1853), which offered a scientific justification of slavery. Van Evrie wrote that dark-skinned people were diseased and unnatural, and that they possessed impeded locomotion; weakened vocal organs; coarse hands; hypersensitive skin; narrow, longitudinal heads; narrow foreheads; and underdeveloped brains and nervous systems. Van Evrie concluded that the aggregation of these straits translated to human inferiority.

In the 1850s, Dr. Samuel Cartwright chaired a committee to inform the Medical Association of Louisiana about the Black race. He, too, wrote of the diseased Negro. His "Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race" (1851) gained attention for its scholarly approach. He wrote of the insufficient supply of red blood, smaller brain, and excessive nervous matter found in the Negro. This combination of problems, wrote Cartwright, led to the "debasement of minds" in Blacks. He felt that the physical exercise provided by slavery would help increase lung and blood functions. Slaves, he argued,

were sometimes afflicted with "drapetomania," a disease of the mind making them want to run away.

American scientific racists included monogenists, who believed that there was but a single species of people originating from a single source. The creationist story of Adam and Eve shaped their view. Monogenists believed that the human races had degenerated since earliest mankind. This degeneration led to differences in people likely caused by climate and environment. Polygenists, on the other hand, argued that human races were separate species. Both monogenists and polygenists developed views of racial inferiority. The emerging field of anthropology drew from the race literature, and renowned scientists contributed to the field.

Academic Thought

Harvard professor Louis Agassiz (1801–1893), a respected natural biologist, wrote "The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races," published in the *Christian Examiner* in 1850. He argued that all men shared some commonalities, but the races were created as separate species occupying different parts of the earth. Races had different characteristics manifested in culture, habit, intelligence, and ability. Intermarriage and miscegenation were an offense and a sin against nature, and they created feeble-minded offspring with physical disability.

The libidinous Black, Agassiz believed, would lure the White race to degradation. White people must maintain their natural inhibitions, which were absent in the Blacks. He added charged adjectives and adverbs—such as *submissive*, *cunning*, *trickery*, *cowardice*, and *apathetic*—to his discussion of various race groups. His views became coupled with the empiricism of others.

Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia, physician and scientist, also believed in separately created human species. Morton advanced the study of cranial capacity thesis—that is, bigger skulls, more brains. Measuring the cubic inches of skulls from around the world, he reported his findings in *Crania Americana* (1839), *Crania Aegyptiaca* (1844), and "Observations on the Size of the Brain in Various Races and Families of Man" (1849).

Morton's work was highly acclaimed for its quantification of data and especially its attention to detail. Colleagues urged that he broaden the interpretation of his findings to read mental and moral worth from his data.

Paul Broca, an internationally renowned professor of clinical surgery and founder of the Anthropological Society of Paris in 1859, upheld the cranial capacity thesis. His exhaustive studies and meticulous statistics defended those ideas against a variety of European theorists and scientists.

The Eugenics Movement

The eugenics movement advanced by Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911) was built on the platform of scientific racism. His influential works, including “Hereditary Talent and Character” (1865), *Hereditary Genius* (1869), and *Natural Inheritance* (1889), asserted that man's character and capacities were primarily shaped by heredity and that the current generation could shape the future by how they breed.

Eugenicists attributed poverty, ignorance, infirmities, intemperance, incompetence, feeble-mindedness, and criminality to genetic explanations. Nascent American eugenicists (1870–1905) labeled the dependent, insane, ill, and criminal as genetically inferior. They proposed restricting propagation. Organized eugenicists (1905–1930) later advocated custodial care and sterilization as solutions for “defective” types. Immigrants became targets of eugenic discourse. Notions of human intelligence, IQ, and development were profoundly influenced by the field.

Early in the twentieth century, a retreat from scientific racism occurred. The field was critiqued as politically motivated. A new wave of scientists, and especially cultural anthropologists, argued that biological determinism could not be proven. Biological explanations of race and behavior gave way to cultural explanations. The concept of race and difference became more complicated. Later critics of scientific racism, such as Stephen Jay Gould, demonstrated outright deceit and falsification of data by earlier researchers in the field.

As Taylorist scientific management was embraced by school leaders, the call for efficiency in schooling was increasingly heard. Behaviorist psychology, testing, and

notions of intelligence quotient became joined. IQ designations and testing became central organizing foci in the schools. Ability grouping, tracking, and access to honors and advanced curricula all were outgrowths of testing and IQ.

Scientific racism contributed to a permanent field of study, which continues to this day. The dialogue takes place at the level of scientific research as well as public policy. In the twentieth century, the writings of Arthur Jensen and William Shockley on race and genetics and of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray (*The Bell Curve*) illustrated that the pursuit of a scientific basis for racist thinking undergoes refinements but continues.

William H. Watkins

See also Eugenics; Intelligence Testing

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SEMIOTICS

The term *semiotics* originated from *semēion*, the Greek word for “sign,” and can be defined most simply as the study of signs. In this context, a sign is broadly conceived as anything that signifies something else, such as a spoken word signifying a concept, a hoofprint signifying the passage of an animal, or a computer icon signifying the location of a file.

A contemporary semiotician could be a philosopher, psychologist, biologist, psychoanalyst, mathematician, or educator who studies the use of signs within his or her discipline, such as a linguist investigating grammatical

structures, an anthropologist interpreting the significance of a ritualized behavior, or an educator trying to further the development of a child's mathematical understanding. Although semioticians may vary widely in the content of their analysis and even their notion of what constitutes a sign, each ascribes to the following: (a) The making of meaning occurs through the use of signs; (b) all signs share certain universal qualities, properties, or relationships; and (c) these universals can be either revealed or applied within the context of different disciplines. This entry looks at two major influences in the field and the application of their insights to education.

The potential for wide application across varying contexts has given semiotics an interdisciplinary character that dates back to its origins. For example, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) examined the use of signs through linguistics; Augustine (354–430) created a theory of mental representations based on sign use; and William of Ockham (ca. 1285–1347/1349) featured the use of signs in his conception of logic. Similarly, the inclusive character of semiotics has also enabled the study of signs across diverse educational settings.

Signifier and Signified

The foundation for the contemporary study of signs can be attributed to two major influences. The first was Ferdinand Saussure (1857–1913), a linguist who conceived of a sign as having two parts, a signifier, or the form of the sign, and a signified, or the content of the sign. For example, the spoken word “dog” would be the signifier, and the concept or idea of a dog would be the signified. The most innovative aspect of Saussure's theory is that meaning does not originate from a connection between a sign and its referent. Instead, meaning resides in the arbitrary relationship among signs and is contingent on their relationship to an overarching structure or sign system. Thus, no single sign has meaning in isolation. For example, the word “chair” has meaning only in relationship with the words “desk” and “table” and as part of the broader concept of “furniture.”

This insight was seminal for a number of structuralists whose semiotic contributions were made through the formal study of their discipline (e.g., linguist

Roman Jakobson [1896–1982], anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss [b. 1908], and philosopher Michel Foucault [1926–1984]). Later in the twentieth century, Roland Barthes (1915–1980) further extended the study of signs to popular culture. Barthes's analysis showed how artifacts such as clothing styles, food arrangements, and haircuts could be used to structure meaning in advertisements and films.

In a comparable way, much of the work in educational settings recognizes the presence of multiple sign systems, such as text, spoken language, body language, and visual images, among others. To what degree any or all of these would become part of a semiotic analysis depends on the subject. Consider the predominance of textual signs when analyzing the written communications from administrators to teachers. Contrast that context with an analysis of the physical facilities available for handicapped students or the videotaped interactions between a teacher and student in a classroom.

These two settings may involve an interplay of textual, visual, and spatial signs. The semiotic content of these sign systems or “texts” is addressed by examining the relationship among signs; for example, what is placed first or last, what is their order, what occupies more and less space, what is placed higher or lower, and how do content and form interact with each other? Questions like these emerge from the character of the signs themselves and their previous treatment in the literature.

A Triadic Relation

The second major influence on contemporary semiotics comes from the logician Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). In sharp contrast to Saussure's dyadic description of a sign (signifier and signified), Peirce characterized signs as occurring in a triadic relationship of object, representamen, and interpretant. *Object* refers to a thing or a thought, *representamen* to the corresponding sign, and *interpretant* to a relationship between the object and the representamen. For example, the meaning of “chair” resides in the interpretant (relationship) mediating the object “chair” and the sign “chair.” The interpretant can itself become an object of thought for a succeeding sign, thus initiating a new triadic cycle. Peirce characterized his triad as an

unceasing process of *semiosis* and emphasized its fluid, dynamic character.

Peirce's triadic conception of semiosis is particularly helpful for examining the evolving nature of signs in a particular context over time, such as an examination of a child's thinking in response to a particular set of mathematical signs or the impact of a field experience setting on a preservice teacher. A Peircean perspective also resonates with the poststructuralist position that the structure of a sign is unstable and continually changing, a viewpoint originally introduced by two writers familiar to semioticians, philosopher Jacques Derrida (b. 1930) and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981). Their work favors the dynamic, unpredictable, and unlimited potential of semiosis, thus challenging semioticians to continually and creatively mine the multiple levels of meaning residing within signs.

John E. Henning

See also Critical Theory; Cultural Studies; Educational Anthropology

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SERVICE LEARNING

Service learning is traditionally defined as a curricular-based activity that integrates community service into classroom instruction. Often linked to and grounded in John Dewey's and David Kolb's experiential education, the field of service learning is contemporaneous with the rise of the civil rights movement and the insistence that education be linked to democratic practices and social justice.

Service learning has become an ever more accepted and institutionalized component of K–16 education. As

of 2004, more than one-third of K–12 schools provided service learning activities to 5 million students, and approximately 1,000 colleges and universities were members of Campus Compact, a national organization committed to the civic purposes of higher education. Service learning may be viewed as an extension of the federal mandate given to land-grant institutions in the mid-1800s and eloquently articulated in the “Wisconsin Idea”: that the boundaries of the university are the boundaries of the state.

Although tutoring and one-day service projects are the most common service learning models practiced both in K–12 and higher education, other formats include alternative spring breaks and community-based research. Service learning in higher education is most commonly practiced in disciplines and fields such as education, social work, English, and sociology; however, an American Association of Higher Education series on service learning and higher education spans twenty-three disciplines ranging from accounting to economics to women's studies.

Service learning is grounded in four criteria: *respect* for the individuals, groups, and communities being served; *reciprocity* of services such that all stakeholders have a voice in the format and direction of the service learning experience as well as gain from such engagement; direct *relevance* of the service learning experience to the curricular content of the academic course; and ongoing and systematic *reflection* upon the experience of the service. Service learning is often viewed as a “text” that, like any other curricular artifact, may be read, analyzed, and questioned to better inform the pedagogical process and curricular content of the academic course.

This raises three fundamental tensions within contemporary service learning theory and practice. The first tension revolves around goals: whether service learning is a technical practice that improves the teaching of content knowledge; a cultural practice that improves participants' notions of, for example, civic engagement and cultural diversity; or a political project meant to promote a justice-oriented perspective of and engagement with inequitable local and global conditions.

The second tension focuses on the appropriate methods for promoting meaningful and effective service learning. Service learning is most often short-term and

focused on immediate needs (e.g., a certain number of students are needed to tutor youth in an after-school program for a 14-week semester). This individualistic “charity” orientation is viewed by many as an inadequate model for fostering both systemic and systematic changes, but there are as yet few prominent examples where service learning is embedded in the very mission and vision of the educational institution rather than being an add-on to individual or departmental practices.

Finally, service learning is often positioned as a cocurricular practice that is not academic or rigorous enough to be taken seriously in the traditional research and publication emphasis of tenure and promotion committees. This is exacerbated by service learning’s predominant cocurricular institutional placement, such as under the Dean of Students. The prevalence of alternative monikers and emphases (e.g., “academic service learning,” “community-based learning”) attests to this attempted legitimization.

Two distinct movements, though, suggest that service learning will continue to develop across K–16 education (while still beset by the tensions described above). First, there is a long-standing and ongoing federal involvement in and financing of service learning practices in K–16 education. Second, there is renewed interest in higher education with a “scholarship of engagement”—for example, undergraduate research, the scholarship of teaching and learning, community-based research, experiential education, action research—that dovetails with emphasis on service learning’s activity-based and real-world learning.

Dan W. Butin

See also Active Learning; Morrill Act; Place-Based Education; Social Justice, Education for

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SEX EDUCATION

Few topics in the history of American schooling have been as fraught with controversy as that of sex education. Since concerned leaders introduced advice manuals into the nineteenth-century landscape to combat social decay and disease, sex education has remained a highly contested site in which conflicting beliefs about adolescence, morality, relationships, and public health have been played out across the twentieth century. Sexuality is simultaneously a personal and profoundly public matter central to human relationships, public health, and the reproduction of citizenry.

From nineteenth-century medical pamphlets to HIV/AIDS prevention today, sex education raises complex questions for American educators: What role should schools play in such private and public terrain? What should constitute the curriculum, and what should be its purpose? When does sexual information shift from acceptable to dangerous? What constitutes healthy, appropriate sexual expression? Who should decide? The contours of sex education have shifted dramatically as concerned citizens, educators, medical professionals, and policy makers have grappled with answers to these questions. Sex education is a topic that continues to incite significant social anxiety even as it symbolizes the promise of social reform for many in American public education.

Sex education has varied in response to shifting social values, public and financial support, and beliefs about “the child” and “the adolescent.” Whether youth are conceptualized as vulnerable children in need of surveillance, potential tax burdens, or future citizens capable of self-governance shapes how their education is envisioned, designed, and delivered. Race, class, and gender inform those conceptions. Unlike many other educational topics, the intent of sex education has often been to effect behavioral changes in those who receive it. This entry provides a historical overview, a brief look at some current issues, and a glimpse of future trends.

Historical Background

Early Efforts

Concern about social upheaval led nineteenth-century reformers to distribute the first sex education-related materials in the United States. As urbanization and immigration increased, and fears about prostitution, masturbation, and disease escalated, leaders produced a flurry of advice manuals for White, middle-class young men. Pamphlets urged young men to maintain self-control and direct their sexual energy for the good of “the race.” Men’s self-control and women’s modesty were championed as ideal characteristics of civilized Americans in contrast to the immoral sexual behavior imagined of other cultures.

A recurring argument in sex education debates is that providing information about sexuality, however conceived, is a matter best left to families. Yet parents and medical experts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed threats such as prostitution and disease as too great and public health as too important for parents to shoulder the full responsibility for transmitting sexual information and moral values. They turned to schools to aid in the battle. The rapidly expanding public school system and its increasingly regulated curriculum seemed an ideal arena to reach large numbers of children and contend with moral and social decay.

Even as professionals felt the urgency of their mission, they struggled with how best to convey information considered sensitive without polluting children’s natural “innocence” or violating federal laws that deemed explicit information “obscene.” Educators perceived a fine line between beneficial and dangerous information. Indeed, an enduring fear woven through sex education debates is that providing information about biology and sex might pique student interest, encourage experimentation, and undermine educators’ intent to instill self-control. Thus, early sex education materials were scientific in tone and focused on the alarming consequences of disease.

Progressive educators (1880–1920s) were vanguards in the effort to institute more comprehensive sex education in American schools and to shift responsibility for its provision away from medical professionals and into the hands of educators. With financial support

from prominent business leaders, reformers established the American Social Hygiene Association to promote sex education as a tool to address social problems. In this spirit, progressive educator Ella Flagg Young organized a series of lectures in 1913 on social hygiene and physiology that reached more than 20,000 Chicago children. Although the program was short lived because its direct approach raised public concern, some of its characteristics have endured in contemporary practice: Educators delivered information to sex-segregated groups; lectures were provided to parents before delivery to children; and children of different ages received different information. Young’s approach also reflected budding efforts to educate “the whole child” and to frame sexuality in humanistic terms of love and intimacy rather than solely in medical language of danger, disease, and decay.

Wartime

Changes in the contours and reach of sex education have reflected shifting national priorities. Funding has been a key element. For example, the perception that increased sexual activity and venereal disease posed a threat to servicemen during World War I led the government to fund sex education for soldiers’ benefit. The passage of the Chamberlain-Kahn Act in 1918 and the establishment of a Venereal Disease division in the public health service helped expand educational initiatives to civilians, including college students and teachers in normal schools. The majority of normal schools in the 1920s provided some sex education preparation to teachers.

Yet “sex education” meant little more than disease containment, teachers were offered little tangible support to integrate sex education amidst other teaching demands, and Congress cut funding when public energy shifted to other fears. Also, as youth left the war years and entered the roaring 1920s with shorter hemlines, motor cars, and dancing shoes, the rhetoric of fear did little to quell their desires to mingle. Framing messages about intimacy in positive terms promised to resonate far more with youth yearning for pleasure and connection in the wake of war.

Funding was equally influential during World War II as leaders initiated aggressive disease-prevention efforts

for soldiers that had reverberations for school-based initiatives. During the war, leaders used a range of tactics to detach sexual practice from its associations with morality and reframe it as vital to healthy American manhood. Medical personnel offered explicit lectures, showed detailed films on disease, and advocated condom use. This pragmatic approach to promote national health over abstinence was understandable given the findings from Alfred C. Kinsey's well-known sexuality research at mid-century. Kinsey, drawing from 12,000 interviews, found that the majority of men and increasing numbers of women were sexually active despite long-standing prohibitions against premarital sex. Preserving the health of soldiers took priority over championing abstinence as the ideal.

The Baby Boom

In the 1950s, when the American middle-class family ideal became paramount to a nation recovering from war, private and government funding was redirected to champion heterosexual unions and to develop family life education. Family life became a salve for the wounds of war. Although courses teaching marital and family skills surfaced during the 1920s and 1930s, they emerged with greater vigor during the baby boom era. Rather than providing sexual information, or proscribing sexual relations, programs primarily used glowing rhetoric to beckon students to the nuclear family ideal. The curriculum included mental hygiene films such as *Dating Do's and Don'ts* (1949), *Going Steady?* (1951), and *Marriage Is a Partnership* (1951). Lessons emphasized traditional sex roles for men and women, wholesome dating, consumerism, and marital harmony.

A series of explosive social changes in the 1960s reinvigorated efforts to foreground sex education, rather than family life education, in schools. The civil rights, feminist, and antiwar movements; changes in gender roles; the approval of the birth control pill in 1960 that placed fertility control more firmly in women's hands; the rebellion of gays and lesbians at Stonewall; and changes in obscenity laws are among the forces that contributed to the "sexual revolution." A series of Supreme Court decisions during the 1960s and 1970s upholding the constitutional right of individuals

to control their fertility further enabled individuals to separate sexual activity from reproduction.

These social and legal changes prompted widespread efforts to teach pregnancy risks, human anatomy, reproduction, and sexually transmitted disease (STD) prevention to youth. In 1963, Dr. Mary Seichen Calderone founded the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States to advocate for sex education and the reduction of sexual risk among youth. Although Calderone never strayed far from the marriage ideal in her vision of sex education, she argued that all youth needed access to information to make sound decisions and prepare for their adult roles. Schools began to incorporate sex education into the health curriculum and enlisted physical education and biology teachers to offer sex-segregated lessons on reproduction.

While sex education battles continued nationwide, public opinion surveys in the late 1960s found that the majority of Americans supported some form of school-based sex education. Opinions as to the content of that education, however, continued to differ significantly over the next few decades. For instance, the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s and 1990s spurred the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to distribute millions of dollars to states to instigate AIDS-prevention education. States that did not require sex education courses in their schools nevertheless established policies requiring educators to include HIV/AIDS-information. The depth and duration of such education varied, from programs that included detailed information to those that required educators to address HIV/AIDS a minimum of three times from Grades 5 through 12. By 1990, all fifty states had such recommendations or mandates, shaping and limiting other kinds of sex education available to youth.

Contemporary Issues

Feminist Perspectives

Sex education has attracted significant analytic attention from feminists because it is a site in which gendered power is enacted at the national, state, and school level with particular implications for women's lives. Margaret Sanger's well-known crusade to circulate birth control information in the early twentieth

century despite laws that deemed such information obscene was driven by her conviction that poor women desperately needed tools to protect their health. As a nurse in New York, Sanger witnessed women's despair from constant cycles of childbearing. Similarly, advocates for reproductive rights and legal birth control during the 1960s and 1970s insisted that inadequate information about sexuality and a lack of access to contraception posed specific threats to women's lives and well-being. Because women alone bear the physical capacity for childbearing, sex education is imperative to women's bodily integrity, sexual agency, and economic empowerment.

As sexuality education has been incorporated into public schools, feminist attention has shifted from promoting basic access to reforming the curriculum to better meet women's needs. In recent years, advocates have argued that programs offering comprehensive information about same-sex relationships, birth control, abortion, and HIV/AIDS are necessary because human beings are entitled to full and accurate information to make wise choices for their lives. In this sense, access to information is foundational to democratic principles. Feminists also emphasize the need for educational programs to consider the gap between accessing and applying information. For example, women socialized in traditional gender roles may recognize contraceptive options and yet be unprepared to insist on condom use, navigate power dynamics in heterosexual relationships, or discuss and pursue equitable sexual practices. Sex education, to be effective for women, must explore how larger social forces shape individual experiences.

Teen Pregnancy and Abstinence Education

Teen sex and teen pregnancy are central issues shaping contemporary sex education. Despite a decline in teen birthrates from the 1960s to the 1980s, concern for teen pregnancy skyrocketed after the 1960s and has recently come to symbolize a decline in American family values. Social reformers once again turned to sex education to address social ills, mobilizing a national effort to promote abstinence-only education programs. In 1981, the Adolescent Family Life Act established a series of programs advocating abstinence

to teens and young, unwed mothers. In 1996, the Abstinence Education Law was passed as part of welfare reform, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconstruction Act. This act broadened the reach of abstinence education by funding states that incorporated abstinence programs in schools. To receive funding, sex educators could not promote condom use or refer to the potential benefits of contraception for preventing pregnancy and STDs.

Advocates of abstinence-only education insist that pressing social problems require such strong and focused responses. Sexual images dominate contemporary media culture, rates of unprotected oral sex among teens have increased, and the United States continues to reflect one of the highest rates of teen pregnancy and STDs in the developed world. Supporters argue that abstaining from sex is the only method to ensure teens' safety. Programs emphasize the risks of failed contraception and the range of benefits associated with delaying sexual initiation. Although some states have refused abstinence-only funding because of its curricular restrictions, the majority of states have relied on it to ensure the support of school-based sex education.

Feminist educators have critiqued a curriculum that emphasizes the dangers of sex and the silencing of women's desire. For example, researchers point to problematic discourses of heteronormativity, risk, and alarm legible in the 1996 federal guidelines for abstinence education. These guidelines, backed by millions of dollars in federal funding, explicitly endorse marriage as the expected arena for sexual expression and portray nonmarital sexual relations as dangerous. Messages of "personal responsibility" and "accountability" dominate. Critics contend that such a curriculum endangers youth by severely limiting the information schools can provide; targeting low-income and minority youth as problems in need of containment; idealizing one type of sexual relationship at the expense of all others; and marginalizing lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (LGBTQ) youth. Also, some argue that the religious origins and morality-based undercurrent in abstinence education subtly violate the separation between church and state with little scientific evidence that the programs reduce teen sex, pregnancy rates, or the transmission of STDs.

Sexual Identity

The topic of sexual identity has also become visible in the sex education curriculum. National organizations such as Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays and the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network; anti-bullying campaigns; and gay-straight alliances have worked to create a safer climate for sexual minorities in schools. Some have integrated information about LGBTQ-identified youth into the curriculum and created spaces for youth to discuss sexual identity issues. Educational tools include peer educators, panels of gay speakers, texts with gay characters, and photographic displays of gay families.

Such efforts, despite their emphasis on sexual identity rather than sexual behavior, have often met with fierce opposition. Some critics oppose any portrayal of same-sex relationships as acceptable or healthy. Abstinence-only programs traditionally maintain firm silence on LGBTQ issues. Visible here is a concern that has endured throughout sex education debates: that discussing sexuality issues in the risky spaces of schools might appear as condoning behavior or impelling youth to sexual activity. The backlash against LGBTQ-inclusive programs also indicates the rising visibility of sexual minorities as they slowly gain greater social and legal rights.

Does It Work?

Since the inception of formal sex education, educators have often intended their lessons to effect tangible behavioral changes. What remains in question is the degree to which sex education has that power. American sex education efforts have been neither uniform nor universally accepted. They have shifted with the ebb and flow of public opinion and the emergence of new crises that claim citizens' attention. Teachers expected to instill biological and moral lessons have often been left unprepared for the complexity of the task. Indeed, critics contend that occasional lessons or week-long programs are artificial and impotent structures for effecting change in a society saturated with sexual messages. In addition, treating sexuality as a distraction to student learning and a risky impulse that must be controlled approaches sexuality as a rational,

rather than a complex, emotional, and sensual, phenomenon. The diverse racial, ethnic, religious, political, and sexual identities of U.S. citizens render homogeneous programs ineffective and homogeneous responses impossible.

Scholars suggest that fear, risk, and reproductive information have dominated the history of formal sex education at the expense of its powerful role in human identity, connection, and pleasure. Some sex educators have tried to address such perceived limitations by establishing alternatives that shed the moral and medical associations of sex education historically and work to integrate it within a broader humanities curriculum. Others strive to open dialogue about the emotional and power-laden aspects of sex and the decision-making processes that accompany it. Many programs have used peer educators and popular culture, humor, props, and videos to connect with diverse youth or have envisioned sex education as a springboard to critically examine larger social issues.

Some have expanded sex education to younger children. For example, some schools have designed lessons for kindergartners on self-esteem, good touch/bad touch, and peer relationships as an effort to stem rising rates of STDs and HIV/AIDS in their communities. The hope is that providing information earlier and more consistently will not only emphasize sexuality as a foundational aspect of humanity but also offer youth greater tools to contend with complex sexual and social issues across their lifespan. These diverse initiatives will continue to spark debate as educators grapple with the philosophical, practical, and symbolic aspects of sex education in a democracy.

Lucy E. Bailey

See also Education, History of; HIV/AIDS; Politics of Education

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SEXUALITY, GENDER, AND EDUCATION

Sexuality, one of the central aspects of human existence, encompasses a range of expression that can vary by historical moment, culture, social or economic class, and even the individual. Its seeming fluidity and scope can make it difficult to comprehend. Closely connected with the notion of sexuality is gender. Gender is a set of stories people tell themselves and each other about what it means to be male and female. Like sexuality, stories about gender vary among individuals, cultures, and historical eras. As with any complex, socially created quality, individuals create and recreate their gender throughout their lives. Sexuality and gender are intimately intertwined concepts in the sense that gender assists individuals in navigating sexual choices, in helping them find others with whom sexual activity may be a possibility. This entry looks at the impact of sexuality and gender issues in education, providing both a brief overview and a more detailed look at the historical record.

Schools Take Responsibility

Perhaps because of the fluidity and possible variation in sexuality and gender expression, societies have endeavored to define norms that are maintained through rule creation and enforcement, individual and group vigilance, and language aimed at reinforcing notions of sexual and gender conformity. In the past, religious institutions, local communities, and extended families upheld the greatest portion of responsibility for maintaining sexuality and gender norms. As educational

institutions, particularly tax-supported schools, proliferated, however, they bore ever-increasing responsibility for imparting normative sexuality and gender in youth. This shift in responsibility was most pronounced during full-scale industrialization of the economy, which had as an attendant consequence the greater involvement of parents in wage-earning work outside the home. Schools then assumed growing responsibilities for raising children to the degree that working parents declined it. Schools essentially became important agencies in defining and shaping sexuality and gender among youth.

The significant responsibility for maintaining normative sexuality and gender among youth has been carried out by schools ever since. This largely implicit work is embedded in virtually every aspect of schooling: who is hired to teach, how students and schoolworkers may dress, what events—both curricular and extracurricular—might be organized, how students may behave with each other and with school staff, and what content constitutes the explicit curriculum. Because the regulation of sexuality and gender norms among youth so pervades the work of schooling and is so deeply enmeshed in its culture as well, members of school communities simply have assumed that this function always has existed and therefore is a natural part of the work of schools.

This ongoing assumption, which is akin to acceptance of the sexuality and gender regulating functions of schools, has continued until persons who transgress sexuality and gender norms have challenged that authority. Over the past half-century, persons who have defined themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersexual, or, to use the broader but still contentious label, “queer,” have mounted challenges to the conventional sexuality and gender order of schools. At first, only a few schoolworkers with nonconforming sexuality and gender identities publicly stood up for their employment rights. Since then, not only have larger numbers of schoolworkers and their allies campaigned for improved conditions for queer-identified persons in schools, but so, too, have students. Over the past two decades in particular, students have played powerful and central roles in winning rights for sexuality and gender transgressors in schools.

These efforts have not succeeded easily. Rather, conservative countermovements have confronted sexuality and gender transgressors at every turn. As the mutability and variety of sexual and gender identities has been championed by growing numbers of persons, a backlash movement effectively has tempered this expansion, endeavoring to squeeze human sexuality and gender into a narrowly constrained, binary model. Within this model, room exists only for heterosexual behavior among persons with distinct, polarized gender identities aligned with supposed biological sex. The right-wing backlash movement has enjoyed significant political and social success over the past few decades by deploying strategies that include using emotionally laden language, casting all talk about sexuality and gender in starkly oppositional or binary terms, and essentially leaving out or ignoring the social complexities and nuances that complicate phenomena as deeply rooted as gender and sexuality.

Tracking the History

During recent skirmishes between sexuality- and gender-transgressing persons in schools and their conservative critics, as well as over the long-term past since the industrialization of our economy and compulsory school attendance, one of the fundamental means of influencing or regulating students' sexuality and gender has been through hiring schoolworkers who might model acceptable sexuality and gender norms.

Early Schools

When coeducational common schooling spread during the mid-nineteenth century, schoolwork split neatly into two realms: administrative work performed primarily by men, and teaching, which quickly became women's work. This division closely resembled the bifurcated responsibilities of men and women in conventional heterosexual households, with men exerting authority and representing family units in the external realm and women overseeing domestic affairs. Schools, then, essentially came to resemble the families whose services they had come to supplement. School principals, then later superintendents, performed manly work while teaching became feminized in the sense

that it was acceptable mainly for women. This role segregation could not have been lost on students, who, no doubt, internalized this implicit and powerful message.

Schoolworkers similarly modeled normative sexuality for their charges. When communities first employed teachers, they selected only single women whom they regarded as chaste paragons of virtue. Women who married were forced to resign. This prevented any conflicts they might experience in deciding where their primary allegiances might lie: with their husbands or male supervisors. At the same time, communities expressly sought married or marriageable men for school administrative positions. By heading a heterosexual household unit, these men defused any potential criticism of their sexuality, manliness, responsibility, character, or fidelity. Women and men in school work thus experienced expectations about their marital and sexual status that were directly inverted. In the end, when schools hired workers who manifested normative sexuality and gender, they wanted to ensure proper modeling for students. Eventually, schools would add curricula with the overt intent of shaping youth into acceptably heterosexual individuals who clearly demonstrated gender-normal qualities and who possessed a keen understanding of middle-class courtship rituals.

Despite persistent efforts to shape the sexuality and gender of students through modeling provided by schoolworkers, schools also have offered fascinating opportunities for supporting sexuality and gender transgression. A century ago, for instance, communities so feared the effects that a nearly completely female-dominated teaching force might wreak on students, particularly males, that they aggressively sought any men who might show the slightest interest in teaching or an ability to teach youth. They even were willing to hire men who fell outside the normative range of sexuality and gender. The women hired to teach sometimes also transgressed the bounds of normative sexuality. Schools primarily or exclusively hired only single women, which allowed large numbers of single women to live independently, if only modestly. Some single female teachers chose to live with other women, perhaps to share living expenses, but undoubtedly in some cases to center their lives on other women. Women who developed enduring

romantic and/or sexual attachments to other women departed radically from conventional sexual mores requiring instead that they center their lives on men.

At first, when these historical moments fostered opportunities for transgressive sexuality and gender among schoolworkers, little public discussion ensued, especially if the ranks of schoolworkers could be maintained with reasonable quality and relatively low costs. Eventually, though, criticism mounted. Publicly expressed concerns focused not so much on schoolworkers in and of themselves, but on how students might be affected by such influences. Critics complained that spinster teachers encouraged girls to eschew marriage. Others argued that effete male schoolworkers exposed students to sexual abnormalities and infected them with deviant behaviors. Schools typically responded to such public complaint by scrutinizing the ranks of schoolworkers and insisting on sexuality and gender conformity, and also by clamping down on the range of behaviors and expressions permitted of students. Schools, then, have both nurtured transgressive sexuality and gender, and, just as surely, endeavored to contain such transgressions.

Turn of the Century

Such pressures to constrain sexuality and gender in schools gradually built over the first half of the twentieth century. One particularly powerful force was the suffrage-era backlash movement against women's steady gains in social, economic, and political power. Teddy Roosevelt led the charge with his vehement protest that middle- and owning-class White women as a group were abandoning their responsibilities to marry and bear children—that they essentially were committing “race suicide.” Because an overwhelming portion of the ranks of educated, middle-class, single women either were or had been teachers, spinster teachers found themselves in the crosshairs of such attacks. Making them even more suspect was the fact that many of the leaders and grassroots workers of the suffrage movement were single female teachers.

Along with these developments, the early decades of the twentieth century also brought increased public awareness of persons who transgressed sexuality and gender norms. Books documenting the scientific study

of human sexuality, first published in Europe, reached bookshelves in the United States during these years. For the first time, elaborate detail demarcated lines between new classes of sexual beings and behaviors, including “homosexuals,” “inverts,” “intersexuals,” and so on. Much of this early sexology research pathologized persons who transgressed sexuality and/or gender norms. The rapid spread of interest in the young field of psychology also fueled public discussion of a range of sexual identities, behaviors, desires, and neuroses as translations of Freud's works became widely available. In time, scholarly discussion of human sexuality and gender gave way to portrayals in popular media. Newspapers began reporting police busts of known enclaves of individuals seeking sexual experiences with others of the same sex. Artists, writers, and movie-makers featured characters with explicitly transgressive sexuality and gender until Hollywood production codes imposed in the early 1930s drove such depictions into the shadows.

As language describing homosexuals increasingly appeared in newspapers, books, magazines, and films, public awareness of their existence also grew. However, popular understanding of homosexuality easily crossed any boundaries that may have existed between sexuality and gender. To many, same-sex desire connoted gender transgression. Women who defied gender norms and worked in the public sphere or asserted their rights could be regarded as sexually deviant, or lesbian. During the 1930s and 1940s, the popular image of the spinster teacher shifted away from that of peculiar individuals devoted to public service and toward one of sexual suspicion. School systems largely retained this increasingly tainted pool of workers, though, because single female teachers provided devoted and skillful service at little cost.

A New Teaching Cadre

However, when new categories of potential teachers appeared after World War II, namely married women and veterans, school districts quickly dropped their long-standing practice of hiring only single female teachers. Married women not only entered teaching in significant numbers during these years, but their representation in the classroom quickly outstripped that of

single women. In fact, the proportion of married to single teachers rose sharply higher than the proportion of women in the general workforce. School officials, eager to rid their personnel of the taint of deviance, contributed to the postwar trend where teaching radically shifted to work for married women after having been spinsters' work for more than a century.

If the years before World War II brought growing awareness of persons who desired others of the same sex, the years after produced outright fear, dramatic headlines, and nationwide efforts to stem this supposedly rising threat. The armed forces, in efforts to downsize after the war, identified and purged suspected homosexuals from their ranks. In the Cold War hunt for enemies in our midst, Senator Joseph McCarthy temporarily wielded enormous power by launching widely publicized hunts for communists in government; but after finding few, if any, he switched to a somewhat easier target: homosexuals. His efforts garnered national media attention and inspired similar efforts by state and local governmental agencies.

Then, a popular magazine in 1950 published what it called a groundbreaking piece of journalism describing the threat purportedly posed by homosexual teachers. The article, which opened by celebrating the work of Senator McCarthy, charged that "the homosexual is an inveterate seducer of the young of both sexes, and . . . presents a social problem because he is not content with being degenerate himself; he must have degenerate companions, and is ever seeking younger victims" (Major, 1950, p. 100). The author conveyed the impression that, as Senator McCarthy charged, homosexuality spread like a contagious disease, that youth were unable to resist its lures, and that homosexuals wanted nothing more than to corrupt as many youth as possible.

School officials rapidly responded by examining their personnel rosters for individuals with supposedly homosexual tendencies who might corrupt students by association or, worse, actively prey on them. School administrators examined male applicants for effeminacy, which seemed to connote homosexuality according to popular understanding that conflated same-sex desire with gender transgression. They inspected women, too, to ensure properly feminine attire; the presence of wedding or engagement rings; and

commitment to upstanding, heterosexually oriented social activities.

Local and state education agencies pressed the matter further as well. California legislators enacted a law requiring local police to notify school officials whenever they caught teachers in sting operations aimed at snaring homosexuals. These teachers invariably lost their jobs regardless of the outcome of legal action based on such charges. Some investigators, having assisted McCarthy in finding and purging homosexuals from federal offices, traveled to Boise, Idaho, to investigate the existence of a supposed homosexual ring. Interrogations, stakeouts, intimidation, and campaigns of public humiliation were meted out as investigators spared no effort to find teachers and others who were rumored to prey on boys, even though few were ever found guilty.

The Florida legislature would not be outdone. In the late 1950s, a special committee, which initially sought to investigate the activities of civil rights workers and then communists but failed to find or successfully prosecute any, then moved on to identify and purge the state's teaching force of homosexuals. Because of the national media attention netted by each of these campaigns and others, schoolworkers learned that they needed to conceal any trace of gender-transgressing behavior or appearance because these supposedly hinted at homosexuality. Once any teacher was suspected of homosexuality, regardless of the truthfulness or relevance of such a charge, she or he usually was summarily dismissed with little recourse.

Tolerated Scrutiny

For years, schoolworkers tolerated the heightened scrutiny faced by the profession. Licensed educators were particularly vulnerable because of their close association with young people and an ongoing supposition in the minds of many linking homosexuality with pedophilia. This supposition, largely trumped up by McCarthy and others who followed in his footsteps, was the notion that homosexuals, like Cold War enemies, would take over if only given a foothold. As Americans were warned to be ever vigilant about the supposed threat from within of communists, so, too, was the public admonished to be wary

of gender-transgressing teachers who might convert the next generation into “practicing homosexuals.” These threats typically were accompanied by untraceable anecdotal evidence and high-flying rhetoric rather than verifiable facts.

Schoolworkers mostly endured these conditions. Those who desired others of the same sex or who wished to transgress gender norms knew that retaining their jobs required acquiescence. However, with the rise in the late 1960s and early 1970s of a full-fledged, grassroots gay liberation movement, conditions for schoolworkers slowly began to change. The Stonewall Rebellion, during which patrons of a gay bar in Greenwich Village openly and brazenly resisted police harassment in a three-day riot, sparked a collective shift in consciousness among self-identified gay men and lesbians. The movement was born as individuals decided to stand up against the oppression directed at them for so long.

Some teachers who desired persons of the same sex and/or who transgressed gender bounds joined the many activist organizations that proliferated in the years after Stonewall, in the process learning the politics of gay liberation. Eventually, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and then transgender schoolworkers formed their own associations. Such LGBT organizations appeared in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, and Boston, among other cities, during the mid-1970s. Organizers sought to provide social support to members as well as to engage in activities to increase their collective visibility and employment rights. Virtually all of these LGBT schoolworker associations marched in local gay pride parades, an act that flew directly in the face of the requirement that they be invisible. They began to fight back when school administrators sought to fire or demote them on account of their status. They brought employment discrimination lawsuits and staged media events designed to highlight their plight. And they successfully leveraged their growing clout into policy shifts by larger teacher associations, even, in time, the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers, both of which went on record as supporting the employment rights of teachers regardless of their sexual orientation.

Gay Liberation

The larger gay liberation movement scored some impressive early political victories as several metropolitan areas passed nondiscrimination ordinances protecting individuals against discrimination in housing and employment on account of sexual orientation. However, in time, the growing visibility, flamboyance, and political power of the fledgling gay movement would trigger a vigorous backlash. That backlash specifically would target the most vulnerable members of the LGBT community: those who worked with youth, especially teachers, because of an imagined threat of child molestation or their “homosexual influence.” Such fears were confirmed in a nationwide poll conducted in 1977 that found that although most believed homosexuals should enjoy freedom from employment discrimination, this belief did not extend to schoolworkers. In fact, 65 percent objected to the presence of homosexual elementary teachers.

It was at this moment that Anita Bryant, the former Miss America and singer for evangelical ministries, took on as her mission the elimination of homosexuals in school employment. She rallied fellow conservative Christians in the Miami-Dade area to overturn a new nondiscrimination ordinance offering protection against employment and housing discrimination on account of sexual orientation. She attacked the ordinance not by going after all members of the LGBT community, however, but by narrowing her focus strictly to schoolworkers. She appeared on nationally syndicated conservative Christian television shows such as the PTL Club and 700 Club, arguing that the presence of homosexual teachers would encourage more pupils to become homosexuals, that youth may come to regard it as an acceptable lifestyle, that children might begin to cross gender-appropriate bounds, and that such teachers would molest children. She triggered public outrage when she conjured the spectacle of male teachers wearing skirts or cavorting with children. Initially, gay liberation activists ignored Bryant, writing her off as a second-rate performer with limited social impact. When Bryant’s campaign to “Save Our Children” started receiving hundreds of thousands of checks from around the country, though, her growing political might became

clear. Even though polls indicated that the majority of Miami-Dade voters supported retaining the ordinance, most supporters failed to show up to vote. In contrast, busloads of Bryant's supporters poured into polling places, eventually scoring a lopsided 2 to 1 victory and bringing the ordinance down.

Among those attending Bryant's victory party was John Briggs, a California state legislator with gubernatorial ambitions. Briggs jubilantly told a reporter that night that he would capitalize on this political groundswell by launching a referendum aimed at ridding schools of homosexuals. He described how this campaign would ignite his quest for the governorship. Shortly afterward, he succeeded in obtaining enough signatures to place the referendum on the ballot, partly with the help of Bryant, who flew to California to assist. Proposition 6, as it came to be known, would have required school districts to rid their ranks of any employees who either were lesbian or gay or who supported the employment rights of those who were. The referendum read:

The state finds a compelling interest in refusing to employ and in terminating the employment of a schoolteacher, a teacher's aide, a school administrator or a counselor, subject to reasonable restrictions and qualifications who engages in public homosexual activity and/or public homosexual conduct directed at, or likely to come to the attention of, schoolchildren or other school employees. This proscription is essential since such activity and conduct undermines that state's interest in preserving and perpetuating the conjugal family unit.

Proposition 6 captured national headlines as it highlighted a showdown between a new and vigorous lesbian and gay rights movement, on one hand, and religious/political conservatives on the other. Although Proposition 6 particularly focused on schoolworkers, grassroots lesbian and gay rights workers understood it as a much broader attack on the larger movement. Lesbian and gay schoolworkers (and their allies) needed the assistance of activists across the movement because they were quite vulnerable themselves: If they openly campaigned against Proposition 6 and it passed, then

they would lose their jobs. Nonetheless, many lesbian and gay teachers risked their chosen profession by coming out and working hard to defeat the referendum. Soon, labor, coalitions of persons of color, women's liberation activists, and others joined them. Engaging in this work proved daunting in other ways, though. Although volunteers eagerly signed on to help, most felt safe giving only their first names. Because campaign contributions over \$50 required public reporting, the movement received large numbers of contributions of \$49. Fund-raising events, including high-profile celebrity fetes, quickly dissipated when media cameras arrived. Despite these challenges, momentum to defeat Proposition 6 increased steadily, culminating in a decisive victory for lesbian and gay movement activists.

Renewed Backlash

The conservative backlash, if temporarily slowed, did not abate, however. Through the remainder of the 1970s and into the 1980s, a wide variety of local, state, and national groups sought to resist the larger lesbian and gay rights movement by concentrating their political efforts on ridding schools of visible LGBT persons. Oklahoma legislators resoundingly passed a law similar to Proposition 6. However, this law eventually was struck down when the Supreme Court deadlocked on the case. Legislation introduced in Missouri would have required all lesbians and gay men who worked with youth under 21 years old to be listed on a Division of Health registry, which would be consulted for personnel decisions. All of the conservative efforts such as these had in common at least two assumptions: Lesbian and gay schoolworkers would, through their influence, make children transgress the bounds of sexuality or gender norms; and lesbian and gay schoolworkers were thought highly likely to molest students, even though this assumption could not be substantiated with evidence. In fact, evidence consistently indicated instead that lesbian and gay schoolworkers were less likely to molest children than heterosexual men.

Around this time, the AIDS pandemic first emerged in national reporting. AIDS, which in the United States quickly became known as a disease that disproportionately afflicted gay men, caused public

alarm. Communities feared the presence in schools of anyone infected with the virus, which translated into a fear of gay male schoolworkers. Soon, though, it became clear that AIDS might directly affect youth who became sexually active while possessing minimal knowledge of the dangers. Ignoring the existence of gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth became equated in the minds of concerned schoolworkers and parents with simply allowing such youth to die. Furthermore, school communities increasingly became mindful of the plight of sexuality and/or gender nonconforming or queer youth, who claimed their identities at ever-younger ages and who typically faced brutal emotional and physical abuse at the hands of their peers at school. Schoolworkers and parents learned about the profound self-loathing experienced by some, but certainly not all, queer youth and their particularly difficult transitions to adulthood. The NEA Delegate Assembly decided in 1988 to support youth counseling programs geared toward helping queer youth accept and adjust to their same-sex desires. This development stood in stark contrast with the then-prevailing practice of counseling such youth to become heterosexual, or even committing them to programs or institutions aimed at ensuring their heterosexuality. A few model LGBT-affirming counseling programs emerged soon afterward, most notably Project 10, started by Los Angeles counselor Virginia Uribe.

Efforts to ensure the welfare of queer youth received explosive growth of support in 1991 with the release of a federal report describing alarmingly high suicide rates among lesbian and gay youth. The report, initially withheld from public release for years because of conservative political concern about its findings, declared that

A majority of suicide attempts by homosexuals occur during their youth, and gay youth are 2 to 3 times more likely to attempt suicide than other young people. They may comprise up to 30 percent of completed youth suicides annually. . . . Schools need to include information about homosexuality in their curriculum and protect gay youth from abuse by peers to ensure they receive an equal education. Helping professionals need to accept and support a homosexual orientation in youth. Social services need to be developed that

are sensitive to and reflective of the needs of gay and lesbian youth. (Gibson, 1989, p. 110)

The eventual release of the youth suicide report triggered strong responses from both the political left and right. LGBT rights activists and their allies contended that the report demonstrated the necessity of attending to the unique concerns of LGBT youth that, at root, schools must foster a climate of acceptance and support for LGBT persons. No doubt, some activists found that working on behalf of youth was considerably less controversial than seeking rights for schoolworkers, whom the public still regarded with suspicion. On the political and religious right, however, critics charged that the report contained erroneous data that exaggerated the phenomenon of high suicide rates among LGBT youth. They fundamentally questioned the purpose of any counseling that led to acceptance of same-sex desires or gender transgression, arguing instead that such youth needed skillful counseling geared toward making them heterosexual, gender-conforming adults. Furthermore, they contended that any tax-supported programs encouraging acceptance of LGBT persons directly conflicted with their religious values, which held that homosexuality was a sin.

The LGBT Movement

As adults across the political and religious spectrum debated, growing numbers of students who identified as LGBT or queer decided to take matters into their own hands. The first gay-straight student alliance was formed in 1989 in Massachusetts with the sponsorship of Kevin Jennings, a gay teacher in an independent school who later led in the formation of the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network. Gay-straight alliances in schools endeavored to bring queer and allied youth together with supportive adults in an effort to improve school climate for all queer persons. Led largely by student initiative, the movement to establish gay-straight alliances in schools spread with astonishing speed, growing to more than 900 such groups within the first decade—and the pace of growth shows no signs of slackening. In Massachusetts, one of the earliest coordinated efforts across gay-straight alliances was a statewide lobby day in 1993 where queer and

allied youth traveled to the capital to convince legislators that a state law was necessary for the elimination of discrimination against queer youth in schools. Their lobbying succeeded, and not only did lawmakers enact protections for queer youth in schools, but they also allocated funds to create and offer training programs to help members of school communities respect their queer members.

Despite these early and impressive successes, students usually confronted stark and overwhelming resistance. When Kelli Petersen organized a gay-straight alliance in her Salt Lake City high school, the state legislature responded by passing a law requiring schools to forbid student clubs that discussed issues related to sexuality. Petersen, undaunted, continued her activism to secure the creation of her high school's gay-straight alliance and, in the process, attracted considerable national attention and support. Eventually, Petersen's principal resisted the authority of school board members—and state legislators—by not only supporting the gay-straight alliance, but also enacting policies protecting queer youth from discrimination. And finally, in a precedent-setting court decision, Jamie Nabozny won a million-dollar judgment against his former school administrators who either did nothing or even encouraged homophobic verbal and painful physical abuse against him when he was a student. School districts around the country took notice and immediately began studying how to address the issue of LGBT discrimination against students so that they might avoid similar legal judgments.

The Current Situation

Although concern about sexuality and gender transgression in schools centered on schoolworkers for most of the twentieth century, more recently, self-identified queer students and their allies have recentered discussions and taken up the cause of winning rights for queer persons in schools. This may be in part because the larger queer-rights movement has shifted from the margins to the mainstream and, in the process, increased awareness of queer issues. Students may recognize and claim queer identities at earlier ages than in the past. Queer youth also may have organized their own support networks because queer adults largely

have been reluctant to assist them, mainly out of concern that their efforts would be viewed as predatory.

The old stereotype of queer adults as child molesters dies hard even though evidence repeatedly has refuted it. Through the 1990s and early twenty-first century, queer youth also have enjoyed new means of connecting with each other electronically and thereby resisting what previously had been an inherently isolating experience. They have forged vibrant new forms of culture and actively insisted on determining their own individual and collective identities rather than passively accepting identities foisted on them by others, such as the early 1990s stereotype of the helpless, hopeless suicidal gay youth. Queer youth, then, are on the front lines of the ongoing effort to make schools safe places for all people.

Jackie M. Blount

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Students: Advocacy Groups for; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Students and Teachers: Rights of

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SEXUAL MISCONDUCT BY EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONALS

Sexual misconduct is defined as inappropriate professional behavior of a sexual nature. The term includes sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and inappropriate sexual relationships. Although there is no definitive study indicating how prevalent educator sexual misconduct is, experts in the field estimate that approximately 10 percent of the student population experiences some form of inappropriate sexual activity with an educator at some time during their PreK–12 education. Yet because of the shame and guilt often experienced by students, these same experts suggest that there is a greater incidence of sexual misconduct than actually reported. This entry briefly discusses typical instances of misconduct and makes some suggestions for identifying and preventing such cases.

Defining Typical Misconduct

The most common form of educator sexual misconduct is classified as sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature. One type of sexual harassment is *quid pro quo*, literally meaning “this for that,” in which a harasser in a power relationship (e.g., supervisor to employee or educator to student) either grants or withholds something desired, or undesired, from a victim in return for sexual favors. For example, a teacher may award a favorable grade to a student in exchange for sexual favors. Or as a reward for sexual favors, a counselor may promise to withhold sensitive information from a student’s parents.

Another type of harassment, hostile environment sexual harassment, occurs when a harasser creates an unwelcome environment by means of sexual acts, inappropriate language, pictures, or other messages. A power relationship need not exist to create a hostile environment, and usually a single incident is not pervasive enough to establish a legal claim of harassment. Examples of hostile environment harassment include the telling of sex-related jokes and stories, sending sexually related e-mails, and distributing sexually graphic photographs or cartoons.

Although sexual abuse can be categorized as sexual harassment, sexual abuse is typically viewed as a criminal act. Often defined by state statutes, sexual abuse is a nonconsensual sexual act that includes rape, child sexual abuse, and incest. When reported to law enforcement authorities, incidents of sexual abuse may lead to fines, orders of restraint, or incarceration.

In some instances, consensual sexual activity occurs between an educator and a student who is of consensual age. The age of consent varies greatly from state to state, ranging from 15 to 18. Nevertheless, most states have laws or ethics codes that prohibit inappropriate sexual conduct between an educator and student, regardless of the student’s age.

There is no stereotypical perpetrator of sexual misconduct. Research indicates that teachers are the most common offenders, with others being coaches, administrators, and other school employees. Coaches, and others who spend extensive amounts of time with students in an extracurricular setting, often develop close relationships with students. These relationships, combined with opportunity, enable the boundaries between educator and student to become blurred, leading to inappropriate sexual relationships. Offenders tend to be males who have been deemed trustworthy, popular, and model educators. The perpetrators are seldom predators—they do not enter the profession to prey on the students. In retrospect, the perpetrators usually experience deep feelings of guilt and shame.

Similar to the profile of the perpetrator, there is no stereotypical victim. Although victims of educator sexual misconduct are typically Caucasian females, females of color are overrepresented in relation to the population percentages. In many instances, the victims are vulnerable, have a psychological need for adult attention, are under great stress, and are easily intimidated. The victims often do not report the abuse because they feel responsible for the behavior, or the victims perceive that other adults will challenge the veracity of the reports. Additionally, the perpetrators may threaten or coerce the victim to remain silent.

Identification and Prevention

Identifying sexual misconduct is not an easy task, but there are some indicators that inappropriate behavior

may be occurring. One indicator is overly affectionate behavior such as hugging or touching. Related indicating behavior is telling jokes of a sexual nature or using suggestive terms in conversation. Telephone visitation and conversations of an intimate nature between the educator and student are additional indicators of inappropriate relationships.

Unnecessary visitations beyond the school day are another sign. Those educators who extend their work days to assist students are often hard-working, dedicated educators seeking to make a difference in the lives of students. Yet perpetrators frequently use this contact as a means of grooming the student for future sexual activity. Likewise, student-initiated contact may be an attempt to violate appropriate educator–student boundaries.

Finally, complaints and innuendos of an inappropriate relationship between an educator and student are indicative of sexual misconduct. These rumors should be taken seriously and properly investigated.

To combat educator sexual misconduct, schools should establish clear written policies that delineate and prohibit inappropriate relationships. Additionally, school personnel should be diligent in the scrutiny of prospective employees and train employees on how to avoid inappropriate relationships and identify signs of misconduct. Finally, school-district policy makers should identify individuals to serve as investigators of allegations and rumors. Although a sense of educator guilt is embedded in these recommendations, experts caution policy makers to avoid establishing a climate of suspicion. In such a climate, innocent educators may believe that false accusations and vendettas against demanding teachers would become commonplace, although studies indicate that such accusations are rare.

Mark Littleton

See also Ethical Issues and School Athletics; Ethics Codes for Teachers; Rights of Students; Title IX

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SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND IDENTITY, EDUCATIONAL POLICY ON

Historically, issues of sexual orientation and identity have been some of the most contentious areas in U.S. educational policy. Since the mid-1960s, conservatives have been concerned that public schools have either directly or indirectly promoted what they would label “a homosexual lifestyle.” By contrast, it is not until the mid-1990s that queer activists (or individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, intersexual, and/or queer) became consistently and directly involved in political debates shaping policies for public schools.

Queer educators and students who work, learn, live, and play within the walls of U.S. public schools reside at the intersection of a host of contradictory and paradoxical laws and policies. This sheer complexity in law and policy means that there is quite a bit of variation in what individual queer schoolworkers and students experience within their own public school. Much of the political concern regarding queers, sexual orientation, and public educational policy involves the areas of personnel; curriculum, student identity, and behavior; and extracurricular activities.

Educational Personnel

In the areas of personnel, local school boards have been given wide latitude in regulating public school employees’ behavior and identity through the mechanism of the “morality clause,” which typically has been interpreted as the behavior that a majority of the school board members deem as moral. Under these broad and ill-defined morality clauses, school boards have forbidden a range of

seemingly innocuous activities, including dancing, smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, and working in establishments that serve alcohol. Female teachers have been subject to far closer scrutiny and have been barred from riding in automobiles with men who are not their relatives, required to live in “teacherages,” and barred from marrying if they wished to remain employed by the district.

For queer educators, mere suspicion of a nonheterosexual identity could mean dismissal as well as licensure revocation. Beginning in the 1950s, as part of a larger U.S. witch hunt for suspected homosexuals in almost every area of public employment, school districts and some states began to aggressively ferret out the suspected queers in their midst. At the time, the justifications for these purges were threefold. Queer sexual behavior was a felony in all fifty states. Consequently, queer educators, by definition, were statutory felons, and felons could not hold licensure or work with public school children. Furthermore, homosexuality and bisexuality were considered mental illnesses by a majority of the medical establishment, and most states at that time barred school districts from employing individuals who had a history of mental illness. The third and final justification was that queer identity violated traditional Biblical norms (usually framed as “traditional values”) regarding sexual relationships. Quite simply, queers were religious heretics.

Consequently, homosexuals who either hid their identities or who were open were seen as a corrosive influence upon the tender morals of public school children. A particular irony was that single females, who had long dominated the teaching profession because of their economic utility (they did not have to be paid very much because of limited employment opportunities), were increasingly demonized as potential lesbians throughout the 1950s by public commentators.

Although the witch hunts for suspected homosexuals wound down throughout the 1960s, beginning in the 1970s, an increasingly vocal and visible lesbian and gay rights movement worked to declassify homosexuality and bisexuality as mental illnesses, as well as end the legal restrictions on consensual queer sex. Their efforts were marked by partial successes: Although queer identity was depathologized by the medical establishment, states were generally slow in repealing laws barring

consensual same-sex sexual behavior. By the late 1970s, religious conservatives, particularly conservative Protestants, began mobilizing, partially in opposition to the gay liberation movements, but also in opposition to the African American civil rights movement and the women’s liberation movement.

For queer public school workers, the 1970s saw a redoubling of state-level efforts to ban queers from working in public schools. In particular, conservative Protestant activists worked to pass statewide referenda barring queers from being employed by public school districts regardless of local policy. Although they failed in California in trying to pass what was known as the Briggs Amendment, conservative Protestant activists were successful in Oklahoma in passing a state-level ban on queer schoolworkers. However, this law was later invalidated in 1985 by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Nevertheless, public schoolworkers could still be fired for being perceived as queer no matter what their actual orientation. Public school workers had little recourse because sexual orientation was not protected under most state equal rights laws and/or equal protection clauses at that time. Generally, if queer schoolworkers sued their districts for improper dismissal, in either state or federal court, they lost the case.

This situation changed little until the 1990s, when queer rights activists and their allies redoubled their efforts to enact statewide civil rights laws that covered sexual orientation, and in some instances, gender identity. Additionally, most states either legislatively repealed or judicially invalidated bans on same-sex consensual sexual activity, which, in combination with licensing requirements, had effectively banned queer educators from working in public schools. By 2003, in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the U.S. Supreme Court threw out the remaining bans on consensual same-sex sexual activity, thus clearing the last legal impediment from openly queer educators working in public schools.

Nevertheless, many contemporary queer public school workers—perhaps the majority—elect to hide their identities while working in public schools. Although some states provide safeguards either under state law or educational regulations (including tenure protections), there are no specific protections regarding sexual orientation and gender identity at the federal

level. Additionally, some states have passed “no promo homo” laws, which ban the promotion of homosexuality in public schools. Although these laws should fail federal constitutional muster (particularly in light of the *Lawrence* decision), at present, they serve as an effective means to enforcing the closet in some states.

Curriculum

“No promo homo” laws have also influenced curriculum development because these laws ban public schools from mentioning homosexuality and bisexuality in any positive manner. Some states, like South Carolina, go even further, requiring that *only* negative mentions be presented (e.g., these forms of sexual activities spread disease and/or are illegal) even if these mentions are factually incorrect (queer consensual sexual behavior was decriminalized in *Lawrence*). Such restrictions on information cut across curriculum areas, including social studies, English (particularly literature), music, art, and sexuality education. Furthermore, with the advent of a federally funded “abstinence-only” sexuality curriculum in 1996, many public school districts have been using materials that advocate celibacy until heterosexual marriage—which neatly avoids any mention of queer sexuality and/or relationships, because at present, queers are unable to marry in forty-nine out of fifty states.

In many locales, U.S. public school curricula have been scrubbed clean of any possible queer taint. This policy stance is particularly problematic on a number of levels. First, all public school students receive distorted and impoverished understandings of history, literature, the arts, and human sexuality, which is true whenever a social group is carefully expunged from public school curricula. Additionally, queer students receive messages that they had best hide or cover their identities, because such identities are so stigmatized that they are literally unmentionable in most situations. Finally, all students learn that stigmatization and silencing of queer people is supposedly natural.

Although developments in curricula regarding queer students have been largely disappointing, many states and local districts have sought to better serve their queer students under various antibullying, anti-harassment, and at-risk policies. In the early 1990s,

data emerged that indicated that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students suffered very high rates of physical violence, verbal name-calling, and long-term harassment. Furthermore, queer students were more likely to be subject to abuse in their own homes at the hands of their parents and/or guardians than their non-queer peers. Consequently, queer students suffered much higher rates of substance abuse, depression, social isolation, academic underachievement, and, most disturbingly, suicide.

Student Identity

But what was more important than data in prompting public schools to begin to address the needs of queer public school students was successful litigation against a school district for failing to address school-based homophobic bullying. In 1995, Jamie Nabozny sued his Ashland, Wisconsin, school district in federal court under Title IX. Beginning in seventh grade, Nabozny had been routinely and continually harassed, beaten, and called “fag” and “faggot.” He was spat on, punched, urinated on, and even subjected to a mock rape where twenty students looked on. All of this harassment and bullying happened on school grounds, and almost all of this abuse was at the hands of fellow students.

When Nabozny’s parents tried to intervene with school administrators after the mock rape, they were informed that if Jamie was going to act like a “queer,” they should expect this type of harassment. Furthermore, in many instances, teachers and administrators witnessed Nabozny’s abuse and failed to intervene. In fact, one teacher called Nabozny a “fag.” By tenth grade, Nabozny was so savagely beaten and kicked in one attack that he needed extensive abdominal surgery to repair the damage. In eleventh grade, Nabonzy dropped out of school after school administrators recommended that he should attend school somewhere else.

Nabozny’s subsequent successful lawsuit in federal court was the first such case in the United States. Furthermore, he was awarded \$900,000 in damages, a striking verdict against a public school district. The court ruled that his rights under Title IX to be free of gender-based violence had been violated by the school district. The Ashland district had had antibullying policies on the books and enforced them if the

victims of harassment were girls—but not boys. The 1996 decision in the Nabozny case sent a loud message that public schools could be liable for serious financial damages if they failed to protect the queer students within their walls—at least along the lines of gender.

The Nabozny decision opened the door for public schools to attempt to meet the needs of their queer students, but only in a limited fashion. Policies crafted under a protective rationale (antibullying, etc.), assume that queer students are at risk for a host of adverse outcomes. Although that assumption is congruent with the current data, it is only a quick leap in logic to assume that all queer students are intrinsically at risk and intrinsically pathological, which plays to current homophobic notions of queer inferiority, or there is something “wrong” with a given individual if he or she is queer. Nevertheless, antibullying and antiharassment policies that address sexual orientation and gender identity are a hopeful policy step. These policies do begin to address the pervasively homophobic culture found in most U.S. public schools.

Even though queer identity has finally been decriminalized across the United States, it is still highly stigmatized in most places. At the federal level, there are no specific protections for sexual orientation and gender identity, although Title IX may offer some limited protection regarding gender for gender nonconforming males thanks to the successful Nabozny litigation.

At present, eight states ban discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and another ten list sexual orientation only as a protected category. That leaves thirty-two states without protected status for queer individuals. This means, for example, that queer public school workers can be legally fired merely for being queer—particularly if they do not have tenure protections. A few states have included sexual orientation under their public school codes (Pennsylvania, for example), but these are half measures at best and do not carry the same policy “bite” as statewide bans on discrimination regarding sexual orientation and gender identity.

Additionally, about half of all states have “no promo homo” laws that ban the positive mention of queer identity, history, and culture in public schools.

Such policies effectively stigmatize queer schoolworkers and students by imposing official silences in some instances and official slurs in others. These silences and slurs are reinforced by districts that offer “abstinence-only” sexuality curricula, because the assumption behind the policy is that everyone is non-queer . . . or had better be.

Extracurricular Activities

The most promising policy development has been the rise of gay-straight alliances (GSAs) in U.S. public schools during the 1990s. Although these are highly controversial in some locales, they do provide queer students and sympathetic allies a measure of federally sanctioned safe space. Like other school-based clubs, they are protected by the federal Equal Access Act of 1984, which, ironically, was passed to protect student-initiated Bible and Christian clubs.

GSAs have been highly controversial since their inception, largely because they are federally protected, *queer-positive* student clubs and therefore are a bit of an “end run” around state-level “no promo homo” laws. School districts that have tried to ban the clubs outright have run into a legal buzz saw, repeatedly losing in federal court. For a brief time, the Salt Lake City public school district tried to ban all student-related noncurricular activities, but that eliminated football—a politically problematic stance. Furthermore, in the case of Salt Lake City, Utah, the students who were lobbying for the GSA eventually restructured the organization into a curricular-related club, which made it impossible to ban.

Some states have responded to the GSAs by requiring students to get parental permission to join any extracurricular organization. These laws technically do not target GSAs, but it is clear that, given the high degree of parental disapproval and/or violence relating to queer children, requiring parental permission might well be an effective means to limit the popular student appeal of GSAs.

Catherine A. Lugg

See also Equal Access Act

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<http://www.glsen.org>
 Human Rights Campaign: <http://www.hrc.org>

SHAKER EDUCATION

The United Society of Believers in the Second Coming of Christ, commonly known as the Shakers, came to British North America in 1774 from Manchester, England. Mother Ann Lee, the founder, and a small group of followers established their first community near Albany, New York, the following year. The basic tenets of the Shakers were spiritualism, millennialism, common property, celibacy, and pacifism.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth century, the Shakers were successful in converting several thousand people to their sect. They were aided by the broad sweep of the Second Great Awakening and the widespread attention given to millennialism. Entire families converted, bringing a large number of children into newly founded communities located first in the New England region and then spreading into Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. At their peak, the Shakers had eighteen major communities and perhaps as many as 10,000 believers.

The large number of Shaker children required that thought be given by the church leadership to the issues of childrearing in societies characterized by the rigid separation of the sexes. Mother Ann, herself illiterate, died in 1784 and left few details as to the care of children other than the general admonition that they were to be loved and raised in the tenets of Shaker pietism. Married couples who entered the Shaker life were separated. Babies at their mothers' breasts stayed with their mothers until they were weaned and then were placed in common nurseries under the supervision of unrelated caregivers. By age five or six, children were separated into either the girls' order or the boys' order, where they occupied separate quarters under adult supervision. The caregivers of these orders were selected with great care in order to provide behavior models. A communal society with a commitment to pacifism necessitated teaching cooperative social behaviors. Quarrels had to be settled quickly, conflicts resolved, and harmony achieved. To the Shakers, this was part of a concept known as "Gospel Order."

Work was a central tenet in the Shaker belief system. Mother Ann's most famous dictum to her following was "Put your hands to work and your hearts to God." This gospel of work led to survival of the communities in the difficult years and to prosperity in their latter years. Children were given chores and tasks to perform commensurate with their abilities. Their physical workload was reduced during the winter months when they attended school.

The Shakers adopted policies about formal schooling very similar to the German pietists, who generally regarded an eighth-grade education as sufficient. Too much formal learning could lead to intellectualism, which was injurious to spiritualism. As the American Common School crusade swept New England and the Northwest Territorial states, the Shakers had enough people in their various communities to establish local public schools in accordance with state directives. These schools were taught by Shakers who themselves had received some education before conversion, and the Shaker school districts followed the state laws in regard to teacher licensure, the curriculum, the school calendar, and the mandate for periodic visitation by

external school authorities. In the early decades, the students in these schools were almost exclusively Shaker children. As the Shaker population began to decline in the mid-nineteenth century, district boundary lines were sometimes extended to include children who lived near the community in order to preserve the schools and make them financially possible.

The Shaker school districts levied taxes and financially supported their schools. The quality of the schools was deemed to be well above average by outside authorities. The Shakers spent more money on education than their neighbors and gave the same attention to school facilities as they did all of their building projects that were publicly regarded as well planned, well built, well equipped, and well maintained.

Daily life in Shaker schools mirrored the larger society. Bible reading and the recitation of prayers was common; national holidays were observed; textbooks common to all country schools were used; recess, plays and pageants, and outings were standard; and there was no effort at converting non-Shaker children to community beliefs. Shaker children received their religious training outside of school. This pattern lasted throughout most of the nineteenth century.

Within Shaker communities, children were greatly indulged. Corporal punishment was virtually nonexistent, and work expectations were reasonable. Cookies, candies, and small gifts were commonly given, and special attention was given to providing the children with frequent excursions, community celebrations, and picnics. Upon attaining their majority, usually at age eighteen for women and twenty-one for men, the decision to sign the covenant and become a full member of the society was presented. Few chose to remain, and of that number, many were to “apostinize,” meaning they left the community at a later time.

The national efforts to “professionalize” American public education that were under way with the beginning of the twentieth century had a deleterious effect on Shaker education. Chief among such reforms were state laws requiring the college training of teachers. Dropping rates of the conversion of educated persons and Shaker convictions about the sufficiency of an eighth-grade education soon placed several of the Shaker communities in the position of either hiring lay teachers or closing their schools.

Shaker schools were also hard hit by the long-term effect of celibacy—they were not producing future generations of Shaker children to attend their schools. Efforts at taking in orphans and foster children did not solve the dilemma. By the 1930s, the few Shaker communities that were not already closed could not support schools, and efforts at taking in orphans and foster children were abandoned.

Today, only one Shaker community remains. Located in Sabbathday Lake, Maine, it was originally founded in 1794. Four Shakers—two women and two men—continue the Shaker pilgrimage. Their schoolhouse closed in the 1930s and has since been renovated into a library and archives.

William Edward Eaton

See also Church and State

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SINGLE-SEX EDUCATION

Single-sex education may refer to sex-segregated schools or sex-segregated classrooms within coeducational schools, but both definitions refer to the practice of teaching males and females separately. Single-sex education may imply different pedagogy, curricula, and opportunities for boys and girls, or it may simply refer to teaching girls and boys in different schools or classrooms. The debate over coeducation versus single-sex education has engaged parents, educators, and scholars interested in teaching both boys and girls in the safest and most effective manner possible, but the question has been complicated by the social and political implications of separating boys and girls.

Separate schools for boys and girls, particularly in secondary and postsecondary schools, were common through the early to middle part of the twentieth century, and separating boys and girls in classrooms within

coeducational schools was a common practice until the 1960s and 1970s. Until then, boys and girls were often separated based on gender stereotypes and assumptions about physical differences between boys and girls; thus, vocational and physical education classrooms were the most common sites of single-sex education. Historically, single-sex education has served to deprive girls and women of educational opportunities. Because of changing social and vocational expectations and the 1972 passage of Title IX, which outlawed sex discrimination in schools, single-sex education was much less common in the following decades.

Around the turn of the twenty-first century, a new interest in single-sex education emerged. Some advocates for girls began to assert that coeducation itself did not ensure equity in the classroom for female students, claiming that even within coeducational schools and classrooms, boys still received more attention and advantages than girls. Thus, for some advocates, single-sex education became an option to help provide a safer and more equitable environment for girls. These advocates are supported by research suggesting that single-sex classrooms provide a more comfortable learning environment; boost self-esteem; and increase short- and long-term opportunities for girls, including an expanded conception of gender roles for women.

Support for single-sex education has not been limited to advocates for women's rights. Under the George W. Bush administration, federal regulations within the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 allowed for the creation of single-sex classes in elementary and secondary public schools. Some advocates suggest that single-sex education accommodates innate biological differences between boys and girls, while also providing a less distracting learning environment. More recently, advocates for boys' rights have contended that single-sex education may provide a less feminized learning environment that better suits boys.

Critics of single-sex education, including feminist and civil rights groups, point to the fact that sex segregation has historically led to inequitable schooling, and some critics express concern that segregating sexes might enable a return to racially segregated schools. Another concern for critics is that single-sex education may, in fact, reinforce gender stereotypes rather than deconstruct them. If single-sex education is

based on assumed differences between boys and girls, single-sex pedagogy and curricula could serve to reinforce these differences. Critics also suggest that single-sex education does not provide an environment representative of the real world, denying students the opportunity to learn with other genders. Finally, some critics are concerned that single-sex educational practices are unable to safely provide education for intersexed and transgendered people.

Robert K. Pleasants

See also Coeducation; Educational Equity; Gender; Feminist Theory in Education; Title IX

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SLAVE CODES AND LITERACY

Slave codes were laws enacted by colonial and state legislatures in the American South limiting the rights of enslaved African Americans and authorizing the use of force in an attempt to keep slaves subservient to their White masters. Typically, slave codes included provisions making it illegal to teach literacy skills to slaves. The driving force behind the literacy prohibitions was a fear on the part of slaveowners that literate slaves could use the ability to write to either initiate revolts by communicating with fellow conspirators seeking to overthrow slavery, or at the least, create forged passes that would allow slaves to flee to other regions.

The colonial legislature of South Carolina enacted the first slave code in 1740 as a reaction to the Stono slave rebellion of the previous year. Among its many provisions, the code prohibited both teaching a slave to write and using a slave as a scribe or clerk. A violation of the literacy provision of the code brought a rather

substantial fine of 100 pounds. The South Carolina statute became a model for the subsequent slave code enacted by the colony of Georgia in 1755 and then for state legislatures after the installation of new post–Revolutionary War governments.

Although they prohibited the teaching of writing, the early slave codes were silent about reading. A school for slaves opened in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1743, shortly after the prohibition against teaching slaves to write went into effect in the colony. Prominent men of South Carolina were financial backers of the school and, presumably, sent at least some of their own slaves to the missionary school where the Africans learned to read and were taught the catechism.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, three separate slave rebellions fueled the perception among Whites that literacy among Blacks, slave or free, could foster collaboration and coordination among those plotting to harm slaveowners. In the 1820s and 1830s, southern state legislatures, under the control of the planter ruling class, codified anew literacy restrictions aimed at Blacks.

In spite of legal restrictions, some slaves still learned to read and write through either their own efforts or with the help of sympathetic Whites who saw value in literacy. Nevertheless, historians estimate that at the time of the Civil War, less than 10 percent of southern Blacks were literate, greatly affecting both southern life and culture in the nineteenth century and future social and economic possibilities for the region.

Keith Whitescarver

See also Literacy in American Culture; Literacy in the South

See Visual History Chapter 7, The Education of African Americans

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SMALL SCHOOLS MOVEMENT

The small schools movement is known by a number of different names, including *small learning communities* and *schools-within-schools*. In spite of the numerous names, the central point is to reduce the size of large, comprehensive high schools and purposefully reorganize them based on sound curriculum and the delivery of services intended to meet the social needs of students. Many large, comprehensive high schools serve as many as 1,500 to 5,000 or more students in large urban districts. These schools are designed to offer literally hundreds of different student activities, a full slate of coursework (e.g., remedial or advanced placement), and building facilities appropriate for school- and community-based functions. In spite of this intent, for a number of students, “large” became synonymous with “uncaring,” leading to a disastrous rise in dropout rates for many students, especially students of color (e.g., African American and Latino). Small schools are designed to counteract the unintended consequences of large, comprehensive high schools—leaving some students academically unprepared and socially isolated.

The American high school is one of the crowning achievements of the educational system. As the size of high schools increased, concern began to mount about student academic achievement and the development of social skills. Some students traditionally have required some alternative educational services (e.g., students with disabilities), but as high schools grew in size, it became apparent that the population of students in need of alternative services had progressively increased. High schools with student populations of 1,500 and more seem to fall victim to their own success. As schools tried to offer comprehensive services to more and more students, many students were often isolated from the mainstream and were unable to benefit from the large high school configuration.

Many have posed questions about the most effective manner in which to assist students in urban high schools in making academic and social gains. The lag in academic achievement in many large high schools (i.e., urban, suburban, and rural) in part was the impetus for school reform based on reconfiguring and, in

some cases, reconstructing large schools into smaller schools (i.e., small schools movement) with the intent of paying attention to a small number of students to ensure that academic and social needs are met.

Poverty, crime, lack of parental involvement, high student mobility, and seemingly perpetual slumps in student achievement are some of the problems identified as commonplace in large schools. High schools seem especially prone to problems, and not until the late twentieth century (with the onslaught of school reform efforts spawned by the release of *A Nation at Risk*) were concerns raised about the needs of students attending these large high schools. Many students, particularly students of color, do not make significant academic gains and, in many cases, ultimately fail. Students who fail at the high school level generally experience several unproductive outcomes: dropping out, teenage pregnancy, crime, and drug use.

There is an overwhelming notion that small schools benefit teachers and students in ways that are outside of the traditional curriculum. Some of these benefits are as follows: (a) Relationships between students and adults are strong and ongoing; (b) relationships with parents are strong and ongoing; (c) the school's organization is flat, with broadly distributed leadership; (d) most small schools do not attempt to be comprehensive; (e) professional development is ongoing, embedded, and site-specific; (f) the school develops its own culture; and (g) smaller schools engage the community in educating young people.

The small schools movement is a reform effort aimed at redesigning the fundamental structure of large schools as well as implementing highly unique curricular compositions. Students and teachers cultivate distinct and more involved relationships because of the small number of total individuals present in the school. One of the most unique features of the schools is the organizational structure. Although a number of schools may occupy the same building, each school is a separate entity, with independent staff structures and decision-making abilities. The small school movement is still in its infancy. The idea that public education centers should respond to the academic and social needs of students in a nurturing environment is one of

the more ambitious aspects of the larger school reform movement in American schools.

Charles Dukes

See also Comprehensive High Schools

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Web Sites

Small Schools Workshop: <http://www.smallschoolsworkshop.org>

SMITH-HUGHES ACT

The result of a recommendation by the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, the Smith-Hughes Act, enacted in 1917 and named after its sponsors, Rep. D. Hughes (D-Georgia) and Sen. H. Smith (D-Georgia), was the first federal legislation to provide nationwide funding for vocational training. Congress had realized that the United States was falling behind other industrialized countries in training skilled technical workers and that a concerted national strategy was needed to make sure American industry remained internationally competitive. This conclusion went hand in hand with the thinking that if vocational education was indeed of national importance, the federal government should help state governments promote vocational teacher education and also pay for such programs.

Under the Smith-Hughes Act, the federal government provided grants to individual states for the salaries of

teachers of trade and industrial subjects and home economics; the training and salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agriculture subjects; and teacher training in home economics, trades, industrial education, and agriculture. States were required to match such funds to pay for all other expenses. A Federal Board of Vocational Education was to conduct the research needed to implement the ideas of the Smith-Hughes Act, advise states on curriculum content and school administration, and supervise the proper use of funds.

The federal scope of the act also tried to address some of the issues that had been plaguing vocational education for decades. To resolve issues of curricular and instructional control, schools were put in charge of vocational education under the stipulation that some training be conducted in the workplace. Arguments over the appropriate philosophical orientation for vocational education between Charles Prosser and John Dewey were addressed by decreeing that students be given an education that made them good citizens and prepared them for gainful employment. On the question of a unified educational system, the act placed control of vocational education within the public education system but made vocational education separate from common education. Each state had to create a State Board of Vocational Education, whose members were often not the same as the members of other boards.

The separation of vocational and common education had major repercussions throughout the twentieth century. It led to separate administrative structures, curricula, teacher training and certification programs, teacher and student organizations, and teacher pay scales. The different board members and funding mechanisms as well as the requirement that vocational teachers have extensive industry and work experience, but not necessarily a college degree, served to isolate vocational education further and contributed to the view that it was inferior to an academic course of study. On the positive side, many current alternative certification programs can be traced back to the alternative certification channels created by Smith-Hughes.

Although planned as an indefinite grant program, the Smith-Hughes Act was repealed in 1997.

Carsten Schmidtke

See also Progressive Education

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SOCIAL ACTION, DEMOCRATIC CLASSROOMS FOR

The concept of developing democratic classrooms for social action has been largely influenced by the scholarship of John Dewey. Dewey defined democracy as a way of defining a culture, a way of living together, and a way of communicating. In a democratic society, he thought, education must embrace the personal interest of those involved while at the same time encourage social change. Highlighting qualities of participation, freedom, interest, and social relationships, democratic principles must be a consistent theme within the public schools so that a democratic way of living may become a future reality, Dewey believed. Public schools, then, ought to be places that teach thinking processes rather than focus on memorization and acquisition of compartmentalized skills or facts. They should become miniature communities, helping students to be active members of society, people who understand the importance of both active citizenship and democratic participation.

Because schooling always occurs within a social context, the classroom becomes a place that instills in children ways of becoming part of the social order. Because of this reality, it is important to understand what is being taught both implicitly and explicitly in schools. It is essential to encourage students within schools and classrooms to understand and practice democratic interaction. Democratic schools and classrooms do not happen on a whim, but rather require deliberate and calculated efforts on the part of both administrators and teachers to create opportunities for the democratic ways of acting and engaging for students. To create democratic learning environments that foster social action, it is necessary to promote the

structures and the processes that allow for this ideal to emerge from within the school itself. In these spaces, it is imperative that children become part of the curriculum designing, decision making, and planning in every facet of the classroom learning and school-related governance.

By encouraging engagement in a democratic experience, public schooling can avoid becoming a dehumanizing institution that depends on authoritarian structures. Schools that transcend the typical norms and promote the democratic classroom understand that student involvement at all levels of decision making is paramount. Decisions cannot be made solely at an administrative level or even by a teacher working alone in a classroom without the direct participation and inclusion of the students. Every member of the school community should have the opportunity to participate actively in the governing processes inherent to the teaching and learning structure. Furthermore, the searching for the common good must be seen in classrooms where teachers and students alike work together to plan, design, and seek out a curriculum that is relevant, meaningful, and worthwhile.

Public schools ought to be places that allow students the liberation for discovery. Students and teachers need to experience planning together and have opportunities for discussion innate to democratic spaces. Through this shared experience, schools can avoid making decisions that are only democratic in name but not truly in the democratic spirit and instead strive for an enabling climate for all stakeholders to make determinations about what will affect them. When all members of the school community cooperate and collaborate emphasizing structural equity, classrooms may go beyond being humanistic and child-centered, and foster a sort of apprenticeship in a democracy where schools are the incubators for ongoing and future participatory endeavors.

In order to create a climate that honors everybody's dedication, investment, and participation, classrooms need to offer varying perspectives and access to a plurality of information sources, as well as encourage multiple points of view. With these attributes in place, these learning environments can begin to live up to a democratic ideal. In so doing, members of these classroom communities learn the notion that the dominant group's

knowledge is unidimensional and that a multiplicity of perspectives can and should be both nurtured and embraced. Those desiring to foster democratic schools and classrooms construct environments that realize that their democracy is constructed in their social context and allows both teachers and students to become more alive through investigation, deliberation, and inquiry.

Instead of forcing arbitrary, prescriptive standards into the classroom through preconceived or contrived curricula, the democratic classroom invites teachers as well as the children to ask questions and pose problems so that they may construct meaning from their own lived experiences. Activities in democratic classrooms go beyond functional or cultural literacy practices and engage students to make sense of, interpret, and become readers in their worlds. These classrooms seek to understand power dynamics inherent to society while challenging the status quo. Accordingly, the experiences in these learning environments are ripe with issues, contentions, and problems that are all a part of our real social surround. The lives of the people involved invite and invigorate endless possibilities, defying neutral or benign fact transmission. Those within the classroom and outside the dominant culture are invited to develop their voice and no longer be silenced while digging deeply to discover their milieu in a new light.

The democratic classroom allows a chance for everybody to be heard and goes beyond what outsiders deem important. The questions and curiosities of involved participants guide the classroom inquiry and subsequent learning. These investigations become essential parts of what is studied in the classroom. As students discard commonplace assumptions that they are merely consumers and recipients of other people's knowledge, they gain power to pursue information revolving around what they believe to be relevant and essential. When teachers and school administrators bring democratic ideals into a classroom, the students authenticate the community concept because everyone is allowed to experience an education that is enabling.

When provided the chance, students search for meaning within their own lives. They want to work to make changes to transform themselves, their learning environments, and their communities because they are the best interpreters of their social worlds. Democratic schools can become an apparatus for students seeking to better

their lives and the lives of others through forms of social action as part of the classroom curriculum. A democratic curriculum promotes more socially responsive citizens because the freedom that exists within the classroom can be replicated and transferred to the social environment in which they live. Students empowered in these sorts of classrooms understand that they are able to be agents of change even as young citizens.

Teachers who stimulate their students to become involved in issues of social action are supporting them to learn the skills and values of participatory democracy. These teachers avoid being shackled into mediocrity by being forced to standardize their teaching and forego the practical philosophizing and imaging that give teaching its strength and fulfillment. With facilitating teachers, students engaged in meaningful and worthwhile curricula learn to reach group decisions that include minority and dissenting opinions; make action plans that take into account legal issues, social norms, and public relations; prepare materials to articulate issues to each other, peers, and the general public; petition, lobby, and work to influence appropriate governmental agencies and legislative bodies; speak and engage with television, radio, print, and Internet media; make public testimony; and negotiate conflict that emerges at each of the preceding levels. To this end, developing democratic schools and classrooms provides a means for induction into the processes of social action, civic participation, and democratic living.

Brian D. Schultz

See also Democracy and Education; Social Justice, Education for

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SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is the investment in social relationships with the expectation of returns. It is similar to other forms of capital, such as physical and human capital, apart from social capital's location in social relationships as opposed to material goods or individuals. Sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman originally conceptualized social capital in the 1980s. Bourdieu defined social capital as the cumulation of actual and potential resources located within a network of relationships between actors with shared attributes. Coleman developed a similar conceptualization and stated that social capital exists within a social structure of relationships and is available to actors with the intention of achieving specific aims. Bourdieu's and Coleman's pioneering effort led contemporary contributors, such as political scientist Robert Putnam and sociologist Alejandro Portes, to further advance and expand social capital's conceptualization and application. This entry describes the workings of social capital in more detail and discusses its links to education.

How It Works

A single actor, or a group of actors, creates and accumulates social capital by developing and maintaining social relationships with actors from a social structure that possesses common ascriptive and nonascriptive attributes. These actors intentionally develop and maintain social relationships in order to exchange resources with other actors. The development and maintenance of social relationships through the exchange of resources is the investment property of social capital. The returns property of social capital is not the result of merely the indiscriminate accumulation or liquidation of resources. Actors invest in social relationships in order to achieve specific individual or group objectives and interests. The achievement of objectives and interests is the returns property of social capital.

Resources, according to Bourdieu, are material or symbolic in nature, such as textbooks, instructional materials and strategies, and social status and acceptance. Furthermore, resources may also be collective behavior expressed by all actors within the social structure. Putnam, for instance, considers civic engagement, political participation, solidarity, and cooperation as resources that, although not necessarily exchanged between actors, are exchanged collectively.

The exchange of resources is the mechanism that develops and maintains the social relationship between actors within the social structure. Norms, trust, expectations, commitments, and sanctions are embedded in the social relationship and act as the parameters of the exchange of resources. The act of exchange within the social relationship can occur asymmetrically, reciprocally, indirectly, or collectively with no defined timetable to repay the incurred debts unless specifically defined by the relationship or the social structure. An asymmetrical exchange is when an actor provides resources to another actor without immediate repayment. An asymmetrical exchange becomes a reciprocal exchange as soon as the actor fulfills the commitment by repaying the incurred debt. This, of course, reinforces the social relationship, maintains norms and trust, and creates expectations and commitments for the future exchange of resources without inviting unwanted sanctions.

An indirect exchange is an asymmetrical or reciprocal exchange that includes an intermediary to facilitate exchange between two or more actors. It has the same characteristics as both asymmetrical and reciprocal exchanges, but an indirect exchange adds complexities to the social relationship because of the possibility that the actor receiving the resource becomes indebted to the intermediary as well as indirectly indebted to the actor supplying the resources. The justification for an indirect exchange stems from the disconnection between the receiver and the supplier that is due to either uncommon or conflicting attributes, location within the social structure, or the absence of a social relationship.

Collective exchange, which is rather dissimilar from the other modes, is not actual exchange in the sense that a resource is passing from one actor to another. It is the unified, symmetrical, and collective exchange of behavior

and action to profit society in general. Both single actors and groups participate in this mode of exchange; however, collective exchange generally occurs at the societal level, where a greater diversity of actors with different ascriptive and nonascriptive attributes can participate without exclusion.

Social capital can exist at different levels of social relationships. A social relationship between two actors is a dyadic tie. The collection of an actor's complete set of dyadic ties is a direct network, and an egocentric network is the combination of several actors' direct networks. The social structure or sociocentric network is the aggregation of all social relationships found in all the dyadic ties and direct and egocentric networks. Although actors can accumulate social capital at the level of the dyadic tie, it is in the best interest of actors to expand their network beyond a single dyadic tie by developing, maintaining, and including more social relationships. According to Bourdieu, the quantity and quality of social capital accumulated by an actor or group depends on the size of the network of social relationships and the quality of actual and potential resources possessed by each actor or group within the network.

Links to Education

The conceptualization by Bourdieu and Coleman also acted as social capital's initial contribution to the field of education. Their conceptualization, although created under distinct theoretical perspectives, occurred in the context of education achievement and attainment inequalities in both France and the United States. Bourdieu, coming from a social reproduction perspective, suggested that social capital is the means for the socially and economically elite to maintain and replicate their achievement and attainment hegemony over the marginalized masses. On the other hand, Coleman perceived social capital as having the opposite effect based on a functionalist viewpoint. According to Coleman, parents of school-age children have the ability to facilitate the education achievement and attainment of their children (i.e., future social and economic mobility) by way of accumulating and using social capital despite low levels of personal financial and human capital.

Social capital's contemporary contribution and application to education are visible within a variety of educational settings and between an assortment of actors within the educational process. In a recent review of the literature, Sandra Dika and Kusum Singh cited several studies that emphasized different dimensions of social capital in the context of education. For instance, studies explored the accumulation and use of social capital by several types of actors, such as students, parents, teachers, and school administrators, to facilitate the realization of science and mathematics achievement, social mobility, college enrollment, positive student behavior, the reduction of student dropout, and instructional change and accessibility to instructional resources. The review by Dika and Singh, and the recent growth and frequency of additional studies examining social capital and education, illustrate the emergent interest in and significance of social capital's contribution and application to education as well as its explanation of social and cultural phenomena within the educational process.

W. Joshua Rew

See also Cultural Capital

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SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DISABILITY

The concept of the social construction of disability has become popularized as a result of two major factors. On one hand, individuals with medical and physical disabilities have been working for their civil rights to fully participate and have access to society commensurate with their able-bodied, able-minded peers. On the other hand, the disproportionate representation of minorities in special education has created the question of how disability is socially constructed, and the system may, in fact, misinterpret cultural behavior or tendencies as disability rather than difference.

The social construction of disability offers a new lens for understanding ability and disability as a social construction that frames how society understands and interacts with individuals who behave in ways that are different from the norm. It is a tool to assist in recognizing how ability is framed so that people can recognize and work toward more equitable, inclusive practices and perceptions of individuals who are different. This entry discusses the perspective of disability as socially constructed.

Medical Aspects

Disability can be explained as an objective, medically based phenomenon or as a subjective, socially constructed phenomenon. Both perspectives have an aspect of subjectivity because disability refers to one's "inability" in relation to those who are abled. Social construction of disability allows one to shift away from viewing ability as normal toward questioning what social and environmental factors make some abled while others are disabled. By definition, individuals with disabilities have a different way of physically, cognitively, emotionally, and socially experiencing and making meaning of the world. Their perceptions and priorities may be different from what is deemed "normal." Does this mean the individual is disabled or differently abled?

The disability rights movement has highlighted the need to examine disability through a new lens in order

to change perceptions of individuals with disabilities. Historically, disability has been viewed from a medical perspective, suggesting that disability is an absolute condition that creates boundaries for what people are able to do and achieve. Thus, individuals with disabilities have been viewed from a deficit perspective of their inabilities and experience lowered expectations in relation to their able-bodied, able-minded peers. According to the disability rights movement, the medicalization of disability creates an illusion that an individual's abilities or disabilities set parameters on what they can and cannot do.

For example, the deaf community asserts that a person's inability to hear and use oral language is a cultural phenomenon because it shapes how such individuals understand and interact, in contrast with the conventional oral or auditory emphasis in the hearing world. Deaf individuals are more reliant on visuals and use manual language to communicate and interact with their world; their language is more conceptual, with hand shapes serving as the foundation for grammar and morphology. When compared to the societal norms of the hearing world, individuals who are deaf continue to be viewed as "dis-abled" in relation to those who are hearing. However, when hearing persons enter the deaf world, they experience an "in-ability" or "dis-ability" in relation to their "hearing-ness" or reliance on auditory stimulation and oral communication rather than use of manual language.

Historically, able-bodied or able-minded individuals have devalued the thinking or being of individuals with "dis-abilities" by forcing such individuals to perceive the world through the dominant society's view and uphold the same norms of existence. Who created this reality of separating people because of their ability? In a capitalistic society, a stratified system of participation exists in which individuals are categorized and privileged according to their status and ability. In some societies, however, all members have purpose and no one is viewed as better than another. Rather, each member is valued for what he or she is able to contribute.

In many indigenous cultures, an individual's "dis-ability" is considered sacred and provides that individual with unique abilities that benefit the community. For example, in one community, an individual who would be

considered mentally retarded in the United States was appreciated for his gift in preserving and teaching others the native language of his people. In another indigenous community, a child who was nonverbal with severe motor and cognitive delays and had albinism wore a special costume and marched at the beginning of the procession during ceremonies.

Culture and Disability

In the past twenty years, disproportionate representation has become an increasing concern as students of color continue to be overrepresented in special education, whereas White students are underrepresented. Disproportionate representation refers to an unequal percentage of students being represented in special education in comparison with their representation in general education. As a result of these trends, some educators contend that the current method of identifying students with disabilities and the structure of the education system place students of color at a disadvantage. Many researchers challenge the dominant model of education, arguing that it does not emphasize and often disregards the importance of cultural and linguistic factors that influence how people learn and make meaning of the world. Traditional views about how to educate students reflect the dominant society's history, culture, and language and create a privileging pattern that may lead to the misidentification of students of color as "disabled."

A sociocultural approach to disability critically examines the factors that construct a student's disability in an effort to understand why the student is experiencing failure and how educators can provide choices for academic success. The social environment in which a student exists directly affects how that student learns to learn, process information, and form opinions about his or her life world. From a sociocultural perspective, to understand the individual, it is necessary to understand the social relations of the individual. How people behave and interact is in part a reflection of their socialization. So when children come to school with a different set of experiences and norms of behavior, this is partly a reflection of their socialization and not their in-ability or dis-ability for learning.

Culture and learning go hand in hand because education is a tool for transmitting culture, and culture is the lens through which people view the world and create knowledge; it shapes how they learn. Culture not only influences how students think and learn but how teachers teach and how the educational system is set up to teach and assess what is learned. As a result, if an individual does not learn in ways commensurate with what is deemed the norm, there is potential for being perceived or constructed as disabled.

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See also Disability Studies

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SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Feminist scholars have contributed significantly during the past forty years to the interdisciplinary development of the social foundations of education through their teaching, writing, performances, and activism. Many philosophers, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists in the social foundations field have worked diligently to counteract the omission of women's thoughts and work from teacher education programs.

The lack of emphasis on women's issues and perspectives can be explained in part as reflecting the dominant male hegemony in the culture. Also, although the teaching of children and youth has been overwhelmingly a female profession, professorships in the social foundations of education were held primarily by men until recent years. Most coursework perpetuated study of the history, philosophy, and sociology of education from male perspectives.

Feminist writers and teachers seek to disrupt White, male, Protestant, Western European, heterosexual, middle- to upper-middle-class domination of ideas and practices within education. They wish to heal dichotomies, such as the mind/body split and valuing the intellect and reason over knowledge gained from emotion, intuition, and imagination. Connecting issues of power and control to educational success or failure, feminist thinkers investigate systemic problems long institutionalized in schools. They urge that varied sources and kinds of knowledge be respected as legitimate within the teaching/learning process. In addition to recognizing the needs of girls and women in academic environments, the cultural wealth of diverse students from families and community connections contributes to the construction of new knowledge.

Feminist scholarship has recovered some of the writing and activism of teachers from past eras. Using insights from historiography, which critiques how and why certain histories are written, Kathleen Weiler documented the experiences of teachers in California during the early decades of the twentieth century. Similarly, Kate Rousmaniere preserved the effects of school reform efforts on teachers in New York City during the 1920s. In *Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman*, Jane Roland Martin examined the work of Mary Wollstonecraft, Catharine Beecher, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, three women whose work was instrumental in developing early philosophies of education.

Continuing the work of historical restoration, several scholars focused on women's influences on the early development of pragmatism, as espoused by John Dewey and others. Pragmatism centered on integrating the needs and experiences of the students into the learning environment. Women whose work affected this movement include Jane Addams, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Elsie Ripley Clapp, and Alice Chipman Dewey.

Feminist theories also add emphasis on moral issues related to teaching and on the ways that women's thinking differs from that of men. Writing by Carol Gilligan and by Mary Belenky and colleagues represent groundbreaking work in these areas. New curricula for girls in grades K–12 in mathematics and

the sciences resulted from awareness of their different learning needs. Feminist researchers and writers also place importance on listening to the stories and learning from the experiences of diverse individuals. Many voices and stories from marginalized and oppressed people are now included in evaluating how public schools affect the teachers and the students.

As a feminist professor of the philosophy of education, Maxine Greene taught teachers to include the creative processes and products from aesthetic pursuits in their search for meaning. Embracing pluralism, she used many examples from literature and the arts to foster awareness of the role of the imagination in learning.

Also, feminist perspectives insist on opening even the processes and procedures within scientific research to critique. In challenging the objectivity and universality of traditional scientific research, Dorothy E. Smith, a Canadian sociologist, used women's experiences as starting places for scholarly studies. She developed a new methodology called "institutional ethnography," which focused on the social and political contexts of women's subordinated roles. In *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking From Women's Lives*, Sandra Harding, a philosopher of science, also questioned research that omitted women as the subjects and objects of inquiry. Through her many books and articles, Patti Lather recognized the influence of researchers within qualitative research and urged that theorizing and meaningful research be combined to lead directly to needed school reform.

Feminist approaches to inquiry have altered and expanded methodologies, particularly in qualitative research. "Standpoint epistemology" recognizes the effects of the political and social positions of individuals or groups within communities or organizations. Race/ethnicity, class, gender and sexual orientation, geographic location, life experiences, and other factors shape people's beliefs and actions. Having access to enhanced opportunities, such as excellent educational experiences, is often dictated by the power and privilege that diverse groups of people have within a society. Studies of teachers and students encapsulated the subjects' opinions and feelings concerning the research questions and the research results.

Nancy Hartsock wrote that the domestic labor of women gave them certain insights into lived experiences

that were not shared by most men. These standpoints should be used to protest and change the oppression of women in societies dominated by male values. Jane Roland Martin and Sara Ruddick examined the practices of mothering and their implications for education. Knowledge from the domestic sphere of life should be recognized for its contributions to the growth and development of individuals within a society. Adding that the personal was also political, Mary Leach proposed that the self does not represent one stable identity, but it shifts and exposes different aspects of personality in varied circumstances. Thus, educating people for successful participation in diverse activities should consider their multiple and often conflicting natures.

Fracturing the stability of "woman" as a single category for research and/or activism, female scholars of color emphasized the importance of race/ethnicity as well as gender. Situated as outsiders to White norms and values, Patricia Hill Collins and Gloria Ladson-Billings captured the perspectives of Black women teachers. Women of color who are immigrants added non-Western, third-world viewpoints to conversations about oppression and resistance. The writing of Gayatri Spivak, a postcolonial Indian theorist, and Maria Lugones, a Chicana philosopher and activist, serve as examples of subaltern women existing in multiple, conflicting worlds. Vietnamese professor, filmmaker, and composer Trinh Minh-ha views her creative work as opposing dominant power relationships through transforming self, others, and society.

As extensions of Nel Noddings's "ethics of care" and Patricia Hill Collins's work on Black women's thought, "womanism" or Black feminism represents another standpoint epistemology. It asserts that the experiences and perspectives of African American women are normative and not deviant from mainstream White standards. "Womanist caring," as espoused by Tamara Beauboeuf-Labontant, examines the teaching of African American women who nurture all children through natural instincts associated with mothering. With no guarantees of success, but often with a sense of spiritual mission, this teaching is constructed as political activism to fight the combined effects of racism, classism, and sexism.

Lesbians adopt a stance contrary to the dominant view of heterosexual women within the context of

marriage and family settings. In *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Gloria Anzaldua proposed that people cross all sorts of boundaries related to gender, sexual orientation, nationality, and so on that have been artificially constructed within societies. In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler wrote that gender and sexual desire are represented as a continuum of possibilities that disrupt the male-female dichotomy. Educating students requires acknowledgment of the complexities of their physical beings.

Ecofeminisme, a term from Françoise d'Eaubonne, arose as a merger of the feminist and environmental movements. Karen J. Warren and Ynestra King apply feminist perspectives to the socioeconomic and political destruction of our natural world. They believe that sexism and ecological disasters stem from similar roots—male domination of both women and nature. Reacting to colonialism and other types of exploitation, people should protect and restore the environment to promote wellness for both human and nonhuman entities. Rebecca Martusewicz and Jeff Edmundson use ecofeminism in their social foundations coursework to connect democratic ideals within a pluralistic society to sustainability issues.

Scholarship and activism by many feminist intellectuals and authors from diverse fields of study have contributed to the pluralistic nature of the social foundations of education. They have enhanced philosophical discussions about the purposes of schooling and education in a democratic society through a much more inclusive approach. In locating and analyzing the work of earlier female scholars and teachers, historians have changed our understanding of educational history within the United States and internationally. The achievements and problems of the past can be used to determine directions for the future.

Women's individual and collective thinking, experiences, and labor are sometimes recognized and valued as subjects for research and reform, as well as those of men. Educational sociologists, anthropologists, policy makers, and others focus attention on the relative educational success or failure of girls and students from minority backgrounds. Women of color, immigrants, and lesbian women have added perspectives on student learning through examining intersections of relevant factors, in addition to gender. Race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, non-Western

cultural traditions, and other characteristics combine to affect teacher/student relationships and academic and social growth. Situating knowledge and learning within social, political, and cultural contexts allows teachers to assess their students' abilities and needs with greater sensitivity and effectiveness. The social foundations of education can now offer pre-service and in-service teachers many diverse ways of understanding their professional lives within local, regional, national, and global settings.

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See also Aesthetics in Education; Educational Equity; Gender; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Feminist Theory in Education; First-Person Accounts of Teaching; Moral Education

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SOCIAL FRONTIER, THE

The Social Frontier is a magazine that was started in October 1934 by a group of faculty and graduate students at Teachers College, Columbia University. The magazine, which continued to be published in various forms until 1943, was the most interesting and

important educational journal in the United States to emerge from the Great Depression. Largely under the intellectual leadership of George S. Counts and William Heard Kilpatrick, the journal represented a unique example of educational criticism and social and political reconstruction.

The Social Frontier, in many respects, was an extension of the call to arms that Counts had made in a series of speeches before the National Education Association in 1932. These speeches were published in the same year under the title *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* In this and other works, Counts called for the schools and teachers to be actively involved in the social reconstruction of what he saw as the failed American economy and political system.

Counts and his followers believed that education, the schools, and the teachers who worked in them could play a critical role in the process of social reconstruction that had to be undertaken in order to emerge from the Depression. In the case of teachers, the writers for *The Social Frontier* considered them to be a potentially powerful social and political force who had an obligation to become engaged activists. This approach, which recognized that teachers had not only the potential but also the responsibility to act as agents of social change, represented a radical redefinition of the traditional role of the teacher in American society.

The members of *The Social Frontier*'s editorial board were not so concerned about the actual politics of the teachers involved (conservative or liberal), but with the fact that they should be politically and socially engaged. Nevertheless, *The Social Frontier* and its editors were seen as a threat by much of the political and economic leadership in the United States. The magazine was viciously attacked by the newspaper and publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951), who distrusted radicals and was vehemently opposed to the socialist orientation reflected in many of the articles found in *The Social Frontier*.

The attacks on *The Social Frontier* were actually part of a larger political fight that was playing itself out within the Roosevelt administration. As C. A. Bowers has explained, the Social Reconstructionists' views closely paralleled those of the early efforts of the New Deal "to create an organic economy and a co-ordinated society." By 1935, however, the tactics of

the New Deal shifted toward restoring an economically competitive society.

Unlike Roosevelt, Counts, Rugg, and Kilpatrick did not back off from their original vision. Instead, they expanded the idea that there was a social and class struggle at work in American society—one that was profoundly linked to the work of teachers. In February 1936, the John Dewey Society was formed. Much of the energy of *The Social Frontier*'s editorial board was dedicated to the new organization. The journal, which had increasingly emphasized the class struggle in education, began to lose a significant portion of its readership. Running short of funds and energy, the editors of *The Social Frontier* turned to the Progressive Education Association to try to merge their journal with the official organ of the association, *Progressive Education*. The Progressive Education Association unsuccessfully took over the journal. By the end of 1943, it had ceased publication.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Politics of Education; Progressive Education

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SOCIALIST EDUCATION AND U.S. CHILDREN

Throughout U.S. history, radical organizations and grassroots groups have created cultural and educational institutions of various kinds with the goal of promoting progressive social change. Newspapers, journals, colleges, schools, camps, speaking bureaus, literary societies, debating clubs, theater groups, and so on have been established for this purpose. Although most of the attention has been given to adults, some radical activists have also strived to create alternative activities for children, for example, ones that would expose them to "the socialist perspective" and the reasons for "good rebellion" against entrenched capitalist interests.

Such radical activities continue in different forms today, but the heyday for those who explicitly identified themselves as socialists was 1890–1920, although their efforts continued on a smaller scale for several decades afterward. Schools, after-school programs, camps, and the like were organized by those who aligned themselves more closely with anarchists; communists; immigrant societies (German, Finnish, etc.); and Workmen's Circle and other labor-affiliated groups.

Perhaps the most explicit form of socialist education for children was the extensive Socialist Sunday School movement that was established primarily by grassroots supporters of the Socialist Party of America from 1900 to 1920. At least 100 of these typically English-speaking schools were organized in 64 cities and towns in 20 states, with the most prominent ones located in New York City (which had 14 schools in 1912); Rochester; Hartford; Newark; Buffalo; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Pittsburgh; Cleveland; Chicago; Milwaukee; and Los Angeles. Schools ranged from a handful of students in one class, as in the case of the Newport, Kentucky, school, to 1,000 students in dozens of classes at the school that met at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum in Brooklyn. The average enrollment was probably less than 100 students. Most schools existed for several years, although there were schools opening and closing in the same year and others that lasted for more than six years.

Socialist education for children was represented in the lesson outlines, stories, poems, and so on published in newspapers such as the *New York Call*, *Milwaukee Leader*, and the more specialized *Young Socialists' Magazine*, or distributed by the Socialist Party and allied groups; books like John Spargo's *Socialist Readings for Children* and Nicholas Klein's *The Socialist Primer*; and songs and plays written especially for children, including "Kid Comrade," "A Rebel I Will Be," "When the Cry Was Stilled," "Mister Greed," and radical versions of old standards such as "Jack and the Beanstalk" and "Cinderella."

The teaching focused primarily on the nature of working-class life and class conflict; the character of the capitalist system and how it may cause serious social problems (such as poverty, crime, and unhealthy living and working conditions); and basic socialist

tenets and the value of cooperative industrial and personal relations. The schools were intended to counteract what founders saw as the overly individualistic, competitive, nationalistic, militaristic, and antilabor themes that seemed to be prevalent in public schools and other aspects of capitalist culture (e.g., the press, mass entertainment, and the church). They were never expected to provide a complete socialist education for youth, only a more formal, systematic one (albeit only a few hours a week) than could be gotten at home, at rallies, and in youth clubs.

The movement basically died out by 1920, when the Socialist Party faced severe government repression and split apart, although a few schools continued during the 1920s and a dozen schools were reorganized in New York City in the 1930s when the Party experienced a brief resurgence. Gone, however, were any prospects for a national movement and the optimistic spirit that had marked the earlier phase of these radical educational experiments.

Kenneth Teitelbaum

See also Marxism; Politics of Education

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SOCIAL JUSTICE, EDUCATION FOR

Social justice is an overarching term used to examine the inequitable social arrangements found between individuals or groups of individuals, including (although not necessarily exclusive of) social class, race, gender, ethnicity, disability, and sexuality. The concept of justice can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, who considered the underpinning principles that would lead to a greater

just society—that is, an ideal for a civilization based on the stability of its citizenry, and furthermore, the well-being and flourishing of its citizens. Two main considerations are often considered when trying to address social justice: the recognition that inequitable social arrangements exist that privilege certain individuals to the disadvantage or detriment of other individuals, and the redistribution of resources and conditions to rebalance the disadvantages accrued by some individuals to others.

Issues of social justice are of paramount importance in education. For instance, there is a strong correlation between a student's achievement in education and his or her future opportunities and socioeconomic class. The positional advantages accrued to students who achieve high levels of excellence will usually lead to a virtuous cycle of employability, mobility, social status, and well-being. The corollary of this is that factors such as race, gender, ethnicity, and social class are strong indicators of whether a child will do well in school or not. These factors have led many educational researchers to attempt to reduce the inequitable conditions for children.

Although there is much agreement that gross inequities exist among children in education, there is little consensus as to the best approach educators should take to reduce these inequities. Given this complexity, it is not clear from individuals' perspectives on social justice what the just outcome would be. Various considerations of social justice may pull in different and drastic directions. Similarly, numerous distinctions are commonly made in examining a specific aspect of social justice. For instance, both culture and color are often considered to be sources of racism.

Sociologists attempt to describe the educational circumstances of a particular phenomenon through empirical work and, in attempts to describe the situation, uncover the educational inequities that they may find. Within sociology, issues of social justice may be addressed more specifically within particular methodological and theoretical traditions. For example, the concept of social capital is one way to describe inequitable social arrangements found in educational settings. Feminists, broadly speaking, consider issues of gender and the role of self and agency, and (neo-) Marxists may consider the effects of social class.

Postmodernists, on the other hand, question the way in which knowledge and understanding have been presented both historically and contemporarily, and the concomitant repercussions that these forms of understanding privilege certain individuals and their viewpoints. Social justice, for them, is underpinned by the dominant discourses predominant in society that oppress and marginalize certain people.

Education policy analysts examine current policies in place and evaluate their effectiveness, and, in providing such information, suggest policies that may better redistribute resources to redress issues of inequity through administrative and legislative acts. Two main priorities are often considered in attempts to redistribute the inequitable social arrangements in education. First, education policy analysts may examine the political dynamics of what is feasible and the potential trade-offs that may be required to move policies into acts. Second, they will consider both the aims of a policy and how effective the implementation of a policy is in rectifying an inequitable arrangement. Again, the ways in which policy analysts consider how to rectify inequitable social arrangements differ drastically.

Philosophers of education generally attempt to do two things within the concept of social justice. The first consideration is to clarify and define what is meant by social justice. The ambiguity of the term and its wide and varied usage are problematic in defining social justice and, consequently, how best one should address issues of social justice. Second, and more important, philosophers often attempt to consider underpinning principles (or normative considerations) to guide individuals toward a closer ideal of social justice. How one redistributes resources that reduce inequitable arrangements is largely determined by the principles that philosophers put forth.

Practitioners grapple with teaching social justice to children. Pedagogic strategies that encourage listening, offer opportunities to provide narratives and share stories, learn to respect alternative perspectives, and reason among children are commonly cited precursors to developing social justice in children. Curriculum development is another way to introduce more diverse and rich histories into the lives of children, providing an acknowledgment and celebration of diversity. Finally, citizenship (or civics) education and moral education

often are considered appropriate subject areas that will help to develop social activism in students.

The diversity and range of how educationalists address social justice are as divergent as the innumerable ways that education is examined more generally. Any inequitable arrangement found within educational settings is often cited as a matter of social justice (and perhaps with some justification). However, the broad use of the term *social justice* provides much ambiguity and lack of clarity to how social justice is conceptually conceived and used in education. A further problem is that there appears to be little collaboration between the education disciplines and, at times, an almost uncomfortable tension between the disciplines in addressing social justice in education.

It is nearly impossible to adequately account for all of the ways in which educationalists address social justice. However, four individuals/movements are worth mentioning that have arguably changed the ways in which educationalists conceive social justice. The brevity of each of these accounts does not do justice to their work, and in selecting these four accounts, other possible worthy social justice movements may have been unduly excluded in the process.

Paolo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*—revolutionary when it was first published in Portuguese in 1968—fundamentally challenged class distinctions in education. Freire's experiences of seeing the underprivileged class of people in Brazil pushed him to envisage a transformative education for liberating the oppressed. Two components underpinned Freire's vision. The first component was to make the oppressed conscious of the social, political, and economic dynamics that held them in the particular oppressive environment. The second component was to work with the oppressed individuals in developing a transformative education that would liberate them from their present state. It is through the struggle with and by oppressed individuals that they could resolve the oppressor/oppressed contradiction. Freire's educational projects were largely successful in helping to empower the working illiterate peasants in Brazil to collectively rise and challenge the existing status quo. His work grew in stature, gaining influence throughout Latin America, and later North America and worldwide, and became a pillar in educational thought on social justice.

The notion of power and identity became increasingly prominent in considerations of social justice, growing partially from the work by individuals such as Paolo Freire, but also growing out of a large group of French and German continental philosophers who wished to challenge the existing modernist society that they argued privileged certain individuals. Critical educational theorists have drawn largely from postmodernist and neo-Marxist traditions and have applied their philosophies to issues of social justice (although again, with drastically differing perspectives within the critical theoretical tradition). Some overlapping themes might be said to exist regarding issues of social justice by critical theorists. Generally, critical theorists start from the assumption that the prevailing social order is historically situated and thus socially constructed and changeable. The dominant social order and constructed realities are often referred to as “discourses” in which the dominant view is perpetuated and maintained through the norms and social values of the society. The dominant (or hegemonic) discourses have a strong correlation to those who are privileged and are able to consolidate power so that structure between power and oppression is strongly linked. The work of critical theorists, then, is to unearth the dominant discourses that perpetuate and entrench inequitable social arrangements, and in so doing, resist and challenge forms of oppression.

Philosophically, a growing recognized area in social justice is the application of John Rawls's *Theory of Justice* to education. Since the publication of Rawls's book in 1971, philosophers have been debating the merits and shortcomings of his political liberal theory. Whether or not one agrees with Rawls, one cannot dismiss this pivotal work: It has changed the philosophical landscape on which other texts are based and compared. Political liberal philosophy has made significant strides in advancing the merits of liberty and equality in the areas of legal and medical ethics, international law, and education.

Liberal theory is a normative political theory for how citizens ought to create a just society. Rawls is specifically concerned with the two moral paths: a capacity for conception of the good and a capacity for a sense of justice. How we come to define and create acceptable rules and behaviors is developed through

Rawls's theory of justice as fairness. Two main principles are of highest priority in Rawls's theory: the liberty principle and the "second" principle:

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others.
2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all. (Rawls, 1971, p. 53)

These two principles constitute Rawls's theory of justice. By building on notions of fairness, Rawls argues that the priority is on the right over the good. Simply put, what are important are principles that are agreed upon by individuals, rather than having a preset notion of *the* good. Within this liberal conception, principles of liberty and fair equality of opportunity would be adhered to, and when inequalities of wealth and income occur, they would be allowed only when it is to the advantage of the least well off.

Liberalism attempts to identify normative principles for a just society. How does this help educators address and consider educational issues? Egalitarian liberalism in an educational context is committed to both autonomy and equality of opportunity. The first principle suggests that the role of education is to provide various opportunities and experiences that may enhance and expose children to different ways of living. It also may require schools to provide opportunities for children to be exposed to and participate in various educational experiences that help to facilitate the process by which children learn how to discern and critically reflect upon their present way of living, and potentially consider alternative ways of living that may be to their benefit. The second aspect of this principle attempts to secure fair equality of opportunity. If we are to secure fair equality of opportunity in society, education arguably plays a major role in this condition. Schools must provide both equitable conditions and opportunities for children in order that they have an equitable footing in later life, having the ability to pursue various opportunities.

Finally, the capability approach developed by philosopher and economist Amartya Sen is gaining

influence and applicability in educational circles. In further developing Rawls's principles of justice, Sen argues that not only are economic redistributive resources required for a human to fully flourish, but other substantive freedoms as well; Sen describes this as "capabilities to function." "Functionings" are those actions that humans can actually do, such as eating an apple, going to work, and so on. "Capabilities" are those actions that individuals have the ability to do; for example, they may wish to eat an apple and have the ability to decide whether or not they will eat it. The distinction between the two is that a functioning is the actual achievement, whereas the capability is the opportunity to achieve the action. A common example that illustrates a capability is the difference between a person who fasts and a person who is starving. The person who fasts makes the decision not to eat, whereas the person who is starving does not have the capability to decide whether or not to eat. Agency is a key aspect of Sen's capability approach. A capability can be achieved only through a person's agency: the freedom and ability to make decisions about how one should live in a certain way.

Sen's articulated capabilities approach then considers the range of options necessary for a person to achieve full human dignity and well-being. Within this redistributive theory, Sen distinguishes between individuals' differing needs in order to achieve well-being, something that is often unarticulated in other theories. For instance, a growing child or a pregnant woman will require more nourishment than a middle-aged person. The nuanced aspect of this redistributive theory provides principles to ensure that social justice is achieved not on a general, ambiguous level but addresses the varying needs of each and every individual.

Education is a pivotal aspect in Sen's theory; it is considered a capability in itself with overlapping capabilities within education. An education is a capability in itself in the intrinsic worth that an individual attains to develop human dignity, self-respect, and fulfillment. However, education provides instrumental ends in assisting an individual to achieve many things both in the present and in the future.

From these four perspectives, it is apparent that there are competing ideals in the recommendations put

forth for social justice in education. Critical theorists criticize the individualist emphasis in Rawls's and Sen's theories, whereas liberal theorists would challenge the assumptions made by critical theorists in their critique of the modernist society. Little consensus exists, then, on a conceptual framework of social justice. Depending on one's a priori assumptions, the methodological and theoretical approaches taken to address social justice and, consequently, the recommendations put forth can be both complementary and competing at times.

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See also Affirmative Action; Educational Equity: Gender; Educational Equity: Race/Ethnicity; Privilege; Social Capital

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SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

The social studies in K–12 education represents the specific area of the curriculum that deals with the social, cultural, and political content of what is being taught. In 1992, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), the main professional leadership and accreditation group for social studies education in the

United States, described the field as including “the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence.” The field is interdisciplinary and includes subjects such as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, as well as content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences. According to the NCSS, the primary purpose of the field is to help students be able to make informed and reasoned decisions as members of a culturally diverse and democratic society—one that is also part of a larger global culture. This entry looks at how the social studies curriculum developed and outlines some of the key controversies.

Historical Background

In schools in the United States, social studies has been traditionally associated with the disciplines of history and geography. In recent years, however, the field has increasingly drawn upon the insights of other academic fields, including anthropology, economics, political science, sociology, and psychology.

Social studies education, in terms of its founding as a curricular field, is rooted first and foremost in the study of history as a modern subject in colleges and universities—one that emerged during the final decades of the nineteenth century. The first efforts to develop a high school curriculum for the social studies came about through the efforts of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten, which issued a detailed report in 1894 calling for the modernization of the high school curriculum. In 1899, the committee issued a subreport on social studies, which highlighted the need to improve historical study at the elementary and secondary levels. Civil government—what was to become civics—was included in the American history curriculum, which was taught in Grades 7 and 11, along with coursework in Greek, Roman, French, and English history, spread throughout the other grades.

Most curriculum historians agree that the modern field of social studies originated with the 1916 publication of *The Social Studies and Secondary Education* by the National Education Association Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools. Earlier

reform movements during the 1890s had introduced history as a core subject in the curriculum. In 1916, the idea of citizenship education was introduced as well. It is the themes of history as a discipline and citizenship education that came to dominate social studies education during the period following World War I. Reforms continued into the 1920s and 1930s. Harold Rugg, a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, drew on progressive educational theory—specifically the work of John Dewey—in calling for social studies to focus around problems dealing with contemporary life. Criticisms of Rugg's work focused around the belief that the interdisciplinary and integrative approach he emphasized created a "social stew" with little focus or purpose.

Further attempts to better define the social studies curriculum came in 1929 with the American Historical Association's Commission on the Social Studies. The commission's report, which was drafted by Charles Beard and George S. Counts and issued in 1934, was a radical work, very much reflecting a social reconstructionist approach—one that considered the American capitalist system to be a failure and insisted that social change was imperative. Reactions to the report from the media were extremely negative, rejecting suggestions made in it that the social reconstruction of American society needed to take place through educational reconstruction.

The concerns about the report had to do with the growing fear that communism and socialist theories were spreading throughout the country. Conservatives called for the schools and teachers to inculcate patriotic values in children, and not to have them critically engage in independent social thought. Figures such as Rugg came under attack in 1935 at the same time for a series of social studies textbooks he had developed titled *Man and His Changing Society*. These works, while emphasizing history, also required students to consider how they might act as agents for change in American society.

Controversies

The attacks on Rugg were led by the American Legion and continued through the end of the decade and the beginning of World War II. The attacks against him

were important in that they pointed to the extent to which the social studies curriculum was controversial and contested.

This trend has continued into the present. In the mid-1960s, controversy erupted over the development of the new social studies, part of an attempt by academic leaders and scholars to anchor the curriculum in disciplinary fields. Figures such as Jerome Bruner came under extensive attack for supposedly undermining the morals of students as a result of his project, *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS) (1970), a Grade 7–9 curriculum that shunned absolute values in favor of relativistic interpretations (e.g., Is euthanasia on the part of Eskimo people justified for the survival of the tribe?). Other reasons for the rejection of the curriculum had to do with Bruner's inclusion of information about the practice of wife-swapping, adultery, and cannibalism in Eskimo culture. Among the protesters complaining about the MACOS curriculum were Mel and Norma Gabler. The Gablers were Christian fundamentalists from Texas who, in the early 1960s, had become upset over the content of their son's high school history textbooks. Essentially, they concluded that the basic information included in these textbooks did not provide sufficient emphasis on patriotic values, while emphasizing organizations such as the United Nations and the supposed benevolence of the federal government. The Gablers discovered that history textbooks used in schools were adopted as part of a statewide review—a widespread practice in many states. Realizing that they could lobby to change the content of school textbooks that were being used in their state, they rapidly developed a highly effective program to introduce more conservative material in textbooks. Because Texas adoptions were so important to national textbook publishers (Texas being such a large market as adopters), their demands for change became influential nationwide.

The efforts of the Gablers are interesting in the context of this entry because they reflect the fact that history textbooks, and in turn the social studies curriculum, represent one of the most contested areas of the curriculum. The textbook protests of the Gablers were, in fact, remarkably similar to the protests over the Rugg social studies textbooks of the late 1930s. The issue raised by them—one that continues to be contested in our own

era—is, What should be the nature and purpose of the curricular content of social studies?

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See also Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Textbooks, History of

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SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The sociology of education has provided important insights into the ways in which schools affect individuals and groups. Through an examination of the relationship between society and schools, sociologists have uncovered how educational processes affect the way people think, live, and work; their place in society; and their chances for success or failure. Research in the sociology of education has attempted to understand whether educational systems provide opportunities for all children to achieve based on their merits or whether they reproduce existing social inequalities.

Theory and research in the sociology of education seek to understand the limits and possibilities of schooling. In the United States, which has placed enormous faith in the power of schools to ameliorate all types of social problems, including poverty, and has viewed schools as the central institutions for social mobility, the sociology of education provides evidence about the extent to which schools can solve social problems.

The discipline of sociology developed at the end of the nineteenth century amid the promise and problems of industrialization, urbanization, and a developing belief in education in Europe and the United States. During this period, more and more children were

required to go to school, and sociologists began to examine the relationship between school and society. As schooling became more available to increased numbers of children, many believed that schools would be critical to a modern era where merit, talent, and effort would replace privilege and inheritance as the most significant factors for social and occupational mobility.

Until the 1960s, sociologists for the most part shared this optimism about the role of education in a modern society. They examined important themes, including how children are socialized for adult roles, the school as a social organization, and the effects of schooling on students' life chances. Beginning in the 1960s, sociologists of education began to doubt that schools, by themselves, could solve social problems, especially problems of economic and social inequality.

Sociologists of education continued to believe that they could improve education through the application of scientific theory and research. Because of their scientific orientation, they are more likely to ask *what is* rather than *what ought to be*, although sociological research has been the basis for trying to improve and change schools. They want to discover what occurs inside of schools and what the effects of schooling are on individuals and groups. The distinctive feature of the sociology of education is empiricism, or the collection and analysis of empirical data within a theoretical context in order to construct a logical set of conclusions.

Thus, the sociology of education relies on empirical methods to understand how schools are related to society, how individuals and groups interact within schools, and what the effects of schooling are for individuals and groups of children. Its findings are based on an attempt to be objective and scientific. It examines individuals and groups in their social context and examines the social forces that affect them. The sociological approach to education is crucial because it provides conclusions based on focused and tested observations. Without such an analysis, one cannot know *what is*; and without knowing *what is*, one cannot make *what ought to be* a reality.

The sociology of education has mirrored the larger theoretical debates in the discipline of sociology. From its roots in the classical sociology of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim to the contemporary influences of symbolic interactionism,

postmodernism, and critical theory, sociology of education research has been influenced by a number of different theoretical perspectives.

Functionalism

Functionalist sociologists begin with a picture of society that stresses the interdependence of the social system; these researchers often examine how well parts are integrated with each other. Functionalists view society as a kind of machine, where one part articulates with another to produce the dynamic energy required to make society work. Most important, functionalism stresses the processes that maintain social order by stressing consensus and agreement. Although functionalists understand that change is inevitable, they underscore the evolutionary nature of change. Furthermore, although they acknowledge that conflict between groups exists, functionalists argue that without a common bond to unite groups, society will disintegrate. Thus, functionalists examine the social processes necessary to the establishment and maintenance of social order.

Functionalist theories of school and society trace their origins to the French sociologist Émile Durkheim's (1858–1917) general sociological theory. Durkheim's sociology was concerned with the effects of the decline of traditional rituals and community during the transition from traditional to modern societies. Based on his research, Durkheim provided a sociological analysis of the effects of modernity on community.

For Durkheim, the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and modernization led to the breakdown of traditional rituals and methods of social control, which in turn led to the breakdown of social solidarity and cohesion. He demonstrated empirically how the breakdown in traditional community resulted in the decline of collective conscience and the rise of individualism. Such a breakdown led to what Durkheim called *anomie*, or the condition of normlessness in individuals and society.

As the bonds that connected individuals to each other and to society became unhinged, modern societies faced disintegration from within. He did not believe that the solution to social disintegration was a return to the past, with its strict forms of social control

and regulation. Rather, he believed that modern societies had to develop new forms of social control and cohesion that would allow for the newly developed individualism of modernity to exist within a cohesive modern society. Such a society would allow for a balance between individualism and community.

Durkheim was the first sociologist to apply sociological theory to education. Although he recognized that education had taken different forms at different times and places, he believed that in virtually all societies, education was of critical importance in creating the moral unity necessary for social cohesion and harmony. For Durkheim, moral values were the foundation of society.

Durkheim's emphasis on values and cohesion set the tone for how present-day functionalists approach the study of education. Functionalists tend to assume that consensus is the normal state in society and that conflict represents a breakdown of shared values. In a highly integrated, well-functioning society, schools socialize students into the appropriate values and sort and select students according to their abilities. Educational reform is supposed to create structures, programs, and curricula that are technically advanced and rational and that encourage social unity.

Functionalism is concerned with the functions of schooling in the maintenance of social order. Whereas conflict theory argues that schools function in the interests of the dominant groups in a society, functionalism sees schools as functioning in the interests of the majority of citizens, at least within democratic societies. Therefore, functionalists examine the specific purposes of schooling and their role in society. These purposes or functions are intellectual, political, social, and economic and refer to their role within any existing society. Functionalists, however, are most concerned with the role of schools in modern, democratic societies.

Modern functionalist theories of education believe that education is a vital part of a modern society, a society that differs considerably from all previous societies. Schooling performs important functions in the development and maintenance of a modern, democratic society, especially with regard to equality of opportunity for all citizens. Functionalists argue that inequality was functional and necessary in all societies, as it ensures that the most talented individuals will fill the functionally most

important positions. Nonetheless, modern democratic societies differ from previous, traditional agrarian societies because they are meritocratic; that is, talent and hard work should determine the allocation of individuals to positions, rather than accidents of birth. Thus, in modern societies, education becomes the key institution in a meritocratic selection process.

This democratic-liberal functionalist perspective views education as a vital institution in a modern capitalist society defined by its technocratic, meritocratic, and democratic characteristics. Although considerable inequality remains, society in this framework is characterized by the movement from ascription to achievement, with equal educational opportunity the crucial component. The historical pattern of academic failure by minority and working-class students was a blemish on the principles of justice and equality of opportunity expounded by a democracy. This educational pattern necessitated the formulation of reform programs to ensure equality of opportunity. Even though functionalist theorists disagreed on the causes of academic failure, they vigorously believed that the solutions to both educational and social problems were possible within the capitalist social structure.

The central distinction made by the functionalist perspective was between equality of opportunity and equality of results. A democratic society is a just society if it generates the former. Therefore, functionalist theory rests on a positive view of meritocracy as a laudable goal, with education viewed as the necessary institutional component in guaranteeing a fair competition for unequal rewards. The just society is one where each member has an equal opportunity for social and economic advantages and where individual merit and talent replace ascriptive and class variables as the most essential determinants of status. Education is the vehicle in ensuring the continual movement toward this meritocratic system.

Education plays a significant function in the maintenance of the modern democratic and technocratic society. In a political democracy, schools provide citizens with the knowledge and dispositions to participate effectively in civic life. In an increasingly technical society, schools provide students with the skills and dispositions to work in such a society. Although schools do teach specific work skills, they also teach students how

to learn so they may adapt to new work roles and requirements.

Functionalist theory was the dominant paradigm in sociology and the sociology of education until the 1960s. In the 1960s, conflict theory emerged as a significant critique and alternative to functionalism.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theorists argue that schools functioned in the interests of dominant groups, rather than everyone, and that functionalists confused what is with what ought to be. According to this critique, whereas schools ought to be democratic and meritocratic, the empirical evidence did not support the functionalist contention that they were. Although the specific nature of conflict theory is developed in the next section, it is important to note some of the problems with functionalism. First, conflict theorists argue that the relationship between schooling, skills, and jobs is far less rational than functionalists suggest. Second, conflict theorists point out that the role of schools in providing equality of opportunity is far more problematic than functionalists suggest. Third, large-scale empirical research on the effects of schooling casts significant doubt on the functionalist assertion that the expansion of schooling brings about an increasingly just and meritocratic social order.

Conflict sociologists of education do not believe that society is held together by shared values and collective agreement alone, but rather on the ability of dominant groups to impose their will on subordinate groups through force, co-optation, and manipulation. The glue of society is economic, political, cultural, and military power. Ideologies or intellectual justifications created by the powerful are designed to enhance their position by legitimizing inequality and the unequal distribution of material and cultural goods. Conflict sociologists see the relation between school and society as problematic. Whereas functionalists emphasize cohesion in explaining social order, conflict sociologists emphasize struggle. From a conflict point of view, schools are similar to social battlefields, where students struggle against teachers, teachers against administrators, and so on. These antagonisms, however, are most often muted for two reasons: the authority and

power of the school, and the achievement ideology. In effect, the achievement ideology convinces students and teachers that schools promote learning and sort and select students according to their abilities, not according to their social status. The achievement ideology disguises the “real” power relations within the school, which, in turn, reflect and correspond to the power relations within the larger society.

Although Karl Marx (1818–1883) did not write a great deal about education, he is the intellectual founder of the conflict school in the sociology of education. His analytic imagination and moral outrage were sparked by the social conditions found in Europe in the nineteenth century. Industrialization and urbanization had produced a new class of workers—the proletariat—who lived in poverty; worked up to eighteen hours a day; and had little, if any, hope of creating a better life for their children. Marx believed that the class system, which separated owners from workers and workers from the benefits of their own labor, made class struggle inevitable. He believed that the proletariat would rise up and overthrow the capitalists, and, in doing so, establish a new society where men and women would no longer be “alienated” from their labor. Marx’s powerful and often compelling critique of early capitalism has provided the intellectual energy for subsequent generations of liberal and leftist thinkers who believe that the only way to a more just and productive society is the abolition or modification of capitalism and the introduction of socialism. In the 1970s, political economists Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis used a neo-Marxist perspective for examining the growth of the American public school. They argued that there is a direct correspondence between the organization of schools and the organization of society, and until society is fundamentally changed, there is little hope of real school reform. Other conflict sociologists of education, however, argue that traditional Marxism is too deterministic and overlooks the power of culture and human agency in promoting change. They suggest that Marxism places too much emphasis on the independent effects of the economy and not enough on the effects of cultural, social, and political factors.

An early conflict sociologist who took a slightly different theoretical orientation when viewing society was

Max Weber (1864–1920). Like Marx, Weber was convinced that power relations between dominant and subordinate groups structured societies, but unlike Marx, Weber believed that class differences alone could not capture the complex ways in which human beings form hierarchies and belief systems that make these hierarchies seem just and inevitable. Thus, Weber examined status cultures as well as class position. Status is an important sociological concept because it alerts us to the fact that people identify their group by what they consume and with whom they socialize. Weber also recognized that political and military power could be exercised by the state, without direct reference to the wishes of the dominant classes. Weber had a critical awareness of how bureaucracy was becoming the dominant type of authority in the modern state and how bureaucratic ways of thinking were bound to shape educational reforms. Weber made the distinction between the “specialist” and the “cultivated man.” What should be the goal of education—training individuals for employment or for thinking? Or are these two goals compatible?

The Weberian approach to studying the relation between school and society has developed into a compelling tradition of sociological research. Researchers in this tradition tend to analyze school organizations and processes from the point of view of status competition and organizational constraints. One of the first American sociologists of education to use these concepts was Willard Waller. Waller portrayed schools as autocracies in a state of instability. Without continuous vigilance, schools would erupt into anarchy because students are essentially forced to go to school against their will. Rational models of school organization disguise the tension that defines the schooling process. Waller’s perspective is shared by many contemporary conflict theorists who see schools as oppressive and demeaning and portray student noncompliance with school rules as a form of resistance.

Contemporary conflict theory includes a number of important approaches. First, a major research tradition that has emerged from the Weberian school of thought is represented by Randall Collins. He believes that educational expansion is best explained by status group struggle. He argues that educational credentials, such as college diplomas, are primarily status symbols

rather than indicators of actual achievement. The rise of “credentialism” does not indicate that society is becoming more expert but that education is increasingly used by dominant groups to secure more advantageous places in the occupational and social structure for themselves and their children.

A second school of conflict theory is based on the work of Stanford sociologist John Meyer and his collaborators. Called institutional theory, Meyer argues that the expansion of education worldwide has not been due to functional requirements or labor market demands but rather to the worldwide process of citizenship and the democratic belief that educational development is a requirement of a civil society. Like Collins, Meyer does not believe that such expansion is a proof of democracy, but rather the belief that educational expansion is necessary. Through comparative, historical, and institutional analysis, Meyer and his colleagues argue that educational expansion often preceded labor market demands and that educational expansion is legitimated by institutional ritual and ceremony rather than actual practices.

Third, a variation of conflict theory that has captured the imagination of some American sociologists began in France and England during the 1960s. Unlike most Marxists, who tend to emphasize the economic structure of society, cultural and social reproduction theorists, such as Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein, examined how the social and cultural processes of schooling reproduced society. For Bourdieu, cultural capital (particular forms of culture, such as knowledge of music, art, and literature) is passed on by families and schools. The concept of “cultural capital” is important because it suggests that, in understanding the transmission of inequalities, we ought to recognize that the cultural characteristics of individuals and groups are significant indicators of status and class position. There is a growing body of literature that suggests that schools transmit specific social identities that either enhance or hinder students’ life chances.

Basil Bernstein (1924–2000) argued that the structural and interactional aspects of the educational system reflect each. He examined how speech patterns reflect students’ social class backgrounds and how students from working-class backgrounds are at a disadvantage in the school setting because schools are

middle-class organizations. Bernstein’s early work on social class differences in language distinguished between the restricted communication code of the working class and the elaborated code of the middle class. His critics labeled him a deficit theorist, alleging that he was arguing that working-class language was deficient. Bernstein rejected this interpretation, arguing that difference became deficit because of unequal power relations. Bernstein’s later work examined the connection between communication codes and the processes of schooling. He analyzed the processes of schooling and how they related to social class reproduction, concluding that unequal educational processes reproduced social inequalities.

Interactionist Theory

Interactionist theories about the relation of school and society are critiques and extensions of the functionalist and conflict perspectives. The critique arises from the observation that functionalist and conflict theories are very abstract and emphasize structure and process at a societal level of analysis. Although this level of analysis helps us to understand education in the “big picture,” macrosociological theories hardly provide us with an interpretable snapshot of what schools are like on an everyday level. What do students and teachers actually do in school? Interactionist theories attempt to make the “commonplace strange” by turning on their heads everyday, taken-for-granted behaviors and interactions between students and between students and teachers. It is exactly what most people do not question that is most problematic to the interactionist. For example, the processes by which students are labeled “gifted” or “learning disabled” are, from an interactionist point of view, important to analyze because such processes carry with them many implicit assumptions about learning and children. By examining the microsociological or the interactional aspects of school life, we are less likely to create theories that are logical and eloquent, but without meaningful content.

Interactionist theory has its origins in the social psychology of early twentieth-century sociologists George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) and Charles Horton Cooley (1864–1929). Mead and Cooley examined the ways in which the individual is related

to society through ongoing social interactions. This school of thought, known as *symbolic interactionism*, viewed the self as socially constructed in relation to social forces and structures and the product of ongoing negotiation of meanings. Thus, the social self is an active product of human agency rather than a deterministic product of social structure. Interactionist theory is usually combined with functionalism or conflict theory to produce a more comprehensive theory of society. One of the most influential interactionist theorists was Canadian-born sociologist Erving Goffman (1922–1982), whose work examined the microsociology of everyday life and the functions of interaction rituals in holding society together. Goffman was interested in how everyday, taken-for-granted patterns of interactions serve to hold society together. Goffman's brand of interactionism was functionalist, as he viewed social interaction patterns as rituals that served to maintain society through an invisible micro social order. Although Goffman did not directly study education, his writings on mental hospitals, on the labeling of so-called deviant behavior, and on patterns of interpersonal behavior provided a rich tapestry of concepts for sociologists of education, particularly through the use of labeling theory, which has been applied to the study of teacher expectations, ability grouping and tracking, and the study of schools as total institutions.

Ray Rist has provided some of the most important insights on the ways in which school processes affect educational achievement. Rist's research into the everyday processes of schooling in an inner-city school provided an understanding of how school practices, such as labeling and ability grouping, contribute to the reproduction of educational and social inequalities. He argued that interactionism has provided important understandings of the way in which the everyday workings of schools, including teacher and student interactions, labeling, and linguistic discourse, are at the root of unequal educational outcomes. Drawing upon labeling theory, originally a key approach in the sociology of deviance, Rist demonstrated how teacher expectations of students based on categories such as race, class, ethnicity, and gender affect student perceptions of themselves and their achievement. Rist argues that the processes of schooling resulted in educational inequality mirroring

the larger structures of society. He concluded that education produces the opposite of its stated intentions—instead of eliminating class barriers, it perpetuates inequalities. Combined with the findings of conflict theory, Rist's interactionist approach provides an empirical documentation of how schools reproduce inequality.

Methodological Approaches in the Sociology of Education

Beginning in the 1960s, quantitative methods dominated research in the sociology of education. Large-scale data sets, such as High School Beyond, the National Educational Longitudinal Study, and the School and Staffing Surveys collected by organizations such as the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago and the National Center for Educational Statistics, were mined using sophisticated statistical techniques. The purpose of this type of research was to examine the independent effects of schooling on educational and economic outcomes while controlling for a series of independent variables, both inside and outside of schools. These quantitative analyses examined the explained and unexplained variation in academic achievement among different groups based on race, social class, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, and others. This type of research also examined school effects on these groups by comparing different types of schools, including public, private, and charter schools, as well as the effects of school organization and processes, including ability grouping, tracking, and school and class size.

Although this type of research provided important evidence on the effects of school organization and processes and the independent effects of factors outside of schools, interactionists argued that research based on large-scale data sets often missed the reasons for these effects, as they did not examine school processes. As an antidote to large, data set, quantitative research, qualitative researchers provided complementary approaches to understanding schooling using ethnographic methods. Researchers such as Annette Lareau, Lois Weis, and Michelle Fine provided important analyses of how school processes affect students from various backgrounds.

Some qualitative researchers have remained squarely in the scientific tradition, insisting on objectivity, rigorous research design, and examination of causality. Others are more rooted within interpretive traditions, including symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, hermeneutics, postmodernism, feminism, critical theory, and cultural studies, and in varying degrees they reject postpositivist notions of scientific rigor. Despite critiques of qualitative research as unscientific, qualitative research continues to be an important part of research in the sociology of education.

Based upon their strengths and weaknesses, both quantitative and qualitative methods should be an important part of sociology of education research. Qualitative research in the sociology of education has made valuable contributions to our understanding of educational problems and has offered policy makers useful data for school improvement. Quantitative large-scale data set analyses have provided essential evidence on the effects of schooling and have been invaluable to policy makers. Whether studies are quantitative or qualitative or part of a mixed-method approach that uses both quantitative and qualitative methods, sociology of education research provides important data for public policy.

Conclusion

The sociology of education originated in the concerns of classical sociology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It came of age in the 1960s onward and concentrated on the significant questions regarding meritocracy and equality. Contemporary theories in the sociology of education have attempted to synthesize the major theories in the field—functionalism, conflict theory, and interactionism—and have provided a rich theoretical foundation for empirical work.

Today, the sociology of education is at a crossroads. The twentieth century represented the attempt to refine and empirically test the theoretical insights of the classical sociology of the nineteenth century. Through sophisticated methodological approaches, sociologists of education provided important empirical evidence on the effects of education on different groups and have been an important source of data for discussions of the achievement gap. Qualitative researchers provided an

alternative to what they perceived as the overly scientific, quantitative focus of much of the sociology of education research. For many sociologists of education, this response has weakened the scientific base of educational research. For others, sociology of education of all types has been too removed from policy and practice. In the coming years, sociologists of education need to combine varied research methodologies, quantitative and qualitative, to examine the most important question common to functionalist and conflict theory—why students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds do less well in school—and provide pragmatic policy recommendations for successful school reform and reduction of the achievement gap. Although sociological theory in the sociology of education will continue to be an important part of this project, the separation of theory, research, and practice needs to be diminished.

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See also Reproduction, Educational

Note: This article is adapted and revised from A. R. Sadovnik, P. W. Cookson, and S. F. Semel, *Exploring Education: An Introduction to Foundations of Education*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992, 2001, 2006, pp. 20, 110–118; used by permission.

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Regional Education Board has no direct governmental authority; however, the governor of each member state and four representatives appointed by the governor constitute the Board's decision-making membership.

The Board's original focus was higher education. Early programs involved member states' sharing the costs of graduate programs to avoid the expense of having separate programs in advanced areas within each state. Over time, the Board's interest grew to all levels of education. In 1981, it advocated improvement in the preparation of teachers, collaboration between institutions of higher education and PreK–12 schools, and changes in vocational education to meet the demands of local labor markets. In 2002, the Board adopted ten goals for education, emphasizing degree completion, exceeding national averages, standards, efficiency, and accountability.

Wm S Boozer

See also Distance Learning; Minority Student Access to Higher Education; Standards; State Role in Education

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD

Established in 1949, the Southern Regional Education Board is a sixteen-member interstate agency whose focus is to improve education from the prekindergarten level to the postsecondary level in its member states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The Southern

SPECIAL EDUCATION, CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Several issues are currently in the forefront of special education. First, some minority groups continue to be disproportionately represented among those in special education. As demographics in the United States become increasingly diverse, professionals continue to be challenged with identifying students who truly need special education services and supports. Second, the question of where to educate students with identified

disabilities remains a central problem. Current practices range from educating students in separate settings to believing that every individual, even those with the most severe disabilities, should participate in educational and living environments that are as close to normal as possible. This leads to a third issue: As more students with disabilities are included in general education classrooms, the role of the special education professional continues to change. Shifting responsibilities of special education professionals entail consultation, collaboration, and facilitation of student learning. Thus, the challenge of preparing all teachers to share knowledge, skills, and expertise is also critical in this entry's discussion of the present state and future developments in the field of special education.

Disproportionate Representation

A variety of factors contribute to the underachievement of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students. However, the continued low progress of CLD students in schools today is very pertinent to the special education field. Students who do not perform well academically end up being referred for special education services. Although prereferral interventions exist to ensure that students are not placed erroneously in special education, students from CLD backgrounds continue to be disproportionately represented in certain programs and disability categories.

For example, African American males continue to be overrepresented in classes for students with emotional/behavioral disorders, whereas Latino students are overrepresented in programs serving students with learning disabilities. Moreover, African American, Latino, and Native American students are underrepresented in programs for the gifted and talented, whereas Asian American and European American students are overrepresented in these programs.

One reason for disproportionate representation that has been discussed in the literature includes the possibility that lower socioeconomic status contributes to disability. However, some scholars argue that the deficit perspective of some education professionals as they view students and families from CLD backgrounds leads to misidentification. Supporting this claim, existing research has pointed out the fact that

CLD students are disproportionately represented in those categories that are socially constructed (e.g., behavior disorders, learning disabilities) or based on professional judgments as to what normalcy means. CLD students are not disproportionately represented in disability categories that entail biological traits or conditions (e.g., deafness, blindness).

Other reasons for the disproportionate number of minority students in special education programs that have been espoused by educational researchers are existing cultural biases in the assessment process and the cultural mismatch between CLD students and their predominantly European American, middle-class educators.

Inclusion of Students With Disabilities

Students with disabilities are increasingly being integrated in general education classrooms, where general educators are responsible for providing services to meet individual students' needs. This philosophical belief, known as normalization, states that every student should be educated in the least restrictive environment (LRE) to the maximum extent possible. Some professionals and advocates of students with special needs argue that the LRE is in the general education classroom where students without disabilities are educated.

Increased integration has led to fostering recognition that people with and without disabilities have the right and capability to make their own decisions (i.e., self-determination) and to become contributing members of society. However, there exists significant controversy about whether people with more severe and profound disabilities are provided a free and appropriate public education in settings where individual supports are not provided. For this reason, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act states that educational programming for students with disabilities is to be built upon a variety of service delivery options.

Professionals working with a student with special needs and the student's parents are to determine, from a continuum of services ranging from separate schooling to full inclusion in general education, which is the best setting in which the student can be educated. If a general education classroom is deemed the most

appropriate setting in which a student with special education needs will receive services, it becomes critical that the general educator and special education teacher collaborate to make the inclusion of that student successful.

Collaboration Between General Education and Special Education

The coordination between general education and special education programs tends to be informal and in accordance with meeting the requirements of the law (e.g., general educators' attendance to the special education student's individualized education plan meetings). These limited interactions between general and special education teachers, who are both responsible for providing services to students with disabilities, can sometimes prevent the provision of more appropriate services for students with special needs. If these students are to be successful in any setting, including general education classrooms, it is of utmost importance that special education and general education teachers work together.

Through collaboration, professionals can learn from one another's areas of expertise and share knowledge conducive to the improvement of intervention strategies and instructional practices to work with diverse groups of students. For example, in working more closely together, general education teachers and special educators could better address cultural, linguistic, and disability-related needs of individual students. However, educators have limited opportunities to collaborate with teachers outside their area of expertise. They may participate in professional development, but there are few opportunities available to share knowledge across disciplines. Even when teachers have the intention of learning how to improve their practices in working with students with disabilities, systematic, ongoing planning times and opportunities for teacher collaboration must exist in order for this to happen.

In addition to opportunities for professional development across their respective disciplines, increased collaboration and planning together can lead to developing a shared knowledge base among teachers to facilitate a diverse student body's learning. It is critical that general

education teachers and special educators seek to coordinate their efforts to meet the unique needs of students with identified disabilities. Developing a sense of ownership and shared responsibility for students among school personnel provides a context in which the academic and social development of all students can be supported. Together, teachers can observe students with special needs in different settings and identify important academic and social areas to be addressed. Opportunities for co-teaching also contribute to supporting the integration of students with special needs and allow general educators and special education teachers to meet regularly and discuss student progress.

Conclusion

Many controversial issues continue to be discussed in the special education literature about how to best educate students with disabilities. Differing opinions exist about appropriate identification, the inclusion of students with disabilities, and the amount of collaboration between general education and special education. However, as more empirical research continues to be conducted in the field, answers to questions from professionals working with students with special needs may emerge. At the same time, different challenges will come to light. It is these challenges that must be viewed as opportunities for growth and continued change in the improvement of service delivery for students with and without disabilities.

Rocío Delgado

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling; Disability Studies; Least Restrictive Environment; Special Education, History of

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SPECIAL EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

The special education movement can be characterized as having three major phases, exclusion and isolation, access and inclusion, and accountability and empowerment. Historically, up until the mid-1960s and 1970s, disability was viewed as an abnormality or “freak of nature,” and individuals who had disabilities were forced into isolation and exclusion. During the civil rights era through the 1980s, parents and advocates pushed to shift this perspective and gain rights for individuals with disabilities through access and inclusion. From the 1990s to the present, individuals with disabilities have become empowered and are working toward redefining their role and identity in society as a cultural phenomenon rather than inferior to able-bodied, able-minded individuals in the dominant mainstream. Additionally, systems such as case law and statutes, public and private programs, and advocacy organizations have been created to make schools accountable for providing equal educational opportunity for *all* students, including individuals with disabilities. This entry reviews the political and social aspects that influenced each of these historical phases in special education.

Isolation and Exclusion

Up until the mid-twentieth century, individuals with disabilities were excluded from mainstream society, often being housed in institutions that isolated them from the outside world and their families. Individuals with disabilities were considered abnormal and unable to function in society. It was said that such individuals disrupted and negatively influenced those in the mainstream, which caused many families to stow away their family member with a disability in attics or remote places. Individuals with disabilities were treated as

second-class citizens, and often states took custody, which disempowered families from having rights with regard to their child with a disability.

Because individuals with disabilities were viewed as a burden to society and uneducable, the conditions of institutions were often inhumane, with solitary confinement being the norm. It was not until the early 1900s that schools began to open their doors to individuals with disabilities as a result of parent advocacy groups. However, institutionalization and isolationism continued to prevail until the early 1970s. In fact, the last institutions were dismantled during the Reagan administration in the mid-1980s during the deinstitutionalization movement.

Access and Inclusion

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s had a major impact on the treatment of individuals with disabilities, and its ripple effect took hold through a series of court cases. *Brown v. Board of Education* forever changed the treatment of *all* students in education because of the change in educational law and procedure, which had a tremendous effect on school policies and procedures. The *Brown* case put desegregation at the forefront of equitable education and outlawed segregation based on unalterable characteristics such as race and disability because it violated equal protections and denied children equal educational opportunity.

The primary contention of the *Brown* case, that segregation by race was a denial of equal educational opportunity, became the gateway for the disability movement because children with disabilities were experiencing total exclusion, at best separate schooling through institutions, with the norm being no access to schooling at all. In 1972, two landmark cases, *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens (PARC) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* and *Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia*, became the catalysts for the right-to-education movement in the disability community. The *PARC* ruling stated that individuals with mental retardation between the ages of six and twenty-one must be provided with a free public education in programs comparable to their nondisabled peers. The *Mills* case paved the way for the right to due process and procedural safeguards

such as the right to a hearing with representation, a record, and an impartial officer; the right to appeal; the right to have access to records; and the requirement of written notice during all phases of the process. Almost simultaneously, in 1973, another important act was passed, Public Law (P.L.) 93-112, the Rehabilitation Act. Section 504, as it is often referenced, stated that any agency or activity receiving federal funding could not discriminate against or deny benefits to individuals with disabilities.

In spite of these landmark decisions and the additional forty-six cases filed in twenty-eight states following these decisions, school districts continued to plead that they did not have the financial, programmatic, and staffing resources to provide adequate equal educational opportunity. As a result, the federal government increased its role in special education through the Education of All Handicapped Children Action (EAHCA) or P.L. 94-142, which was passed into law in 1975. The primary purpose of this bill was to provide not only an educational bill of rights but also financial incentives to assist schools in providing equal educational opportunity. This bill marked the beginning of an era of disability rights and inclusion. In the next twenty years, public education went through major growing pains to accommodate individuals with disabilities and shift its perspective toward the inclusion of all individuals with disabilities, ranging from those who are medically fragile with multiple disabilities to those with mild learning disabilities.

Simultaneously, society at large went through major shifts in perspective as individuals with disabilities became more visible in the educational system and participated in everyday activities within their neighborhood communities. As a result of educational opportunity, individuals with disabilities were not only attending public schools and general education classes, but also graduating from high school and going on to college. This was a big shift in consciousness from the early part of the century when isolationism and exclusion were not only the norm but encouraged. Many disability advocacy groups gained popularity during this era, even though their roots began well before 1975.

Without the dedication and mobilization of parents and families, many believe that the disability rights movement would not have succeeded. Parents and

families banded together and affiliated themselves with national organizations to push local school districts and key personnel as well as lobby state and national politicians. Many of these groups (e.g., Association for Retarded Citizens, The Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps, Council for Exceptional Children) continue to be the largest and most influential lobbying forces today.

In the 1980s, there was much resistance to inclusion of individuals with varying disabilities, in part because teachers had not been trained or educated in how to provide inclusive education and resources were limited for implementing appropriate inclusion programming. Because parent advocacy groups had already begun to organize in the 1970s, these groups continued to apply pressure on the local school districts and practiced their right to due process. In 1986, the Handicapped Children's Protection Act was passed, which afforded courts the authority to award attorney's fees to parents or guardians who were in litigation.

In addition, during the Reagan administration, early childhood intervention became of interest as reports demonstrated the long-term success of early intervention programs from the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, the Infants and Toddlers with Disabilities Act (ITDA) was passed in 1986, which is now a subchapter under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Through ITDA, parents and families receive comprehensive services for their child from the onset of diagnosis through school-age, typically birth through age five. These services differ from what is provided in the public education system because they are developmental in nature. Thus, a heavy emphasis is placed on working with families to promote the development of the physical, cognitive, communicative, social/emotional, and adaptive abilities of the child.

At the end of the 1980s, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), which afforded antidiscrimination protection, was introduced in Congress. This was a momentous time for the disability community as many came together to educate and advocate for the civil rights of individuals with disabilities. Each day, the disability community shared stories, both with politicians and the American people, of discrimination that excluded and segregated individuals with disabilities from being full participants in society. As a result

of this consciousness raising, people-first language became popularized. The use of people-first language was a concrete way of demonstrating the ideology that individuals with disabilities should be viewed as people first, with their disability as secondary. Thus, when referring to an individual with a disability, it is proper etiquette to note the individual first and the disability second (e.g., a student who uses a wheelchair instead of the wheelchair-bound student, a student with a learning disability instead of the learning disabled student, etc.).

Empowerment

ADA and people-first language greatly impacted the reauthorization of IDEA in the 1990s. In the 1990 reauthorization, the word *handicap* was replaced with *disability*, people-first language was used, and a transition component for students sixteen years and older was added. Transition services provide a plan to ensure successful transition into adulthood for students leaving high school. This can include housing and services in the community, employment opportunities through job skills training, and college readiness through financial and counseling assistance.

The 1997 reauthorization had a drastic impact on how students with disabilities were treated and educated in the public education system by affording more rights and access to a free and appropriate education. Prior to this reauthorization, services for individuals with disabilities were still primarily provided through a pull-out or resource-room model in which students were provided services outside of the general education classroom, either by being pulled from their general education classroom or by attending a separate, segregated class often called a resource room. These separate services often used a different curriculum with lower standards than that provided in the general education setting.

As a result of the reauthorization of IDEA in 1997, schools were mandated to provide services in the least restrictive environment, and the model for special education services began to change whereby schools were shifting their primary mode of services from a segregated model to an inclusionary model. Through an inclusionary model, special education teachers enter

the general education classroom to provide services, including consultation, collaboration, and co-teaching, and assist the general education teacher in developing modifications and accommodations of the curriculum for students with special needs.

Also in the 1997 reauthorization, the age for transition services was lowered to fourteen to ensure appropriate planning for successful transition into adulthood; the language of free and appropriate education was added to signify the ideology of education as a right; and nondiscriminatory assessment and inclusion in state assessments were added to ratchet up accountability of special education placement, services, and programs. As a result, the 1990s marked the beginning of the era of accountability and empowerment as the consciousness of the American people shifted with the use of people-first language, education as a right ideology, and the mandate for accountability.

The reauthorization of IDEA in 2004 continued to move the agenda of accountability and empowerment forward by emphasizing the implementation of a standards-based curriculum and scientifically based instruction, ensuring and defining highly qualified teachers, and mandating the use of the response to instruction model to determine appropriate interventions and referral to special education. Response to instruction examines the parameters in teaching and learning that affect how a student learns and uses data to change instructional practices so that students with disabilities can access content from the general education curriculum. This approach serves to empower students with disabilities by raising expectations and outcomes for learning and positioning educators and schools to be more accountable in doing so. There is no longer a question as to whether accessing the general education curriculum is appropriate, but rather a critical examination of how we create interventions and adaptations so that students with disabilities can access this knowledge.

Barbara J. Dray

See also Disabilities and the Politics of Schooling; Disability Studies; Special Education, Contemporary Issues

See Visual History Chapter 21, Students With Special Needs

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SPELMAN COLLEGE

Spelman College is a historically Black women's college in Atlanta, Georgia, that is now part of the Atlanta University Center Consortium. Over the years, Spelman has played a key role in training African American women for leadership and preparing them for graduate study. Spelman currently has about 2,100 students from forty-one states and fifteen foreign countries. With a ranking of 75, it was the only historically Black institution included in *U.S. News & World Report's* 2008 listing of the top 100 liberal arts colleges in the United States. The college also has the highest graduation rate among historically Black institutions, and at 77 percent, its record surpasses the graduation rate for Black students at a number of high-ranking public and private institutions.

Spelman was established following the Civil War to educate emancipated slaves. Two New England women, Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles, founded Spelman in 1881 not only to teach women and girls to read, write, and do simple arithmetic, but also to prepare them to serve as teachers, missionaries, and church workers. Practical skills were also stressed as part of preparing students to be good homemakers and mothers.

In 1882, after hearing a presentation by Packard and Giles at Wilson Avenue Church in Cleveland, Ohio, one of the church members, John D. Rockefeller, became a lifelong contributor both to the school and to

African American education in general. With additional support from the American Baptist Home Mission Society and its women's auxiliary, nine acres of land and five buildings—former Union Army barracks—were purchased. The financial support of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., together with other gifts ranging from \$1 to \$1,000, made it possible to complete payment of the mortgage.

The school moved to its new location in February 1883, and Packard and Giles fought a proposal to merge the female seminary with the Atlanta Baptist Seminary, a school for males. Packard and Giles believed that their female students would be better served by keeping the schools separate. To do so, they had to raise enough money to support separate schools, and they received money from Baptists in the North and African American Baptists in Georgia. The Rockefellers donated the remaining amount needed, and in 1884, the school's name was changed to Spelman Seminary in honor of Laura Spelman Rockefeller and her parents.

The curriculum expanded to include college preparatory classes equivalent to high school. A nurse training department opened in 1886, followed in 1891 by a missionary training department. A new building was dedicated in 1918 to house the expanded home economics program. Spelman Seminary established the College Department in 1897, although most of the college work was at nearby Morehouse College.

One of the most significant events in Spelman's history occurred in 1924, when it changed from a seminary to a full-fledged college intended to provide a liberal arts education to its students. Under the leadership of Florence Matilda Read, who served as president from 1927 to 1953, the curriculum was expanded, with college courses established in the humanities, fine arts, social sciences, and natural sciences.

Albert E. Manley, the first Black and first male president, succeeded Read in 1953, ending nearly a half century of New England leadership. During his tenure from 1953 to 1976, Spelman strengthened its liberal arts program with the addition of non-Western and ethnic studies courses. Several other new programs were implemented in the 1970s, including freshman orientation and freshman studies, the health careers program, the family planning program, and cooperative programs with non-Black institutions.

Spelman women were active in the civil rights movement. Harry Lefever, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Spelman, documents their participation both in Atlanta and across the South in his 2005 book, *Undaunted by the Fight: Spelman College and the Civil Rights Movement, 1957–1967*. Among those playing leadership roles was Marion Wright (Edelman), who later founded the Children’s Defense Fund. Howard Zinn, author of *A People’s History of the United States* and a member of the Spelman history faculty from 1956 to 1963, played an active role in mentoring and supporting student activists.

When Manley announced his retirement, many faculty and students assumed that in this time of new opportunities for women, the next Spelman president would be a woman. Student protests followed the appointment of an African American man, Donald Mitchell Stewart, but Stewart assumed the presidency in 1976. During his ten-year tenure, several new programs were established, including the honors program, the comprehensive writing program, and the continued education program.

The Women’s Research and Resource Center, established in 1981, was the first women’s research center at a historically Black institution. The center subsequently played a leadership role in the development of a women’s studies minor and a multidisciplinary major in comparative women’s studies. In addition to partnering with other departments to offer courses exploring issues of gender and race, the center sponsors a variety of national and international conferences and continues to support African feminist scholarship and activism. In 2004, the center joined with SisterLove, Inc., to organize a global conference on HIV/AIDS among girls and women in Africa and the African diaspora. Most recently, the center has undertaken a three-year project funded by the Ford Foundation that will explore and strengthen links among women’s studies scholars, departments, and programs in Africa and the African diaspora.

In 1987, Johnnetta Betsch Cole stepped into the role of seventh president of Spelman College, the first African American woman to do so in its 106-year history. Under her leadership, Spelman achieved national status as one of the leading liberal arts colleges in the United States. She presided over a campaign that raised \$114 million, the largest amount that had been

raised by a Black college or university. The endowment was tripled, rising from \$42 million to \$143 million. After leaving Spelman in 1998, Cole joined the Emory University faculty as the Presidential Distinguished Scholar at Emory University, where she is now professor emerita. Cole served as president of historically Black Bennett College for Women in Greensboro, North Carolina, from 2002 to 2007.

In 1998, Audrey Forbes Manley, a Spelman graduate and widow of Albert Manley, became the first alumna to serve as president of Spelman. The first African American to be appointed Assistant U.S. Surgeon General, Audrey Manley also served as Acting Surgeon General of the United States prior to her appointment to the Spelman presidency. As first lady of Spelman, she had played a key role in the establishment of Spelman’s health-careers program in 1971. Under her leadership, Spelman continued to strengthen its position as a leader in educating women in the sciences. Today, about one quarter of Spelman students major in science, engineering, or math. The school ranks second only to Xavier University, a historically Black institution in New Orleans, in the number of graduates who attend medical school. According to American Medical Association data for 2001, Xavier sent ninety-four students to medical school, followed by Spelman, with thirty-eight, and Harvard University, with thirty-seven.

Beverly Daniel Tatum succeeded Audrey Manley in 2002, becoming the ninth president of Spelman. Under her leadership, Spelman has established several new “centers of distinction.” Among them is the Center for Leadership and Civic Engagement (LEADS), formed in 2003. A year later, LEADS sponsored its first national leadership conference. Sisters Center for WISDOM (Women in Spiritual Discernment of Ministry) was also launched in 2004. Its goals include student development and leadership training programs, faculty and staff development, and community outreach. In 2007, global investment bank Lehman Brothers and Spelman announced the formation of a partnership to establish the Lehman Brothers Center for Global Finance and Economic Development. Lehman Brothers committed \$10 million to support new interdisciplinary courses, a scholarship program, and recruitment of new faculty.

The college continues to offer a wide range of innovative programs, including the Summer Art Colony in Portobello, Panama, which gives students an opportunity to live, work, and study in the Caribbean; the Japan Studies Program, which includes an exchange program and an intensive four-year summer program in Japan; and the Spelman Independent Scholars Oral History Project, which pairs students with mentors from the community in a two-semester interdisciplinary and intergenerational program. Spelman also offers a five-year dual-degree program through which students can earn a bachelor's of engineering from one of twelve participating schools, including Georgia Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Diana E. Axelsen

See also African American Education; African American Education: From Slave to Free; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Women, Higher Education of; Women's Colleges, Historic

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SPIRITUALITY AND SCHOOLING

The spiritual lives of children and adults are considered of utmost importance in education in many

cultures. Psychiatrist Robert Coles noted in his travels that children throughout the world often expressed concern about matters spiritual. Yet when it comes to public schooling in countries such as the United States, spirituality is seldom discussed in official discourse. Public schools and universities (and many private educational institutions) are expected to focus on what is directly important to the purposes of the secular aspects of life. In mass societies, the religious aspects of education are often left to the family and religious communities, rather than to the common schools, which are required to emphasize those aspects of living that are considered essential to all youth, regardless of sectarian religious preferences; in multicultural societies, emphasis on matters related to religion can be highly divisive.

Nevertheless, the spiritual lives of youth and adults have been the major focus of many educators throughout time. An example is the legacy of educator-philosopher Rudolph Steiner, who designed a school for the workers of the Waldorf Cigarette Company. Waldorf schools have spread to many parts of the world, and in addition, retreats, such as ashrams and monasteries, some founded in ancient times, continue to serve the spiritual needs of devotees of a religious tradition; the spiritual is an important part of cultural transmission in the survival of cultures. John Dewey, who has greatly influenced world thinking about formal schooling and its relationship to democracy, recognized that all human beings have a religious component to experience, but questioned the claims often made about how matters spiritual are specifically linked to the doctrinal truths claimed by particular religious sects or institutions, including the existence of the supernatural. Matters spiritual were relevant only when they were part of the pragmatic and continuing project of furthering the well-being of mankind, which was possible to sciences based on experience, he thought. His naturalistic secular humanism has met with criticism from many religious leaders.

Spiritual matters are often associated with religious creeds, which vary from one group to another; even within a particular doctrine, there may be sectarian differences. Yet spirituality common to all faiths is based in a mystical sense of a

personal relationship to an entity larger than one's self. Because this ontological sense is based in the universe of relations, it is not material and often thus difficult to prove through a science based on substance and matter. One of the best modern statements of the fundamental relational basis of spirituality comes from Martin Buber, whose book *I and Thou* emphasized the fundamental, existential relation that arises from the ontology of being; the awareness of being itself awakens persons to the dialogic relation to other beings that include not only persons, but also other individual organisms.

The awareness of the holistic presence of other beings also extends to the mysterious and "eternal thou," which is defined as "God" in the religions that historically emerged from Judaism—including Islam and Christianity, and in other religious traditions that include Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, and the many forms of indigenous religions. Relations are difficult to describe because description tends to favor the tendency to convert relations into things, into what Buber calls the relation of I-It.

The arts, including poetry, music, dance, painting, sculpture, and architecture, seem best suited to express spiritual relations. Zen Buddhists have traditionally emphasized the limitations of words, whereas Buber himself lapsed into poetry to express the spiritual in relations. The ancient Pythagorians perceived the religious aspects in mathematical numbers, which was important to their view of education. The philosopher of education Maxine Greene has advocated the need for teachers and pupils to perceive the world through the aesthetic imagination, a view that has a connection with spirituality.

Contemporary Thought

In more recent times, the idea of relations has become fundamental in the naturalistic, biological science of ecology, and the connections between living organisms that sustain the complexity of life have become a basis for the spiritual that is also found in many indigenous religions that were once considered superstitious. The Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess is considered the founder of "deep ecology"—a spirituality that he believes humans sense in their individual and communal

relationship to the larger ecosystem. Naess, like many others in the environmental movement, was influenced by Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which was widely read in the 1960s.

Biologists Lynn Margulies and James Lovelock have proposed the "Gaia hypothesis"—the idea that the earth itself is a complex living system that is biologically constructed through coevolution. It is a system to which humans along with other forms of life have contributed, and unless humans revise their present anthropocentric relationship to Gaia (named after the goddess of earth), it will lead to a destruction of the very environment upon which we depend. The anthropologist Gregory Bateson has also attempted to provide a scientific basis for "deep ecology," showing connections between aesthetics and spirituality, while educators such as David Orr and C. A. Bowers in the United States have called for basic changes in our conception of schooling and formal education that derive from a deep sense of connection to the earth that includes a balanced coexistence with all forms of life. Underlying the views of such ecological perspectives is an implicit criticism of the dominant humanistic views, which included that of Dewey, as being anthropocentric and hegemonic in its view of other forms of life.

Although spirituality based on "deep ecology" is not dominant, it has led to new interpretations of religious and philosophical ideas found in world religions as well as indigenous and folk religions. It has also influenced the basis of some schools in the "Green Movement," such as that of the Martin Luther schools in Berkeley, California, indicating that a secular yet spiritual basis for children's education is possible.

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See also Holistic Education; Values Education; Waldorf Education

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SPORTS MASCOTS

In the sports world, a mascot is a person, animal, or object that serves as a symbol of an athletic team. Schools at all levels, from elementary schools to universities, assign mascots and nicknames to their athletic teams. A mascot is important to a school because fans and supporters of a school's athletic teams often identify with the school's mascot or nickname. Mascots often arouse emotion among current and former students, as well as other supporters of a school's teams. Schools and colleges have a large variety of mascots and nicknames, including colors, animals, people, and other objects. Some mascots are representative of a school's town or state. Others were voted on by the student body. Some mascots and nicknames have been deemed offensive to Native Americans. This entry examines sports mascots in schools across all levels of education, discussing the most common mascots, why they are important to schools, and the controversy over Native American mascots.

What They Are

The term *mascot* is often used interchangeably with the terms *nickname* and *logo*. However, the terms do have distinct meanings. A mascot is a tangible object, usually a person or an animal, that is adopted by a school, college, or other organization to represent its athletic teams. The person or animal that serves as a mascot is often seen on the sideline or in the stands at athletic events and pep rallies. A nickname is simply the name

that is used to represent an athletic team, and a logo is a picture or a symbol that represents the team.

School and college mascots and nicknames often go beyond identification of an athletic team. For better or worse, mascots often become the identification of the entire school or institution, not just of its athletic teams. It is via a mascot or a nickname that current students, past students, prospective students, and others outside the academic community sometimes view the school. With the attention that athletics receives in the media, a mascot or nickname is often the most common identification outsiders have with a particular school.

Derivation of Names

The origin of high school and college mascots and/or nicknames is often an interesting story, although it is sometimes difficult to trace. Some school or college archives do provide a detailed account of how a nickname was chosen. The history behind the nicknames of some schools, however, is not very clear. Thus, officials and supporters of some schools and colleges can only speculate as to how their school's nickname was chosen, and the origin will forever remain a legend.

Some school and college mascots have been in existence for more than a century. Many high school nicknames have historic meaning to their town or community. Likewise, some college nicknames have meaning to the community, region, or state. Some nicknames speak to an institution's heritage, or mission, such as the nickname "Aggies" at some agricultural and mechanical (A&M) colleges or land-grant universities.

Maintaining a symbolic connection between an institution and its state is often especially important for public universities that are the flagship institutions for their state. As such, several state flagship (or secondary flagship) institutions' athletic nicknames resemble or match the state's nickname. Table 1 lists examples of such institutions that adopted their state's official or unofficial nickname as their own.

Having a nickname or mascot that matches the state's nickname is not the only way that a school or college can maintain a connection to its region or state. Many school nicknames and mascots are those of

Table 1 Public University Nicknames That Resemble or Match the State Nickname

<i>Institution</i>	<i>School/State Nickname</i>
Indiana University	Hoosiers
University of Iowa	Hawkeyes
University of Kansas	Jayhawks
University of Maryland	Terrapins
University of Michigan	Wolverines
University of Minnesota	Golden Gophers
University of Nebraska	Cornhuskers
University of North Carolina	Tarheels
Ohio State University	Buckeyes
University of Oklahoma	Sooners
Oregon State University	Beavers
University of South Dakota	Coyotes
University of Tennessee	Volunteers
West Virginia University	Mountaineers
University of Wisconsin	Badgers
University of Wyoming	Cowboys

animals that were once common to the geographic region of the school. Animals, whether indigenous to a region or not, are the most common choice for nicknames and mascots in schools at all levels. Table 2 lists the most popular nicknames among four-year colleges in the United States, including institutions across all divisions of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the National Association for Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA).

Although Table 2 lists the most popular nicknames at the college level, a list of the most popular elementary and high school nicknames would look similar, with various animals topping the list. Some educational institutions, however, have American Indian nicknames and mascots that represent their athletic teams. The use of American Indian nicknames, mascots, and logos has been controversial for many years, and the issue has received a great deal of attention more recently.

Native American Issues

In 2001, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights declared that American Indian nicknames and mascots

Table 2 Most Popular Nicknames Among U.S. Four-Year Colleges (NCAA all divisions and NAIA)

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>
Eagles, Golden Eagles	69
Tigers	44
Bulldogs	38
Lions	33
Wildcats	32
Pioneers	31
Cougars	30
Panthers	30

were “inappropriate” and “disrespectful” in colleges and should be eliminated. The NCAA soon began to investigate the issue, and in 2005 identified thirty-one NCAA-member institutions that use American Indian nicknames, mascots, or logos deemed to be “hostile” or “abusive.” The institutions were asked to specify how they use such imagery and their reasons for doing so. The list of offending institutions was pared to eighteen after their reports to the NCAA.

Late in 2005, the NCAA made a landmark and controversial decision to ban racially or ethnically derogatory imagery from postseason events. The decision meant that the eighteen offending institutions would have to cover Indian references on their uniforms at NCAA postseason playoffs or tournaments, and those institutions would be banned from hosting any NCAA playoffs or tournaments until the offending imagery was changed.

Several of the eighteen schools remaining on the list of offenders made appeals to the NCAA in an effort to keep their name or mascot. Five institutions won their appeal, based on the fact that they had the approval of a local namesake Native American tribe:

Catawba College Indians, Catawba Indian Nation of North Carolina

Central Michigan University Chippewas, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan

Florida State University Seminoles, Seminole Tribe of Florida

Table 3 Schools at the K–12 Level in Each State That Use Native American Nicknames and Mascots

<i>State</i>	<i>Number of K–12 Schools With Native American Nicknames</i>
Alabama	69
Alaska	17
Arizona	25
Arkansas	25
California	176
Colorado	17
Connecticut	28
Delaware	8
District of Columbia	10
Florida	81
Georgia	108
Hawaii	0
Idaho	18
Illinois	178
Indiana	112
Iowa	77
Kansas	76
Kentucky	48
Louisiana	64
Maine	26
Maryland	27
Massachusetts	30
Michigan	59
Minnesota	11
Mississippi	60
Missouri	92
Montana	28
Nebraska	44
Nevada	7
New Hampshire	16
New Jersey	76
New Mexico	20
New York	149
North Carolina	58
North Dakota	13
Ohio	217
Oklahoma	161

<i>State</i>	<i>Number of K–12 Schools With Native American Nicknames</i>
Oregon	3
Pennsylvania	146
Rhode Island	7
South Carolina	34
South Dakota	36
Tennessee	84
Texas	180
Utah	13
Vermont	4
Virginia	67
Washington	34
West Virginia	40
Wisconsin	39
Wyoming	11

Mississippi College Choctaws, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

University of Utah Utes, Northern Ute Indian Tribe of Utah

Some of the eighteen institutions lost consecutive appeals and are faced with the decision of switching the name or facing the proposed sanctions. Finally, five institutions decided to switch their nickname and/or mascot as a result of the negative publicity and proposed sanctions:

Carthage College (WI) Redmen became Red Men and changed logo

Chowan College (NC) Braves became Hawks

Midwestern State University (TX) Indians became Mustangs

Southeastern Oklahoma State University Savages became Savage Storm

University of Louisiana at Monroe Indians became Warhawks

Those opposed to the use of American Indian nicknames and mascots claim that such imagery

promotes racial stereotypes. They suggest that the rituals and chants that mascots and fans perform during games (such as the “tomahawk chop”) are offensive and trivialize some items or traditions that are sacred to Native Americans. Supporters of such nicknames claim that they are honoring and celebrating Native American culture. Many supporters of the nicknames also suggest that the NCAA does not have the authority to regulate the choice of nicknames and mascots at individual institutions and is imposing social policy. Many also cite the NCAA as imposing on university autonomy and academic freedom.

The issue of Native American mascots has monopolized significant amounts of time for many college presidents and trustees. Colleges are often hesitant to change their nickname or mascot for fear of backlash from alumni in the form of decreased donations. The issue has also received the attention of lawmakers at both the state and national level. In Florida, Governor Jeb Bush applauded the NCAA’s decision to allow Florida State University to keep its Seminoles nickname with the support of the Seminole Tribe of Florida.

In North Dakota, the state Board of Education ruled in 2001 that the University of North Dakota’s athletic teams must be known as the “Fighting Sioux.” State officials voted in June 2006 to sue the NCAA for penalizing UND. Lawmakers from other states where college nicknames and mascots have caused controversy introduced legislation to Congress that would limit the NCAA’s authority over the issue. The bill would permit colleges to sue the NCAA if it punishes the schools. Rep. Tim Johnson (R-IL) and the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Dennis Hastert, introduced legislation designed to prevent the NCAA from invading institutional autonomy.

The controversy over Native American nicknames and mascots is not only at the college level. There are currently hundreds of elementary and high schools across the country that use such nicknames or mascots, including names such as Indians, Warriors, Braves, Chiefs, Redskins, and Savages. Table 3 lists, by state, the number of schools at the K–12 level that have Native American nicknames.

Kyle Sweitzer

See also Athletics, Policy Issues; Ethical Issues and School Athletics

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Web Sites

American Indian Sports Team Mascots: <http://www.aistm.org>
National Collegiate Athletic Association Hall of Champions:
http://www.ncaa.org/hall_of_champions/global/nicknames/nickname_list.htm

SPUTNIK

Sputnik 1, the world’s first artificial satellite, was launched from the Soviet Baikonur Cosmodrome on October 4, 1957. The satellite orbited the earth every ninety-six minutes, broadcasting signals from two radio transmitters that could be picked up by amateur radio operators around the world. Thus, the launch of *Sputnik* literally heralded the start of the “space race,” as the satellite remained in orbit, broadcasting for three months before falling back to earth. *Sputnik* marked a historic moment in space exploration, as well as a historic turning point in American education.

For the American public, this Soviet triumph symbolized a threat to American security, while calling into question American superiority in science and technology. In short, the United States was forced to ponder what it meant to be in second place scientifically, technologically, and perhaps militarily in the midst of an era ripe with ideological tension. As a result, educators, scientists, and mathematicians called for accelerated educational reforms; the public expressed support for the effort; and policy makers increased federal education funding.

Understanding the educational impact of the *Sputnik* launch requires placing this episode into its historical context. As the Cold War began to unfold in the years following the end of World War II, the adversarial relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States touched nearly every aspect of public

life in both countries. Public schools, as the institution responsible for shaping the thinking of the next generation, naturally became one site for this ideological battle. The United States was committed to demonstrating to the rest of the world that the Soviet challenges to American-style democracy were both misguided and impotent. American schools, and the educational programs enacted therein, had a critical role to play in this mission. Thus, the movement toward educational programs aimed at providing enhanced intellectual rigor and promoting economic and military dominance was already well underway before the launch of *Sputnik*.

The Soviet success in launching *Sputnik* made it clear to the American public that further changes to the educational system were in the national interest, particularly as related to the curriculum in mathematics and science. These changes were implemented at all levels and included the passage by Congress of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Research scientists and mathematicians from the country's most prestigious universities soon became prominent voices in this discourse on education reform. The scientists were empowered both by the successes they had had in weapon development during World War II and by the goodwill that these successes granted them among the general public. Thus, when the scientists began to voice dissatisfaction with what they saw in schools and then decided to turn their talents to educational reform, there was little or no objection. Scientists gained new and unprecedented influence in matters of public education policy.

These scientists had the support of the federal government to launch a sweeping reform of precollegiate science and mathematics education. At the heart of these policies was a focus on curriculum reform to emphasize content that the research scientists and mathematicians thought most important. The emphasis was on the structure of each discipline rather than on applications. Thus, the structure of K–12 science education was largely brought into conformity with science as taught in the universities. Teaching the internal logic of each discipline as it was understood by university professors was the guiding goal. This was a radical shift away from the “life adjustment” curriculum that held

sway in schools during and immediately following World War II. Built partly on Deweyan progressivism and partly on a psychological need to adjust from a wartime to a peacetime mentality, the life adjustment curriculum focused on applications of knowledge in a real-world context.

The *Sputnik*-era scientist-educators shared a common vision of education as the pursuit of excellence through high academic standards. This vision required banishing the life adjustment curriculum and replacing the emphasis on vocabulary and applied aspects of content with a focus on the structures and procedures of science and mathematics disciplines. Resulting programs in science included work done by the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC Physics); the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS biology); and the Earth Sciences Curriculum Project (ESCP earth science) among others. New programs in mathematics included the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics (UICSM), the School Mathematics Study Group (MSG), and the University of Maryland Mathematics Project (UMMP), among others.

Just as social and political factors initiated and propelled the *Sputnik*-era reforms in mathematics and science education, new social and political realities beginning in the mid-1960s acted as oppositional forces to the philosophical underpinnings of these reforms. Specifically, the focus on pursuit of excellence, the emphasis on rigorous academic standards, and the conceptual and methodological disciplinary focus in science and mathematics education were perceived as elitist and inattentive to the academic needs and realities of an increasingly diverse student population.

Although the *Sputnik*-era reforms were not carried forward as initially developed, their legacy can be seen clearly in the latest wave of science and mathematics education reforms more than forty years post-*Sputnik*. The Principles and Standards for School Mathematics put forth by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) and the National Science Education Standards developed by the National Research Council (NRC) built on the *Sputnik*-era legacy by including prominent research scientists and mathematicians in their development and emphasizing

disciplinary processes and high academic standards as key elements of the reform effort. This legacy is tempered, however, by an equal emphasis on attending to the learning needs of diverse students and promoting scientific and mathematical literacy for all as the ultimate goal. Additionally, the *Sputnik*-era focus on curriculum reform has now been broadened to consider reform of teaching, professional development, assessment, and policy factors, as reform of science and mathematics education is now viewed as a systemic and long-term project.

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See also National Defense Education Act

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STANDARDIZED TESTING

The term *standardized testing* is variously understood. For instance, some equate standardized testing as the delimiter to college entrance and predictor of academic success, whereas others see these examinations as sociocultural gatekeepers, testing only a limited portion of the schooling experience. This entry describes typical standardized tests, takes a brief look at their history, and summarizes their pros and cons.

Definition

No precise definition of standardized testing has been agreed on, and debate as to the meaning of the term continues. However, over the years, academic researchers have suggested that standardized tests

are different from other forms of assessment in that they contain all of the following characteristics: (a) they are interpreted with reference to a norm group, (b) administration occurs under standard conditions, (c) they are designed by specialists in the content and measurement area, and (d) they are scored objectively.

There are many different types of standardized tests, each classified into one of the following four categories: mental ability, aptitude, and intelligence; achievement; diagnostic; and attitudes/interests. The testing category of mental ability, aptitude, and intelligence includes the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale and Wechsler series of scales, which can be administered individually or to a group. Today, these tests are rarely implemented in the classroom but are frequently used by educational and clinical psychologists.

The Florida Comprehensive Achievement Test, the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), and the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) all fall under the category of achievement tests. Although some test makers argue that many of these examinations are actually some measure of aptitude (i.e., SAT and GRE), they are classified as achievement tests because they are dependent on the instruction received by the test-takers and are always performed on a group of students.

The category of diagnostic tests includes examinations that specify the test-takers' strengths and weaknesses in a given content area; these exams are usually administered to individuals. The final classification of standardized tests, attitudes/interests, includes the Kuder Occupational Interest Schedule, which measures possible career paths for students, and other attitudinal measures that describe student self-concepts to academic and social constructs.

Historical Background

The evolution of standardized tests has an interesting history. The first recorded use of standardized tests dates back to 2200 BCE, when Chinese emperors developed a rigorous examination for public service officials. Serving the emperor of China was one of the highest positions a citizen could attain at the time, and measuring competency in a consistent manner was

considered important. Over the years, the test became refined and “standardized,” being used until 1905.

The modern development of standardized testing originates in the late nineteenth century with the work of Sir Francis Galton. In 1884, Galton conducted an anthropological study that required the collection of person-specific characteristics, including weight and height. Eventually, researchers such as James McKeen Cattell and his students extended Galton’s work into the development of tests measuring psychological constructs.

In 1904, Alfred Binet finished his work on creating a new scale to measure intelligence, which he termed *intelligence quotient* (or IQ), becoming the first major construct measured by a standardized test. World War I saw the implementation of the Army Alpha, a standardized intelligence test deployed to determine the mental capacity of drafted soldiers. However, educational testing in the mainstream society would not be widely imposed until the 1930s with the development of the SAT and the first mass-produced test-scoring machine.

Pros and Cons

Standardized tests have many desirable qualities for statisticians, measurement specialists, practitioners, researchers, and policy makers. For instance, standardized test marks form a normal distribution of scores allowing for the calculation of percentiles, stanines, and *t* scores. A normal distribution of scores is such that 68 percent of the students’ marks will lie one standard deviation (a measure describing the spread of scores around the arithmetic average or mean) from the arithmetic mean (or average score), 96 percent of the scores lie two standard deviations from the mean, and 99 percent of the scores lie three standard deviations from the mean.

Percentiles describe the rank order of a score, ranging from 0 to 100; for instance, a 95th-percentile score indicates that 95 percent of the scores on a standardized test lie below that mark. Stanines, or “standard nines,” approximate a range of percentiles into one of nine values; for instance, the percentile range 0–4 is summarized into a stanine value of 1. The *t* scores

are simply the transformation of any distribution of scores to one that has a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. Other calculating features of standardized tests include computing reliability coefficients and constructing standard errors of measurement.

Standardized testing during the twentieth century has produced both positive and negative effects in educational, psychological, and sociological realms. One positive effect has been the simplification of college admissions through the use of standardized examinations. Prior to standardized testing, college admissions was a tedious process involving interviews and content testing, resulting in a loss of time for professors involved in research. Standardized tests simplified the process of admissions by developing cut-off scores before further interviews or testing would occur. However, standardized tests have also had negative effects. For example, there have been repeated concerns from educational and sociological experts that standardized tests are culturally biased, unintentionally force test-takers to reject the use of higher-order thinking skills, are used as gatekeepers in the ability tracking of students, and force teacher expectations to lessen toward low-performing students.

Yet standardized testing does have its own advantages. For one, the time required to complete a standardized test is much shorter than many other types of exams. Also, they can be very effective in determining the cognitive abilities of students prior to the instruction on some topic; that is, teachers can easily decide the level of instruction that their students would be able to process.

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See also Authentic Assessment; Culture-Fair Testing

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STANDARDS

Standards represent benchmarks for school achievement. In particular, *content* standards specify the subject matter that students are expected to learn. *Performance* standards identify the levels of proficiency that students are to meet in mastering particular skills. *Opportunity-to-learn* standards define the levels of available resources (such as school staff and instructional programs) that are required for students to learn appropriate content and skills. Overall, standards have been central to educational policy for more than two decades, especially at the national level. The standards movement has also played a pivotal role in the rise of school accountability and high-stakes testing. Moreover, standards are important because they exemplify key traditions in public education.

This entry is divided into three parts. Part one focuses on today's standards movement by tracing its recent origins and contemporary developments. Part two briefly examines earlier incarnations of the standards movement, including the efficiency movement of the early twentieth century and the objectives movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Part three looks at the recent coupling of standards with accountability schemes and high-stakes testing. This configuration of standards and assessment practices represents a new, and some would say dangerous, approach to school reform.

The Standards Movement

The 1983 watershed report *A Nation at Risk* initiated the standards movement of today. In strident tones, the authors of this report lambasted the quality, rigor, and efficiency of American schools. Such criticisms were hardly new, but the report was widely acclaimed because it tied education dramatically to the nation's economic well-being and global security. Moreover, the report's dire predictions of national peril struck a chord with a public that was already concerned with more than a decade and a half of gradually falling college admission test scores.

Calls for higher standards offered a ready political response to public concerns that students were not learning as much as had earlier generations. In the

1990s, for example, the Clinton administration promoted Goals 2000, a national education policy that urged schools to voluntarily adopt world-class standards. Supposedly, the absence of such standards would undercut the nation's ability to compete economically with foreign countries.

Some scholars viewed concerns over economic security and failing schools as a misleading and manufactured crisis. Nevertheless, national subject area associations responded by developing content standards in mathematics, science, reading, and other subjects. It was not long before states developed their own content and grade-level standards that trumped those of national associations. The passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 mandated standards as a component of all state accountability systems. Schools and school districts no longer had a choice but to accept state standards, and in order to tighten accountability further, many districts now require classroom teachers to identify the state standards addressed in their daily lessons. Finally, major textbook publishers recognized a marketing opportunity in this push to ensure compliance. To promote their products, publishers now tailor the teacher's editions of their textbooks to match content with a state's particular standards.

Past Incarnations

In the current rush to standards, it is easy to forget that standards are hardly new to education. On the contrary, today's movement represents a long tradition in education. This tradition looks to efficiency as its primary virtue. In particular, the contemporary movement is rooted in the early twentieth-century social efficiency thought of writers such as Edward L. Thorndike and Franklin Bobbitt. Thorndike, a founder of educational psychology, argued that a new science of education would eventually provide detailed and predictive explanations of all forms of learning and thereby establish a clear set of standards for educational practice. Bobbitt, an educational scholar, lamented what he saw as tremendous waste in the traditional academic curriculum and the outmoded instructional methods of his day.

Bobbitt began from the premise that the purpose of education is to prepare children for adult life, and that

adult life, however varied, could be broken down into specific tasks. This process of creating standards based on an examination of practical roles became known as activity analysis. It was the basis for several major surveys conducted by school districts and universities to formulate thousands and tens of thousands of highly specific educational objectives. Through such work, Bobbitt believed that social efficiency could modernize schools just as American industry had modernized production methods through standardization.

The social efficiency movement contributed to the bureaucratic-corporate model of schooling that emerged and took root during the twentieth century. With more children going to school and staying there longer, activity analysis also may have helped realign a highly academic and elitist curriculum with one that served more practical ends. Yet whatever successes the social efficiency movement might claim are balanced by the host of practical difficulties the movement encountered. First, faced with thousands and tens of thousands of objectives, educators needed some criteria by which to sort or rank potential objectives. In the absence of such criteria, teachers were simply overwhelmed. Second, specific objectives in many areas only served to trivialize adult roles. Would-be efficiency experts found themselves hard pressed with the job of defining a prespecified curriculum for adult roles such as being a good mother or father.

Today's standards movement is an ideological offspring of the social efficiency wing of early progressive thinking, but it is also akin to other trends. In particular, today's standards harken back to the objectives movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This movement had a significantly different impetus from the earlier social efficiency movement. Whereas Bobbitt and his supporters hoped to make schools more relevant to their growing student populations by tethering education directly to adult life, the objectives movement was employed as a corrective for such pragmatic efforts.

In the wake of *Sputnik* and decades of life adjustment programs, the mood shifted back toward academic, discipline-based education. Nevertheless, the objectives movement embraced the same underlying assumptions of both social efficiency and today's approach to standards. These assumptions include the belief that specific ends of education could be defined

prior to instruction, and that the programs designed to meet these ends could be applied broadly across time and place. Unambiguous aims were seen as the key to making this means–ends model work. Thus, an entire generation of preservice teachers was carefully instructed in how to plan curriculum by first writing long lists of behavioral objectives in highly specified formats.

Although the objectives movement was promoted widely in colleges of education, it failed to capture the hearts and minds of classroom teachers. As with the social efficiency movement, the problems with behavioral objectives were largely practical. Objectives may have helped a few teachers think more conscientiously about their aims, but the vast majority of teachers were never unclear about their expectations or what they hoped to achieve. For these teachers, writing objectives seemed like a forced exercise and a waste of time. The challenges of teaching were too often not in knowing one's objectives, but in finding ways to make content relevant and accessible for *particular* students at a *particular* time and place. As interest in objectives waned at the end of the 1970s, proponents predicted their return once technology increased and pre-prepared objectives alleviated the need for teachers to write their own.

Objectives were not destined to return, but standards have taken their place. Therefore, it is relevant to ask two questions. First, what lessons from these past movements might be useful today? Second, how does the contemporary movement differ from its earlier versions?

Lessons for Today

A primary lesson drawn from the social efficiency and objectives movements is to temper any expectations that standards will necessarily or automatically improve educational practice. As with the standards movement of today, its past varieties were touted with great fanfare and optimism. Yet for all their seeming potential, activity analysis and objectives were often resisted, and sometimes flatly rejected, by classroom teachers. Past reformers in this tradition were quick to blame teachers for not finding their approaches useful. Yet the lesson for today is not to blame teachers, but to

reconsider the claims of utility made on behalf of these top-down reforms in the first place. For example, standards are now said to be absolutely essential to maintaining quality schools. A bit of skepticism would be appropriate on this point. As John Dewey observed more than a half century ago, standards do not *necessarily* lead to quality. In Dewey's view, standards tell us about quantities—how much and how many. Quality, however, depends on judgment. Standards may well inform judgment, but they are not a mode of judgment; they are a mode of measurement. Thus, to expect that standards are able to replace or substitute for judgment is a mistake.

This limitation is evident in all three types of standards mentioned early in this entry. Content standards are the most popular of the three types today, and they might also seem the most straightforward. X, Y, and Z are what we expect students to learn. Period. Still, such statements leave many important questions unanswered. Should students, for example, learn everything that is taught? Many good teachers teach more than they expect all of their students to learn. Is providing such a rich curriculum a mistake? Moreover, students may surprise a teacher by learning content or skills that the teacher did not anticipate. Again, should such unplanned learning be discouraged?

In similar ways, performance standards may ask too little of teachers and students. Performance standards are usually formulated in ways that will apply across a relatively large group of students, such as all the fifth graders in a given school or school district. Some enthusiasts want to specify the same level of performance for all students in a given state! Because it seems unfair to create such standards in ways that a significant percentage of students cannot meet, the standards default to *minimal* levels of proficiency. Only for small groups, and perhaps only for individuals, can we set ideal or significantly challenging standards. However, if these standards apply only to a few cases, in what sense are they still “standard”?

Opportunity-to-learn are the least common type of standards, probably because of their cost. Without resources to back up these standards, they constitute little more than an empty gesture. It would be meaningless to say that all students have an opportunity to learn basic health practices, for example, unless appropriate

lessons and skilled health teachers are available to make such an opportunity real. The contemporary standards movement has not increased school resources. On the contrary, because this movement is accompanied by mandated testing and financial sanctions, standards have often diverted significant resources away from opportunities to learn.

The social efficiency and behavioral objectives movements were not complete failures. Nevertheless, their limited successes suggest the conclusions previously stated. First, standards alone are an insufficient basis for school reform. Second, the limitations of standards are most likely to be felt in their practical applications rather than at the level of policy. Finally, although standards may inform teaching in nontrivial ways, they neither provide the necessary resources for education nor ensure its quality.

The Standards Movement Today: Success or Failure?

Today's standards movement is not simply a repetition of its past heritage. Indeed, every reappearance of the efficiency tradition in education is unique to its times. In particular, the contemporary movement differs from the past by closely coupling standards with high-stakes testing, new state accountability schemes, and federal mandates. States that receive federal dollars for education are now required to set standards, test students to determine what percentage of students meet the standards, and then use the results to rank individual schools.

This interlocking of standards and testing has become far more formalized than it was in past accountability systems. Whereas the reforms of the previous century urged efficiency through a variety of means, today's reforms demand it through mandates alone. As a result, the role of assessment has changed. Prior to the standards movement, assessment measures usually followed the aims and content of the curriculum, thereby providing teachers with information about what their students learned. Now that relationship is reversed; instruction follows assessment. With rewards and sanctions tied directly to test results, many teachers believe they have no choice but to teach to the tests.

Moreover, teaching to the test has reached the level of official policy as school districts purchase expensive test-preparation curriculum packages and hire consultants from private companies. These programs focus on intensive drill and practice, eschewing both substance and higher-order thinking skills. Scholars refer to such test-prep programs as a “noncurriculum” because they disconnect skills from other forms of learning. In addition, because these isolated skills require such a great deal of rote memorization, students are quickly deskilled by having their work made a matter of routine.

Although these concerns are important, they beg the question of whether standards have served to raise test scores. On this question, research is not yet entirely conclusive. Nevertheless, early studies of the standards movement have not prompted much optimism. First, these studies suggest that most of the gains associated with standards and accountability are both modest and temporary. Gains found in the elementary grades, for example, typically wash out well before the end of high school. Second, researchers have not been able to link any of these gains with other measures of educational achievement, including student grades, high school graduation rates, or college admissions. They have, however, been linked to stress. In short, research thus far indicates that children are simply learning how to take tests, and that this alone is a poor substitute for education.

This entry has reviewed the origins and recent developments of today’s standards movement, described earlier versions of standards-based school reform, and identified the lessons to be learned from such reform efforts. Finally, the close links between the standards movement, accountability, and high-stakes tests were identified as unique features of today’s policies. Although the social efficiency and behavioral objectives movements were never wholly embraced at the levels of classroom practice, their successes may have been more symbolic. As a branch of progressive education, social efficiency reforms signaled an effort to bring education into the modern age of enlightened industrial and corporate thinking. In contrast, the objectives movement signaled the reawakening of academics as central to the school’s mission. What will the contemporary standards movement come to symbolize? The current path of the

movement seems to signal not so much an affirmation of education as it does a perceived need to control the work of teachers and students.

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See also Accountability; High-Stakes Testing; *Nation at Risk*, A

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STATE ROLE IN EDUCATION

Education is a vital dimension of human existence that manifests throughout history from the prehistoric era, to ancient civilizations, to modern society and the postmodern era. Education serves a multiplicity of functions for humans, from basic survival to cultural transmission. The state, meaning any kingdom or nation at any point in time, relies on education as a critical institution within the society. Education serves many purposes, from the constructor of social norms, to economic engine, to ancillary, to national defense, to preserver of culture. Just as the state is a creation of humans designed with the hope of a better existence, education is a creation of humans designed with the hope of supporting that better way of life. In this entry, the relationship of education and the state is traced from earliest times to contemporary societies. Special emphasis is given to the development and relationship of education in the United States.

Ancient Times

The course of human development is marked by milestones related to the economic and cultural survival of the species, and education plays a role at all stages of this development. For prehistoric humans, basic knowledge of survival skills and the development of crude tools were critical to existence. Education served to pass this knowledge from one generation to the next. Children learn to fend for themselves after their parents educate them about where to find potable water and edible plants, when to harvest nutritious fruits, how to avoid dangerous animals, and how to construct a basic shelter.

Tribes and Clans

Innovation accelerates because accumulated knowledge becomes easier to access. Thus, as humans form into tribal groups and clans, knowledge is held in common as it is spread within the group. In addition, the transmission of valuable information to succeeding generations is also made easier. In this group setting, each individual does not have to have all the knowledge needed for survival as specialization within the group takes place. However, the tribal and clan setting adds to the need for even more education. Group cohesion requires that patterns of behavior and interaction within the group follow group norms. In this circumstance, the individual must be socialized to the group. Parents add socialization to their child's education, and the group also assumes responsibility for the education of its members.

Tribes and clans evolve into more complicated organizational structures, and the state, in the form of an elite ruling class and societal hierarchy, comes into existence. Specialization expands not only into areas of technology and basic survival, but is also seen in the roles needed to protect and maintain order within the society. Here, specialization in the form of the military and priestly classes assumes part of the duties of perpetuating the social order. The oral tradition, passing critical cultural information from one generation to the next, becomes a central feature of the society.

Human existence is routinely subjected to natural disaster, war, famine, and disease. These events tend to disrupt societies in ways that randomly affect the

population. As a result, the specialization of skill and knowledge found throughout the society dies with the specialist who held it, also in random ways. In such instances, written language is a technological advancement that mitigates the potential for complete cultural annihilation when disaster strikes. Written language can help a society devastated by disaster recover, because more individuals within the group have access to important survival and cultural information.

Written Language

The great river civilizations and city-states of the ancient world—Sumer, India, China, Egypt, Olmec—each developed forms of written language. Evidence of written language has been discovered as early as 4000 BCE. This technology, written language, requires even greater and broader levels of education in order for it to be used and preserved. Written language serves no purpose if it cannot be read by those who need the information contained in the writing. Reading and writing must be explicitly taught and take time to learn. The historical record shows that as reading and writing become known in a society, some people are selected to learn and preserve these skills, and are often referred to as scribes.

What would appear to the modern observer as schools are organized within these societies. Schools are the inventions of humans and are used to pass on valued cultural knowledge to succeeding generations. They come into existence when the amount and degree of this knowledge is too extensive or complicated for the family to fulfill. Human development is a spiral of ever more complex survival skills, technologies, and social structures. Schools function to maintain and facilitate the development of the individual and wider society.

Thus, the ancient cultures established scribes, accountants, priests, military leaders, and civil servants of all kinds. Specialists in the areas of technology, agriculture, engineering, astrology, religion, philosophy, medicine, maritime, armed forces, and the arts appear. Large states with rich and complex cultures produce these arrays of human endeavor, but they are created and sustained through informal and formal systems of education. Without education, civilization does not exist.

Role in Society

Overwhelmingly, history shows that the social facet of education and religion, when they emerge within a culture, often become indistinguishable. The purpose is to perpetuate social mores and belief systems deemed essential to the culture. Frequently, when this development happens within a culture, the elite classes assume deified personas, thus attempting to strengthen the bond between religion, social order, and ruling elite within the society. This construct is seen in such examples as Egyptian pharaohs, Mayan caciques, and European kings. Even today, education in the form of religion is seen as a state function among some nations.

The state also has a stake in education as an essential part of the defense and economic viability of the society. A universal means of education in this mode is the parent-to-child instruction. Hence, families specialize in certain technologies. Artifacts of this old social economic order are seen today in Anglo-Saxon surnames such as Smith, Miller, Mason, Weaver, and Cooper. More complex means of economic enterprise and military organization require education beyond what can be accomplished within the nuclear family. Often in larger societies, clans or villages assume an area of specialization such as pottery, basket weaving, metallurgy, or shipbuilding, with the encouragement of the state. From such larger enterprises, education through the apprenticeship evolves.

Apprenticeships in the more lucrative and technologically complex fields can develop into a guild system in which admittance to apprenticeships is tightly controlled and the esoteric knowledge of the field is kept secret. It is common for the state to control these forms of education for economic purposes through a system of prohibitions and sanctions such as licenses, charters, and degrees. These systems often award monopolies for the enterprise to favored groups, and with it a monopoly related to the education and training associated with the economic endeavor.

Western Tradition

Education in the Western world traces many of its traditions to the ancient Greek city-states and their renowned philosophers. A clear record of the state

taking a direct interest in the education of its people is seen in the writings of the great philosophers of that era: Socrates (470–399 BCE), Plato (429–348 BCE), and Aristotle (384–322 BCE). Perhaps Alexandria, the city established on the northern shore of the African continent by the Macedonian king for whom it was named, best exemplifies direct state involvement in the promotion of education in the ancient world. The great library and museum of Alexandria, purported to have 700,000 volumes, served as a place of experimentation and learning for intellectuals of all kinds, of various backgrounds, and from throughout the world.

Ancient Rome would come to benefit greatly from the cultural heritage of the Hellenistic age and apply its own perspective to the educational needs of its inhabitants. The expansion of the Roman Empire throughout the Mediterranean and most of Europe set the stage for the ascendancy of Christianity as the dominant religion within the Western world. Christianity, in cooperation with the state and rooted in the Jewish traditions of the obligatory study of the Law of Moses and the education of youth for economic independence, would play the major role in developing the concept of universal schooling for children and the great universities in the Western world.

The Christian religion and the state merged in the form of the Holy Roman Empire. Monarchs throughout its history sponsored and promoted education as a matter of faith and in the interest of the state. The school at court and the monastic traditions were sustained with the patronage of the monarchy. The roots of this empire and its emphasis on education are traced back to Charlemagne and exemplified in his General Proclamation as to Education in 787 CE. The influence of Muslim civilization emanating from its European stronghold in Spain during this era would advance the study of mathematics and the sciences, provide links to the knowledge of the ancient Greeks, and add impetus to the relationship of education and the state by their example.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformation fractured the Catholic Church's hold on Europe. The denominationalism that followed, which was often grounded in nationalism, spurs even more emphasis on education as each religious group strives to instill its form of religious orthodoxy within its

population. Concurrent with these events, advances in the technology of printing in Europe, started a half century earlier, make the printed word more accessible to the populace. Combined with the Protestant emphasis on salvation through reading the Bible, the need for mass education is accelerated. Martin Luther, John Calvin, and other leaders of the movement exhort the church and the state to offer universal education as a matter of faith. The Counter-Reformation by the Catholic Church also spurs educational advancements through, among other things, the rise of teaching orders like the Jesuits, who open schools and universities around the world with state sanction.

American Experience

As the sixteenth century dawns, the European migration to the Americas commences, and with it, the drive to transplant much of the culture of the mother country. Motivated by the competition for wealth and souls, the Europeans compete for territory to exploit and natives to convert. Columbus addresses this quest directly in the log of his first journey across the Atlantic, as does the First Charter of Virginia, granted by King James I.

The European states often used the mission, an educational institution for religious conversion, for technology transfer and for cultural maintenance. Within the first phases of settlement, universities are established, often by an endowment from the ruling monarch (e.g., University of Santo Domingo, 1538; University of San Marcos in Lima, 1551; Mexico City, 1553; Harvard, 1636; William and Mary, 1699; Yale, 1701).

Early Years

The colonial period in the British colonies that would become the United States of America followed the pattern of church-related education for children, the apprenticeship for young adults, grammar school for some, and the university for the select few. An array of approaches to providing education existed: schools mandated by the colonial governing body in New England; parish schools and missions in the Middle Atlantic colonies; private tutors in the home or study abroad in the South; and charity schools for the

orphaned and indigent. Episodes of schools for the growing African population are found in the historical record, although great variance is seen among the geographic regions and time periods. The native peoples of the area were minimally affected by the educational endeavors of the time, relying instead on their own education traditions for economic survival, cultural preservation, and spiritual needs.

With the movement for independence and the creation of a new nation under a system of self-rule, the impetus for education was strong. The European Enlightenment inspired new thinking about the nature of man and a person's right to liberty, but free people also have duties to the state that required thoughtful reflection and assumed a modest education. The new nation struggled to form its own identity, and ideas abounded among nation builders such as Webster, Jefferson, and Franklin about how education could play a transformative role. However, the concept of the state, in addition to the parent and the church, as the vehicle for directing education does not take flight until well into the nineteenth century in America.

Unlike several European nations of the time that had established state-supported schools in collaboration with the Church, the United States, perhaps because of its multiple religious denominations, made little progress in this regard. The federal system and the division of duties between the states and the national government also added to the slower development. With the westward expansion beyond the original thirteen states, community-based schools promoted by the state became more numerous. The forethought of the national leaders to provide resources for schools in the new Northwest Territories through the land ordinances of 1787 and 1789 underscores the interest of the national government in promoting education.

State Systems

By the early nineteenth century, many states were moving to create public education systems. For example, by 1812, New York put a three-tiered system in place, consisting of state, district, and town, that would look familiar to many today. This approach in New York followed even earlier efforts in 1795, by Governor George Clinton, to provide grants to towns willing to

establish a local tax to support schools. But the growth of state-controlled and -supported education developed slowly, differently, and on different schedules in different regions of the country. Constitutionally, education was assumed to be a state function, and most of the states adopted the model of local control and local funding within an overall state system that set broad parameters for governance and operation. However, the idea that education should be a government function for which taxes are collected was hardly a universally accepted concept in the United States.

Eventually, by the late nineteenth century, a system did develop across the country, impelled by immigration, industrialization, and urbanization, that was controlled by each state and mostly funded and run by local communities. This model endures to the present, although control has shifted to the state and national governments, leaving local school districts with essentially ministerial roles. In recent times, the fifty independent state systems, and territorial systems, of education have come under the control of the federal government through its model of incentive funding and heavy regulation, packaged under the label of education reform.

Historically, government programs for education in America are telling with regard to educational trends and the racial and ethnic groups targeted to benefit. For example, over the course of the nation's development, Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and immigrants have been the focus of state-directed education programs that aimed to bring these groups into the mainstream culture. Over time, various philosophies of education are apparent in the state's goals for students; for example, Social Reconstructionism—school as the place to socialize immigrants, as a vehicle for the social mobility of the disadvantaged, or a means to create a new social order; Perennialism—school as the means of preserving the culture and values of the dominant class; Essentialism—school as the place to prepare citizens for participation in the economy; Postmodernism—school as a mechanism for social justice.

Al Ramirez

See also Education, History of

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STEREOTYPES OF TEACHERS

Everyone has an image of what teachers look and act like, conveyed through books, magazines, the media, and other forms of popular culture. Taken-for-granted assumptions about teachers comprise stereotypes that represent an oversimplified picture of teachers that shape who they are and what they do. Positive stereotypes of teachers have been prominent in popular films, from the 1955 classic *Blackboard Jungle* to the recently released *Half Nelson*, both stories of young, idealistic teachers committed to saving disadvantaged inner-city kids through their personal charisma and commitment to teaching. Negative teacher stereotypes also exist, such as Dickens's portrayal of the cruel and philistine Mr. Gradgrind in *Hard Times* and the authoritarian and mean Mrs. Krabapple, Bart's teacher in the popular TV show *The Simpsons*. This entry briefly examines the key stereotypes and their impact on teachers and on education.

Bad Teacher as Antihero Stereotype

Stereotypes of teachers can be grouped into two very broad categories: the good hero teacher and the bad

antihero teacher. It is obvious from their names that Mr. Gradgrind and Mrs. Krabapple both fall into the latter category. They are no-nonsense figures who are uninterested in making learning enjoyable for their students. The antihero teacher stereotype depicts the teacher as being joyless, unattractive (like the historical spinster teacher), and boring. This teacher is mean and embittered with life and teaching. Often, antihero teachers are cruel and condescending toward students, resorting to corporal punishment to keep their classes in order. They are also lazy, taking little time to prepare their lessons or care about the learning needs of their students. They become objects of ridicule.

The antihero stereotype is used to propagate the notion that teachers are to blame for societal problems. The stereotype contributes to the belief that teachers are responsible for rising rates of illiteracy, dropouts, and subsequent problems with youth crime, as well as the moral decline of society and slowdowns in the economy. The teacher as antihero stereotype provides a convenient scapegoat for a wide range of societal problems.

Good Teacher as Hero Stereotype

The good teacher stereotype advances the notion of the teacher as hero who is completely dedicated to students. In this view, teachers see their work as their life, and they sacrifice themselves for their students. Contemporary notions of the hero teacher mirror the earlier nineteenth-century stereotype of the teacher as savior or saint, a person who has answered a calling from God to save children from the ills of modern society.

There are two types of teacher-as-hero stereotypes. The first, the charismatic teacher, is inspirational and holds the rapt attention of students. Charismatic teachers often achieve success in unconventional ways and are rarely seen engaging in the ordinary tasks associated with teaching, such as lesson planning. Moreover, they are often rather flustered, disorganized, and unprepared for class. They rarely stick to the official curriculum, preferring instead to innovate and make it up on the go. Through their popularity and charming personality, charismatic teachers are able to inspire their students to success.

Another version of the hero stereotype, most commonly associated with female teachers, is the selfless teacher who is completely dedicated to students. These teachers are willing to go the extra mile for their students, both within and outside of the classroom. They are sensitive to the varying needs of students. Above all, love of children and teaching guides them in their work. The selfless teacher stereotype emphasizes the moral role of the teacher to inculcate in students appropriate moral values and habits to survive in a difficult and dangerous world.

Gendered and Racialized Teacher Stereotypes

The selfless teacher stereotype is most often associated with women, building on and enhancing the notion of women being naturally more nurturing, caring, and dedicated than men. This stereotype reinforces the notion that teaching, especially of younger children, is women's work. On the other hand, the charismatic teacher is generally depicted as a man in full control of his classroom through his personal charm and magnetism. A racial dimension is also seen in teacher stereotypes. In the popular media, for example, the charismatic teacher is most often depicted as a White male savior of Black boys.

Effects and Implications

A number of effects and implications are associated with the teacher stereotypes outlined here. The first is that, as with all stereotypes, complex phenomena are reduced to simplified generalizations. In this respect, teaching stereotypes are caricatures of teaching that ignore the complex and contextualized nature of teaching. Teacher stereotypes prevent people from understanding the complex nature of teachers' work. This, some argue, reinforces the idea that teaching is a job that anyone can do and, in effect, degrades the profession.

The second, related implication of teacher stereotypes is that they reinforce the notion of the independent and autonomous individual. The teacher is seen as bringing particular individual skills and traits to the profession that *alone* enable the teacher to either

rescue or ruin students. Teachers internalize the idea that it is their sole responsibility to help children and improve society through a go-it-alone mentality. Teachers, for instance, who see themselves as parents to their students come to believe in their role as moral agents, meeting their students' emotional, physical, and psychological needs and worrying when they are unable to do so. This individual-deficit model contributes to popular thinking that education (and societal) reform is solely dependent on ensuring that schools are staffed by good teachers.

Ironically, teacher stereotypes also serve to focus on the shortcomings of the individual teacher. Like the 1960s educational discourse of cultural disadvantage and deprivation of the problem child, the flipside of the stereotype of the savior teacher is that it deflects attention away from the wider societal social structures. Indeed, when teaching is seen through these stereotypes, the social and political contexts of teaching are overlooked. In turn, this leaves teachers feeling even more the burden of having to deal with societal problems on their own. Therefore, the teacher-as-hero stereotype undermines collective efforts, both within and outside of schools, to improve societal conditions.

Finally, teacher stereotypes further alienate teachers from the rest of society and force them to act in artificial ways. In his classic 1965 book on the sociology of teaching, Waller explains the negative effects of teacher stereotypes. Waller calls the teacher stereotype a "thin but impenetrable veil that comes between the teacher and all other human beings" (p. 49), leaving teachers isolated from the communities within which they work. In attempting to live up to the teacher-as-hero stereotype, teachers are forced to act in contrived and artificial ways, which has significant implications for teachers' work and the development of teacher identity.

Marianne Larsen

See also Images of Teachers in Popular Culture; Teacher Attitudes Toward the Teaching Profession; Teachers, Literary Portrayals of

See Visual History Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced "Snick") was an organization of students and former students active in the civil rights movement during the 1960s. The group conducted voter registration drives and encouraged civil disobedience protests throughout the southeastern United States. The original members of the organization were Black college students, although later, White students from northern and southern states would become members. Many of the students continued their work with the organization after they left school.

SNCC maintained an uneasy relationship with other civil rights organizations, particularly the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, because SNCC members viewed these other organizations as not going far enough in their efforts to eliminate discrimination. This tension is exemplified in other organizations' pressuring SNCC Chair John Lewis to tone down the speech he delivered at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in which Lewis spoke against President Kennedy's civil rights bill. Additionally, when most of these other organizations agreed not to allow communists within their ranks, SNCC stood firm in allowing anyone who supported their goals to participate in their efforts.

The formation of SNCC came following a student conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1960.

There, James Lawson, who had been involved in student sit-ins and other protests in Nashville, Tennessee, argued that the philosophy of nonviolence must be at the forefront of their movement, and this idea remained throughout the existence of the organization; however, later members tended to view nonviolence as more of a tactic than a philosophy. SNCC members participated in the Freedom Rides in 1961 to test how willing the federal government was to enforce a federal ruling that forbade discrimination in interstate bus terminals.

At a 1967 march in Memphis, Tennessee, SNCC Chair Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Ture) advocated the need for Black Power, making SNCC the target of criticism that it supported Black separatism rather than integration and equality. The organization itself was hampered by internal disagreements over where it should focus its efforts: on voter registration, on training local residents to become political activists, or on providing food and other support for Black people in need throughout the southeastern states. Additionally, some members felt that including White staff members hampered the organization's effectiveness and created unnecessary internal strife.

At the end of the 1960s, SNCC was becoming associated by the media and political leaders with violent urban protests, such as those in Atlanta, and with socialist and separatist ideology. Its final staff meeting took place in New York in June 1969, although the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation continued to monitor SNCC activities until 1973.

Wm S Boozer

See also Activism and the Social Foundations of Education; Civil Rights Movement; Students for a Democratic Society

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Defunct since the early 1970s, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was an organization of more than 100,000 members, with chapters on more than 350 college campuses. Founded in 1960 as an offshoot of other organizations, SDS was originally dedicated to the causes of civil rights and social justice.

In 1962, SDS issued its manifesto, the Port Huron Statement. Here, concerns such as racism, poverty, and nuclear proliferation are addressed. Participatory democracy was heralded as a key way to address these problems. Action on the part of college students was advocated, and the role of America's universities in the process of social change was stressed. It was not until the escalation of the Vietnam War by the administration of President Lyndon Johnson that the central focus of the SDS shifted to this cause. The legacy of student strikes, occupation of campus buildings, and other demonstrations stem from this time period. This also marked a period of great growth in membership for SDS.

In April 1965, SDS organized the first national protest against the war, a 20,000-person march on Washington, D.C. SDS never had a particularly strong national organizational structure, so leadership at the individual campus level was important. At many universities, SDS began to protest ROTC involvement on campus and other forms of perceived involvement with the war on the part of universities, such as grant-funded research with potential military applications. SDS protests at Harvard, Columbia, the University of Chicago, and the University of California at Berkeley all garnered national attention for the organization.

"Teach-ins" against the war were another favored strategy. Opposition to the draft was a rallying point across campuses. In 1968, SDS helped organize and participated in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. As a result of violent struggles with police, the facts of which continue to be controversial, the "Chicago Seven" were charged with conspiracy to riot, among them Tom Hayden, then president of SDS.

During the 1968–1969 academic year, membership in the organization continued to grow. The trial of the Chicago Seven and the accompanying protests, by a wide array of organizations and individuals, generated media coverage and more national attention. Although the Chicago Seven were acquitted, internal factions within SDS led to its decline and eventual dissolution in the following years. The radical wing of the organization became known as the Weathermen. This extremely small group of former SDS members sometimes resorted to violent means to achieve their goals. Other divisions continued to concentrate on matters such as civil rights and poverty in the developing world.

John P. Renaud

See also Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC)

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SUMMERHILL

Summerhill is a school in Great Britain that was founded about a century ago by the liberal and progressive educator Alexander Sutherland Neill, one of the pioneers of the rapidly growing New Education movement in England at the turn of the twentieth century. The school was a demonstration of his belief in the goodness of children and in their ability to regulate themselves. At Summerhill, the teacher's job was to evoke love and to allow the freedom of children; they were to be taught without the use of force by appealing to their interests and spontaneous needs. In addition, laws of morality and religion were not part of the curriculum. This entry looks at the founder's life and how its lessons were expressed in the school he founded.

The Founder's Background

Childhood was not an easy experience for Neill. Because he was timid and clumsy, he was often bullied by his peers. Neill attended the school where his father was headmaster. His father was profoundly disappointed in young Neill's academic performance because the Scottish and English school system, at the time, was based on the *payments by results* principle. Children in Scottish schools were also disciplined by means of the *tawse*, a leather strap. Neill recalls that his father was the hardest on him and often strapped him more severely for noise or mischief.

Neill experienced difficulty in finding direction and choosing a profession. In 1908, at the age of 25, he eventually passed the entrance exams and attended Edinburgh University in pursuit of a Master of Arts degree. His one-year appointment as editor of the *Student* magazine confirmed his desire to become a journalist, a career he followed briefly. When war was declared in 1914, Neill was disqualified from joining the army because of a leg injury and consequently returned home to Kingsmuir, where he secured a job as headmaster of Gretna Public School.

It is there that Neill, in an attempt to discover his philosophy of education, recorded his thoughts on education in the official logbook of the school. These recordings led him to abandon the *tawse*, and he began to formulate his radical ideas on freedom for children. Neill believed that the role of the teachers should be restricted to that of enablers, or guides whom pupils would consult when necessary; teachers were expected to learn with their pupils.

At a self-government meeting at Little Common Wealth, a home for delinquent boys and girls, Neill met Homer Lane, the man in charge of the community. Lane's lectures initiated and reaffirmed Neill's notion that a new approach for working with children was required and presented him with a practical model for this new approach. Lane strongly argued for teachers to step down from the positions of authority, for children to be allowed the freedom to resolve their own problems while schools encourage and support them, and for the reawakening of the play instinct in children. Neill regarded Lane as a genius and the one person who profoundly influenced his work.

A New School

In 1921, Neill cofounded and cogoverned The International School in Dresden, an experimental school, under the pedagogical guidance of the German Ministry of Education. In 1924, when he moved to England, his pupils followed him. Neill rented a house on a hill in Lyme Regis, Dorset, and founded the radical progressive coeducational Summerhill School, which had only five students. When the lease expired after three years, he had twenty-seven students and needed a larger place. Neill bought a house in the small town of Leiston, Suffolk, outside of London, but retained the name Summerhill even though the house was situated on a flat strip of land.

At Summerhill, Neill advocated for the freedom of the child, self-government by the pupils, teaching the child without the use of force, voluntary attendance at lessons, appealing to the child's curiosity and spontaneous needs, the abolishment of authority, and the absence of laws of morality or religion. Students were allowed the freedom to be outdoors and to engage in play. Students could also say what they wanted to.

In 1960, Neill published *A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*, which became an international best seller. The success of the book drew many visitors to Summerhill and attracted a significant number of American students, which saved the school from almost certain closure. In his foreword to Neill's book, the psychoanalystt Eric Fromm describes the ten essential characteristics of the Summerhill approach as including:

1. the goodness of the child;
2. the aim of life is to work joyfully and to find happiness;
3. intellectual development is not enough, education must be both intellectual and emotional;
4. education must be geared to the psychic needs and capacities of the child;
5. discipline, dogmatically imposed, and punishment, create fear; and fear creates hostility;
6. freedom does not mean license . . . respect for the individual must be mutual; a teacher does not use force against a child, nor has a child the right to use force against a teacher;

7. honesty and true sincerity are required on the part of the teacher;
8. healthy human development makes it necessary that a child eventually cut the primary ties which connect him with his father and mother, or with later substitutes in society, and that he or she become truly independent;
9. guilt feelings primarily have the function of binding the child to authority; and
10. Summerhill does not offer religious education.

Fromm concludes his summary of the school and its principles by maintaining that Neill's approach at Summerhill, in the end, represents "the *true* principle of education without fear."

A Legacy

Neill later called Summerhill a demonstration school, as opposed to an experimental school. He lived and worked for the rest of his life at Summerhill and remained actively involved in it. During his last months, he was often tired, though mentally alert, and played a less active role in the school. Just after the publication of his autobiography, *Neill! Neill! Orange Peel!* in 1972, Neill's health started to decline, and in September 1973, he died.

His wife, Ena Neill, continued to run Summerhill on the same principles. Ena was later succeeded by her daughter, Zoe. Summerhill still exists today and continues to be a successful school. Although Neill's philosophy of education was regarded by many as radical and controversial, his influence on present-day education is evident in the abolishment of corporal punishment and the absence of religion in education.

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See also Democracy and Education; Holistic Education

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SUPERINTENDENCY

The local school district superintendent is generally known as the chief executive officer of a multischool district. Although the position may seem clearly defined, nothing could be further from the truth. Demographic and social shifts over time have changed public schools in the United States, as well as the superintendent's role. Historically, the superintendent began as an unpaid school inspector who assisted overburdened, local school boards in managing the business affairs of an ever-growing number of schools in larger urban areas. The superintendent's role has evolved in influence and complexity. Consequently, we will describe the current context of the superintendent in a changing society and characterize his or her shifting role(s). Public schools have experienced a significant change in social context and demographics over time, and superintendents have found their greatest success when functioning as political strategists and social scientists.

School district composition, superintendent selection, and their relationship to the school board vary across the country. Specifically, some states designate a school district for each and every community, whereas others designate countywide districts, resulting in districts ranging from fewer than 100 students to more than a million. This, of course, dramatically changes the responsibility and role of the superintendent. Additionally, most superintendents are appointed by either locally elected school boards or mayors, but some are elected. Superintendents answer to elected or appointed school board members ranging from sometimes reluctant, local, nonprofessional volunteers, to

highly educated and politically motivated appointed and/or elected members. Some superintendents serve as the primary leader of the school board, whereas others function in an informational capacity with the mayor and city council members providing the majority authority. This variation in governance structure and function within school districts adds to a general confusion in defining a primary role for the superintendent.

Throughout the American educational system, there are several levels of superintendent, such as those at the state, county, and district levels. This description of the superintendency will focus on the chief executives of the approximately 14,500 local school districts in the United States.

Historical Perspectives

Although many presume that superintendents have always led school districts, the position is relatively new and followed the development of local school boards, teachers, and school principals. In fact, more than 100,000 school boards governed the first school districts, each of which was relatively small in size. Eventually, as larger urban areas began to increase their number of schools, the management of facilities, hiring of personnel, distribution of curriculum, and the inspection of teacher quality became unwieldy for single boards who hired school inspectors, eventually known as "superintendents."

Early Years

These early superintendents assisted the board by performing mostly routine, menial tasks, and they had little authority. As more superintendents were hired in more populated cities, their duties became more focused on communicating the curriculum to teachers, helping them implement the material, and assessing their efforts. This has led some researchers to characterize superintendents in this era as scholarly leaders or teacher-scholars. Despite this mainly nonprofessional role, school superintendents, part of the teachers' organizational society, eventually created a group called the Department of School Superintendence of the National Education Association in 1870.

The Industrial Revolution and the conjoining development and popularization of bureaucracies and scientific management theory in business and industry elevated the level of power and authority of administrative positions in the schools and particularly of superintendents. The focus on the importance of efficiency and the role of managers also provided impetus for a growing number of research studies in the social sciences, an emerging theoretical context, and the development of applied processes such as organizational management, motivational theory, individual and group interaction, resource allocation, and other personnel management.

Advances in social science theory during this era would eventually become the foundation for educational leadership theory and lead to the establishment of formal school management programs, essentially nonexistent at this time. The development of these management theories also contributed to cementing the shift from the religious focus and control of schools to the idea of schools as a secular organization whose main goals were to democratize the American citizenry and develop a stronger, more competitive economy.

To complete this national movement toward a business-based, management approach, a top-down hierarchy was established in schools, placing the superintendent just below the school board and above teachers and building leaders. This shift toward a hierarchical, management model dramatically influenced the role of the superintendent, who would now function as the chief district administrator with increasing power and authority within the school system. In fact, this trend made some business and government leaders uneasy because it allowed an increased capacity for social policy influence by superintendents and departed from a pure grassroots community leadership of schools. Mirroring their newfound authority, school superintendents broke from the National Education Association and created the American Association of School Administrators during this era.

The 20th Century

In the 1930s, following the great stock market crash, there was an increased attack on scientific

management approaches and a call in research literature and from progressive educational leaders to focus more on human relations development. Superintendents were called on to manage more democratically, and the idea of shared authority was introduced. During this time, superintendents were criticized for gaining too much organizational power and relying too heavily on government resources, thus further diminishing the ideals of local control that had been the hallmark of school board-run districts. The subsequent call for superintendents to rely more on their local communities was reinforced by scarce resources. Consequently, superintendent roles became more focused on political activities to garner diminishing resources from state and local leaders and galvanized the superintendent as political strategist.

During the 1950s and 1960s, post-World War II prosperity coupled with the growing dissatisfaction with the concept of democratic leadership promoted a change in the superintendency. During this time, social science theory was rapidly expanding and was now including the studies of school administrators specifically. In fact, educational administrative theory began to replace practical, anecdotal advice in school management textbooks in the 1960s. A growing number of the public were becoming more involved in schools, and there was a resurgence of criticism of the school superintendent's ability to lead schools. Democratic leadership principles were viewed as idealistic and mainly ineffective in the face of an escalating national defense concern with the Soviet Union and emerging global competition in economic and technological arenas.

During this era, school administrative training programs began infusing social science theory into the curriculum, marking a shift in the focus from internal management to the influence of the broader legal, political, social, and economic context. In addition to the societal changes noted above, the 1954 landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education* brought schools and their superintendents squarely into the business of managing and helping resolve national social issues such as discrimination. These trends further expanded the importance and influence of superintendents into national social issues and changed their role into one of an applied social scientist.

Today's Superintendent

During the 1970s and into current times, societal changes continued to influence the role of the superintendent. This era, labeled the Information Age, required skills to acquire and process large amounts of information, and schools were charged with focusing the curriculum more on problem-solving skills, and knowledge acquisition and management. The easy and instant access through the Internet to previously inaccessible information led to an exponential increase in international competition. The 1983 report *A Nation at Risk* criticized schools for not preparing students to meet this challenge and led to a cry for performance-based assessment of schools. This era required superintendents to focus more on collaboration and communication with internal and external stakeholder agencies, and management preparation programs began to focus more on larger issues of social policy and how schools were affected by and could influence that society. This era ushered in the superintendent role of communicator.

Current social conditions have also influenced the role that superintendents play in local school governance. Researchers describe the influence of external forces affecting schools, noting technology advances, changes in family structure, increased pockets of poverty, high minority student populations, diminishment of a common culture or set of values, ideological pluralism, and centrist reform and accountability demands embodied in the No Child Left Behind Act. As a result, superintendents were faced for the first time with the need to successfully educate *all* students while also managing diminished resources and demands for involvement in decision making from a community with often diverse and sometimes contradictory values, cultures, and ideologies.

Required Skills

As a result of this changing social context, educational leadership research has downplayed the need for managerial and technical skills and emphasized skills akin to social engineering, such as the transformation of culture, the development of moral purpose, and equity and social justice. School superintendents are

expected to be experts in consultation and negotiation; consensus building; and reconciliation of diverse culture, values, and ideas both within and outside the school. Superintendents are asked to increase the achievement of all students in their schools, including those with learning disabilities and those who do not speak English as their primary language. All of this is to be accomplished while recognizing and celebrating divergent cultures and ideologies and ensuring social justice and equity.

Superintendents are also called on to be political strategists. Superintendents exist in the center of a maelstrom of centralized federal and state reform directives and local community demands that may or may not be congruent. They are expected to include all stakeholders (school personnel, parents, community members, and students) in a decentralized decision-making process while managing a nonprofessional, elected school board that has statutory power to make the final decision.

Additionally, societal changes seem to demand an increase in the use of collaborative decision making, yet the inclusion of outside community influence is often avoided and resisted by school staff and, sometimes, school boards. Although the educational interests of superintendents seem tantamount, most report that their primary duty is managing their political world, which is contextually unique in each and every school district. Communities differ in their power structures, as do the characteristics of the school board, influencing the superintendent's role.

For example, researchers have found that most communities today are pluralistic, that is, they lack a commonly shared ideology but are willing to negotiate and compromise. Most school boards take on a center ground and remain values static. This combination calls for a superintendent who functions as a diplomat, professional advisor, mediator, and facilitator. Although this represents the majority of communities and boards, a healthy minority are elite dominated, factional, or inert, requiring a superintendent to take on different roles to have success. This process of assessing a community and organizational culture and adapting the appropriate leadership role is known as *organizational socialization*.

Typical Roles

Unfortunately, superintendents tend to fall into one of two categories, that of professional advisor or decision maker, indicating that in more than half of the districts, the leader's role and the community culture is mismatched. Researcher studies have confirmed that superintendents list a strained school board relationship as a primary reason for leaving a district, which they do nationally every six years on average.

In apparent contradiction to the call for leadership over management skills, superintendents report that most of their time on the job is spent on fiscal matters, facilities, and personnel issues. Notwithstanding the call for more focus on student learning, superintendents round out their duties dealing with community and school board matters, writing policy, and dealing with legal issues. Despite the changing demographics in schools and communities, superintendents from 1922 to 2000 have remained mostly White, male, middle-aged, past high school teachers; only their rate of earning doctoral degrees has changed significantly. Even though many individuals hold superintendent licenses, fewer than half seek positions, citing unreasonable job stress and the instability of the position as primary reasons for not doing so.

Although the social context of K–12 schools has changed, as has the theoretical base in superintendent training programs, some believe that the position has remained a mix of scholarly leadership, management, social science application, communication, and political strategy. Generally, superintendents are hired and evaluated by community boards, work on single-year contracts, and do not enjoy tenure protection. Some suggest that these superintendent roles have never been clearly delineated, but rather the focus of each role has ebbed and receded to match shifting external expectations of behavior to please various stakeholders who ultimately determine whether success has been achieved.

Thomas L. Alsbury

See also Cultural Pluralism; Education and Economic Development; School Governance; Vulnerability

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SURVEILLANCE IN SCHOOLS

School surveillance via a variety of search and patrol methods currently serves as the most common approach for dealing with student crime and violence. Headline-making instances of school violence in the 1990s led to a proliferation of surveillance. Whereas some believe it increases the perception of safety and decreases crime, others raise questions about privacy issues and the environment of suspicion that surveillance may create. This entry looks at methods of surveillance, the historical background, and arguments both for and against its use.

Implementing Surveillance

School surveillance methods include locker searches; metal detectors; security cameras; police patrols; and, more recently, biometric scanning and Internet tracking. Locker searches basically involve school officials (principals, teachers, disciplinarians, security personnel), randomly and without student permission, opening a student's locker and investigating its contents. Metal detectors, in the form of handheld wands or walk-thru units, are used to find metal objects carried by students, particularly guns or knives. Security cameras and closed circuit televisions (CCTVs) are used to monitor the activities of school participants in places like hallways, parking lots, and stairwells. Police patrols, performed by security personnel, occur within the school environment, as well as in the surrounding community. Officers may be dressed in either plain clothes or uniform. The fairly new technology of biometrics involves fingerprinting and face recognition, with the former being used more prevalently. Internet tracking has become more common in schools and workplaces. School officials and company employers are using the latest software products (eBlaster and Spector Pro) to assist them in overseeing e-mail usage and Web site searches, as well as

preventing sexual harassment and cyberbullying among students and adults.

School surveillance became a central focus in American society in the 1990s after shocking episodes of school violence were witnessed in places like Jonesboro, Arkansas; Jefferson County, Colorado; Paducah, Kentucky; and Pearl, Mississippi. In the wake of these highly publicized tragedies, the need for safer schools became a concern not only for educators and families, but also for politicians. Federal programs and legislation, such as the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994, geared at minimizing school violence, broadly translated into zero-tolerance policies that found schools across the nation adopting surveillance tactics as the primary means for ensuring school safety. Although surveillance has been criticized as an invasion of privacy and an infringement upon students' Fourth Amendment rights, some regard it as indispensable in maintaining a sense of safety for all school participants.

Roots of institutional surveillance can be traced as far back as the late eighteenth century. Jeremy Bentham, an English philosopher, conceived a model for a type of prison called the Panopticon. The building's tall, circular structure situated prisoners in cells or compartments along its inner circumference, and the building's inspector, or chief guard, was lodged in the center, having a view of all prisoners at all times. As Bentham was faced with numerous political and financial obstacles at the time, the Panopticon essentially remained a blueprint. However, its architectural influence can be seen in the basic organization of today's prisons. The Panopticon's hierarchical design has also served as a metaphor for ideas related to "discipline" and "social structure" within institutions like hospitals, military facilities, and schools. French philosopher Michel Foucault looks at this phenomenon extensively in his 1975 publication *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

Arguments Pro and Con

There is a range of advantages and disadvantages associated with the employment of school surveillance methods. Proponents of these measures include parents, students, school officials, legislators, lawyers, and security systems experts. These groups maintain that the key benefit of such tactics is that they provide

school participants with a feeling of security. It is widely held that when students and educators are worried less about their safety, teaching and learning can proceed more effectively. It is also argued that the use and presence of school surveillance helps in deterring potential acts of crime and violence such as assault; robbery; vandalism; and drug possession, distribution, and use. The idea is that if students realize that they are being videotaped or at any time may be searched, then they will be less prone to commit an offense. Supporters of surveillance also contend that security systems help keep school participants safe from outside forces such as gangs, terrorists, and parental kidnapping.

Opponents of school surveillance are represented by the same groups as those in favor of it. One criticism that is often presented is its high price tag. The cost for testing and installing the technology (e.g., CCTV systems) can run \$50,000 or more, with an added expense for upgrading. It is argued that these expenses would be better used for curriculum resources or school infrastructure.

Surveillance is also criticized as to whether or not it actually works. As students have found ways to bring weapons into schools, avoiding metal detectors and security cameras, the purpose of its use (and even its overuse) is often called into question. Another argument against school surveillance is largely focused on the use of security cameras. This technology has been thought to encourage profiling based on race, gender, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, and so on. Certain students may be tracked by cameras as their appearance fits a particular profile.

Finally, the most noted argument against school surveillance is that it fosters a climate of paranoia and persecution rather than safety and protection. For example, when student lockers are searched, this is viewed not only as an invasion of privacy, but also as a loss of ownership. Many students consider their lockers to be a private place to store personal belongings. When school officials invade that space, a feeling of disconnection, as well as distrust, can arise within students, negatively affecting their morale.

The most controversial aspect of school surveillance, relative to legal and ethical concerns, revolves around the privacy that is compromised by its use. Although the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution forbids unreasonable searches and

seizures, schools, like airports and courthouses, have been recognized as distinctive settings where officials have a wider range of powers in order to ensure a safe and orderly environment. Thus, schools possess the authority to decide how and when to execute a surveillance program. For instance, locker or student searches (via metal detectors) can be scheduled weekly or daily and based upon “reasonable suspicion” or hearsay. Courts have been less inclined to uphold cases of “unreasonable” search and seizure, as schools hold the unique power to define what is reasonable and can warrant a search at any time based upon the threat of violence.

The greatest concern among students, parents, and others is that surveillance tactics may extend so far beyond reasonable suspicion that they become an everyday routine. The imagery of Big Brother invading every facet of citizen life creates a feeling of both fear and dread. Although courts often side with schools, ethics do play a role in helping to balance the scales. Various legislation and civil rights policies mandate that the operation of surveillance measures be as minimally invasive as possible in order to guarantee students’ right to privacy. For example, video surveillance should neither record audio conversation nor be carried out in places where students and adults expect reasonable privacy, such as locker rooms and bathrooms. Likewise, in the

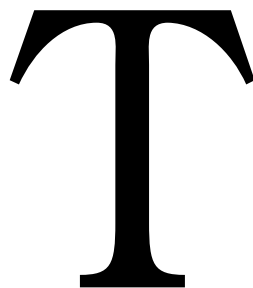
case of Internet monitoring, students and adults must be informed that Web searching and e-mailing will be subject to filtering and supervision.

Horace R. Hall

See also Rights of Students; Violence in Schools

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TEACHER ALIENATION AND BURNOUT

Broadly speaking, alienation is an unhappy, unwelcome, and/or indifferent metaphysical disconnect between a person or group of people and something else. Alienation has been studied in all the social sciences and by philosophers and education scholars for some time. However, for all of the interest in alienation, there is little consensus as to how the phenomenon is properly defined or studied. In most lines of inquiry, the nature of this disconnection is primarily social or psychological, and the person or group may be disconnected from any number of things. For example, research suggests that people and groups have been alienated from the products and processes of their labor; political processes and outcomes; other people and groups; social and cultural institutions, values, mores, and norms; and technology.

Although alienation can be traced through a variety of theoretical traditions and disciplines, this entry emphasizes concepts gleaned from three distinct forms of teacher alienation research: those that consider alienation as a philosophical phenomenon; those that regard alienation as a social phenomenon; and those that treat alienation as a psychological phenomenon. The entry concludes by discussing the relationship between teacher alienation and teacher burnout.

A Philosophical Phenomenon

Some have argued that Western philosophers' interest in alienation can be traced as far back as Heraclitus, Plato, and pre-Socratics such as the Orphics, who noted that humans were always distanced from their ideal states and were destined to fall short of perfection by design. This argument was later explained brilliantly by Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, who argued that because individuals were inferior to the divine by design, they were doomed to a life of despair. To Kierkegaard, the only possible escape from alienation and despair was to fully commit oneself to an authentic spiritual existence.

However, Kierkegaard's contemporaries, such as Friedrich Nietzsche, placed emphasis on other aspects of alienation. To Nietzsche, alienation is a characteristic common to the hopelessly weak "Last Men," people whose lack of intellectual depth and will-to-power float through life, adopting others' values as their own because they are scared, unable, or too indifferent to do otherwise. Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, and the work of others such as Jaspers and Heidegger later inspired a strand of philosophy called existentialism.

Alienation was among the central philosophical issues that captured existentialists' attention. Philosophers such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir wrote compelling treatises on alienation, exploring the phenomenon from various perspectives, all of which generally argued that alienation was an inescapable aspect of modern existence. Among twenty-first-century philosophers, Richard Schmitt

has made a useful contribution by pointing out that alienation is multidimensional and can manifest as a global phenomenon, wherein a person is wholly alienated, or other forms of alienation that are either situational or affect only one aspect of existence.

Alienation is largely ignored among educational philosophers, save for a few such as A. S. Neill, who speak of it implicitly as a condition opposed to freedom. The one notable exception to this is Maxine Greene, who, over the course of her career, has engaged in a “dialectic of freedom” through which she has sought to deal with existential themes; among these is alienation. For Greene, the key to escaping alienation is individual agency and choice. Where some philosophers, such as Sartre, suggest that choice and freedom are twin burdens to be borne alone, Greene instead gives educators a framework through which they can meaningfully connect their individuality to others, thereby forming powerful relationships and communities. These communities can create a social network that can overcome, or at least combat, alienation.

A Social Phenomenon

Although social contract theorists such as Hugo Grotius, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Thomas Hobbes dealt with alienation in major works, discussions of alienation as a social phenomenon usually begin with Karl Marx. In many respects, Marx’s discussion and treatment of alienated labor was sociological and economic. He argued that alienation is the result of a fundamental problem with capitalism. Because workers do not actually own or control the products or processes of their labor, the system inherently induces alienation.

Max Weber extended Marx’s theory beyond alienated labor and instead suggested that Marx’s observation was but one example of a more pervasive phenomenon. Weber hypothesized that society’s alienation was rooted in bureaucracy rather than capitalism. The relationship of the modern working person to both bureaucracies and rational systems were of great interest to Weber. He developed theories to explain tensions in these relationships, which to him were distinctly social (as opposed to, say, a psychological

or philosophic explanation). Weber saw as the critical feature of these relationships the way they affected the individual’s capacity and ability to move toward rationally chosen goals.

Teacher alienation has been studied as a social phenomenon by neo-Marxist, conflict, and critical theorists. Conflict theories derive mainly from Marx’s and Weber’s ideas of alienated labor and work, and they suggest that conflict and a lack of certainty, rather than equilibrium, characterize educational institutions. Among conflict theorists who have studied schools and the systems to which they belong are Henry Giroux, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean-Claude Passeron. Giroux in particular made important contributions by pointing out that cultural and curricular norms extant in modern schools perpetuate a situation of domination in both school and society. Bourdieu and Passeron also helped extend Marx’s theories of alienated labor beyond the workplace by using them to develop concepts such as cultural capital. The implications of cultural capital and reproduction theory for teacher alienation studies lie in their usefulness in explaining interactions particular to the milieu of public schooling.

A Psychological Phenomenon

Erich Fromm’s research reveals sustained and detailed analysis of psychological alienation in many different forms. Indeed, Fromm went so far as to suggest that the study of man was the study of alienation. The immense popularity of his work forever changed popular conceptions of alienation and turned what was largely a scholarly puzzle into a matter for popular debate. However, although his work was engaging and astute, Fromm did no favors to those attempting to form a concise definition of alienation. His ambiguous use of the term renders his work obtuse and a precise meaning is difficult to grasp at times.

Fromm built his analyses on Marx’s (and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s) concepts, applying them to a variety of other milieus. However, Fromm deviated from Marx in one important respect; the essence of Fromm’s alienation was that it was an *internal* phenomenon. He approached the relationship between the psychological individual and society without an

assumption that it could be refashioned into a healthy partnership; there is no wistful sentimentality for a better time lost in the work of Fromm. Fromm sought to understand not only the causes of alienation, but also how people made sense of these issues in their daily lives. He saw alienation as the defining feature of modern society and used it as a framework to explain everything from the rise of Adolph Hitler and the Nazi party to the individual's place in the natural world and his or her inner life.

Karen Horney's application of alienation to psychoanalysis reveals some affinity with Fromm in both emphasis and ambiguity. Her treatment of "alienation from self" is central to her psychoanalytic system, and she developed a crucial and useful method for understanding alienation as an empirical phenomenon. Horney's system focused on "inner conflicts" that result from the distance between two psychological entities: (1) the alienated self, and (2) the "real self."

The study of alienation as a psychological phenomenon took an important turn when Melvin Seeman conceptualized alienation as a multidimensional domain of inquiry. Through an exhaustive and systematic review of both empirical and theoretical studies of alienation, he identified an empirical cluster of five distinct variants of alienation. These five meanings constitute the domain of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and estrangement. Since publication of Seeman's work, educational researchers such as Anthony G. Dworkin and Jeffrey S. Brooks have used these categories to explain and explore teacher alienation.

Teacher Alienation and Burnout

Even though the rich lines of inquiry informing alienation studies suggest that the theory of alienation might be useful in investigating many social, political, economic, psychological, and philosophical teacher-related issues, alienation is often used as a synonym for teacher burnout. Studies of teacher burnout include Margaret LeCompte and Dworkin's important work, in which they connected the construct of alienation to the lives of teachers and students vis-à-vis Seeman's theories (among others). LeCompte and

Dworkin also found that powerlessness and normlessness cause estrangement and lead teachers to experience alienation as dissatisfaction and disaffection, adopt defensive teaching strategies, and ultimately may compel them to leave the profession. LeCompte and Dworkin write of alienation in relation to classroom autonomy and place alienation-related constructs such as de-skilling and locus of control at the center of discussions of teachers' lives.

Jeffrey S. Brooks

See also Cultural Capital; Marxism; Teacher Attitudes Toward the Teaching Profession; Teacher Satisfaction

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TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARD THE TEACHING PROFESSION

In discussing their work, teachers often employ the ideology of professionalism and related concepts: that professionals have an ideal of service, that they have a comparatively higher position in a hierarchy of jobs and remuneration, and that a certain amount of power and authority is attached to their role. This entry explores these commonsense conceptions of professionalism expressed by teachers, teacher educators, and the authors of reform documents and then examines how these conceptions relate to broader ideological and structural dimensions of society.

Data on Attitudes Toward Professionalism

Qualitative studies involving interviews—and sometimes observations—of teachers in Egypt, England, India, and the United States have explored how teachers conceive of professionalism and how they draw on this notion in interpreting and shaping their work and lives in schools and communities. Research has also examined these issues through interviewing teacher educators in England and the United States, as well as through analyzing documents promoting reform in teaching and teacher education in Canada, England, South Korea, and the United States. These investigations make clear that, although there is some variation in conceptions and in evaluations of professionalism in relation to teaching, the idea of professionalism is a salient one within educational discourses, particularly in English-speaking societies.

Teachers, teacher educators, and reform documents articulated conceptions of professionalism related to three major themes: (1) service ideal versus remuneration as a value of professions; (2) professionals' status relative to other worker-citizens; and (3) power/autonomy in relation to clients, administrators, and government officials. These three themes connect to what functionalist theorists identify as traits that objectively distinguish between professions and non-professional occupations. From a conflict theory perspective, however, these traits are viewed as elements of what is considered the *ideology of professionalism*, a portrait that distorts or misrepresents currently existing social structures in ways that mobilize or immobilize individual and collective action.

Service and Remuneration

The linkage between commonsense conceptions about teaching and an ideology of professionalism can be seen by looking at contradictions in the categories that people employ in discussing them. For example, functionalists often include as traits of a profession an ideal of service and an expectation of a high level of remuneration. Some educators and reform documents highlighted an ideal of service in discussing professionalism in relation to teaching, sometimes

applauding and other times criticizing teachers' and teacher educators' degree of commitment to such an ideal.

In contrast, other teachers, teacher educators, and reform documents emphasized a high level of remuneration as a positive attribute of professionalism, usually stressing that teachers are *not* paid well relative to other professionals. The ideological nature of professionalism is further evidenced when some educators and reform documents characterize remuneration as a *negative* element of professionalism, instead promoting an ideal of service, which is argued to be the more fundamental characteristic of professionals.

Hierarchy and Power

The linkage between commonsense conceptions of professionalism and ideology can also be seen in the observed disagreement about whether the occupational stratification associated with notions of professionalism is valid and appropriate. For instance, many educators interviewed and most reform documents treated as unproblematic the idea that professionalism is related to a hierarchical division of labor. Sometimes, this hierarchy was justified explicitly in terms of professionals having higher levels of formal education, knowledge, and skill. Other times, these occupational status differences were just asserted as part of a social class structure, defined in terms of mental versus manual labor or membership versus nonmembership in unions. Nevertheless, other educators—particularly those with leftist political ideologies—rejected the stratification of occupations, whether based on some notion of professionalism or for any other reasons.

Further evidence of the ideological nature of professionalism is evidenced in the contradictory ways in which power relations are discussed by teachers, teacher educators, and reform documents. On one hand, professionalism is sometimes associated with legitimate power being exercised by teachers and other professionals and the notion that the latter should encounter no, or only limited, interference by state authorities or their managerial staff. On the other hand, professionalism can serve as a basis for

delegitimizing the power of professionals; in other words, the idea that professionalism is about following others' directives. This seems to be the case in India, where the British disseminated a particular form of the ideology during the colonial period, but also in the United States, where some school administrators and policy makers appropriate notions of professionalism for that purpose.

Implications

What are the implications of educators drawing on and reproducing the ideology of professionalism in interpreting and developing strategies for their work and lives? First, professionalism is a two-edged sword: It may serve as a resource in teachers' efforts to achieve professionalization or to deflect others' moves to "deprofessionalize" or "proletarianize" the occupation, but it can also be used by administrators, other occupational groups, and state elites to criticize or challenge teachers' claims and aspirations. Second, although the service ideal element of the ideology of professionalism suggests that the interests of professionals and the public are in harmony, the autonomy/power element points to the possibility that adopting professionalism as a model for educators' activity may lead to a distancing, hierarchical relationship between educators and community members. Third, even if teaching is not recognized as a full profession, by drawing on and reproducing the ideology of professionalism in relation to a meritocratic conception of educational attainment, teachers help to legitimate social class and gender inequalities.

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See also Comparative and International Education; Politics of Education; Reproduction, Educational; Teachers, Professional Status of

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TEACHER BELIEFS ABOUT STUDENTS

The process of becoming a teacher is dialogic in that teaching is about negotiating the multiple identities that people possess within the system of schooling. These multiple identities are complex and shape who people are as educators and individuals; they shape beliefs about students and the teaching and learning process. Beliefs are the representations of reality and experience that guide one's thoughts and behaviors; they are the judgments or evaluations people make of their world, others, and themselves. They are also the best indicators of decisions that individuals make throughout their lives.

A considerable body of research demonstrates that teachers' beliefs have a strong impact on the treatment of students and the instructional decisions that teachers make about teaching and learning. In that event, teachers' practice will be improved if they have an opportunity to engage in reflection about their beliefs. In particular, if teacher education programs incorporate reflection as part of their curriculum, prospective

teachers will have practice with reflecting and understanding how beliefs affect student learning. When teachers have opportunities to critically reflect and discuss how their experiences have shaped beliefs that may differ from others, they can better understand and counter practices that reproduce inequity and marginalization. This entry examines how beliefs influence teachers, how this can lead to inequities, and what measures could ameliorate this impact.

How Beliefs Operate

A review of educational research suggests that the individual teacher's beliefs, attitudes, and perspectives about his or her work guide pedagogy, instructional planning, and classroom practice. Moreover, beliefs also play an important role in the decisions that teachers make about students in general because they guide how the learner is perceived. Beliefs become the lens through which teachers interpret behavior. As a result, if a teacher believes that a student cannot achieve, then the behavior of the student will be interpreted or perceived through that lens, even when the student behaves in ways contrary to the belief. Similarly, if a teacher believes that a program works, even when it fails, the teacher will attend to the aspects of the program that preserve the belief in the program.

Teachers' beliefs operate independently from the cognition associated with developing knowledge and skills. Frank Pajares emphasized the importance of understanding the four characteristic features of teachers' beliefs: (1) existential presumptions, (2) affective and evaluative aspects, (3) alternativity, and (4) episodic nature. *Existential presumptions* address the origin of one's beliefs and how these are the reflection of individuals' presumptions about certain truths that they deem applicable to everyone. The *affective and evaluative* aspects of beliefs relate to the experiences that individuals have had and how these have contributed to forming perceptions regarding specific issues. Because they are deeply personal, beliefs can often exist beyond the individual's control or knowledge and become immutable. The *alternativity* characteristic of beliefs provides ways through which individuals can recreate situations that they perceive to be ideal. For example, pre-service teachers

who have a negative schooling experience may describe their beliefs about teaching effectiveness as a reflection of everything contrary to how they experienced learning. Finally, the *episodic* nature of beliefs influences the ways in which teachers apply their knowledge to specific classroom situations. That is, teachers may have guiding images from past events that they apply to dealing with similar situations. With this in mind, it is essential that teacher preparation programs address teachers' beliefs and take measures to dialogue about previous experience that influences what teachers believe.

Teachers may have the necessary knowledge and skills to assist students in achieving academically, but their beliefs determine how to teach in different ways and translate knowledge into practice when working with students. Based on teachers' individual belief systems, learning is accommodated in a way that makes the most sense to them. During the student teaching experience, pre-service teachers experience the realities of teaching and accommodate the knowledge that they have acquired throughout their careers. At this time, dialogue and reflection are required to understand the relationship between teachers' beliefs and the knowledge, skills, and behaviors in the classroom.

Changing Demographics

Students from racially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse backgrounds continue to experience the pervasive problem of academic failure, inappropriate referral, disproportionate representation in special education, and high dropout and retention rates. At the same time, diverse students continue to be taught by mostly White, middle-class, monolingual English-speaking females. The "underachievement" of diverse learners has been attributed in part to the cultural and linguistic discontinuities that result from the demographic differences between students and teachers.

Research points out that most White teachers have not had the opportunity to think about themselves in terms of having a racial identity or a culture. As a result, White educators often have not examined the complex relationship of students' racial and political identities and how this affects student behavior. Thus, the need to self-actualize and understand personal

culture and its influences on the way one behaves and interacts with the world and to validate *others'* experiences can be seen as a necessary component of teacher education.

Having a better understanding of the rationale behind teachers' actions can lead to further examination of the role of teachers as decision makers. Many teacher preparation programs equip prospective teachers with knowledge and skills to work with an increasingly diverse student population but do not examine the complex social context of schooling. As a result, teachers may lack awareness of systemic, societal, and institutional contributions to the perceived academic failure of culturally and linguistically diverse students with and without disabilities. Teaching and learning are situated in contexts that are influenced by social, cultural, cognitive, and emotional factors. Research on the impact of beliefs suggests that teachers who work with diverse students not only must be prepared with knowledge and skills but also must examine their knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions about people who are different from them because these will influence their instructional practices.

Teacher Preparation

In addition to its influence on individual experiences, professional preparation in teacher education programs also influences the views that teachers hold about teaching certain academic content. When the many factors that can affect students' learning are not fully understood, cultural, socioeconomic, and linguistic differences may be viewed as student deficits in need of remediation.

The literature suggests that reflective journaling is one way for teachers to become more culturally sensitive and aware through critically examining their classroom practice and identifying alternative ways of responding to diversity in schools. It is important for educators to recognize and understand the socio-cultural context within which they work. To understand teachers' beliefs, one must examine the sociocultural contexts that they experience in the past, present, and future.

Teacher education programs preparing teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students

must provide opportunities for pre-service teachers' reflection and dialogue about their beliefs about students who come from backgrounds and have experiences different from their own. As the student population continues to become increasingly diverse and the teaching force continues to be largely monocultural, it is also critical for teachers to understand the influence of culture and language on academic performance. Teacher preparation programs must encourage prospective teachers to question and discuss how their own cultural backgrounds, values, and beliefs can influence their view of students from diverse backgrounds, expectations for these students, and instructional strategies used in working with them.

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See also Teacher Preparation; Teacher Satisfaction

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TEACHER CERTIFICATION

Teacher certification is a regulatory measure to ensure a minimal skill level for teachers. Implicit in the definition is the nuance that the certifying agency warrants that the teacher is qualified. Current certification practices focus on ensuring competence in subject matter and pedagogy, often by means of testing. In addition, the certification process allows the certifying agencies to examine certification applications

for individuals with prior criminal records. The certifying agency may require periodic reapplication, continued professional development, and an established level of acceptable behavior for the teacher to maintain certification. This entry looks at the development of traditional teacher certification programs and briefly describes recent alternative strategies.

Traditional Certification

The first school designed for the training of teachers, the normal school, began operation in Massachusetts in 1839. The practice of teacher preparation was slow to spread, and the system did not become commonplace until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lacking a national teacher certification requirement, the responsibility for teacher certification was left to each state.

There is substantial variation in the specific rules and procedures among the states, but traditional state certification schemes are similar. First, state certification agencies establish certification standards, or minimum guidelines, for teacher education colleges within the states. In most instances, the certifying agency is the state's board of education or a professional practices board comprised of elected or appointed certified teachers and administrators. Second, the teacher education colleges establish programs to meet the minimum criteria established by the state. Finally, when the prospective teachers complete the college program, the college recommends the students to the state certification agency, who then "licenses" or certifies the teachers. Prior to obtaining the certificate, states generally require that the prospective teacher be a resident of the United States and of good moral character. Additionally, states usually require that the applicant have at least a bachelor's degree and a minimum number of hours in pedagogy and the subject to be taught.

The awarding of a teacher certificate based upon the completion of a state-approved program was the predominant means of certification during the early twentieth century, and by the early 1950s, most states issued certificates on this model. Citing studies showing the importance of the teacher in student learning outcomes, policy makers in the 1980s began to focus on teacher quality. Shifting from the process-oriented

emphasis of teacher preparation, states moved to a standards-based emphasis. Influenced greatly by standards developed by the National State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, most state standards are similar in nature. Because of the similarity of standards, mobility of teacher certification across state lines is facilitated.

Concomitant with the standards-based movement, certification testing was implemented to make certain that the certified teachers had met the minimum standards. Teacher testing serves two primary purposes. First, testing provides for a systematic method of determining teacher competence. Second, testing enables the certifying agency to focus on standards-related performance as opposed to process-oriented regulations. But because of the pressure to help prospective teachers excel on the state-administered tests, teacher testing also had the effect of altering the teacher preparation curriculum. Many programs adjusted the curriculum to (a) align the content of the course work with the standards, and (b) adjust course assessment to mimic the state assessment. There have been legal challenges to the system of certification tied to testing. But as long as the test maintains content validity (tests what is taught), the courts have upheld the use of testing as a prerequisite to certification.

Empirical studies supporting the effectiveness of teacher certification are scant, at best. There is some evidence that student performance in mathematics is positively associated with teacher certification. However, studies that explore relationships between teacher certification and student success in other subject areas are inconclusive.

National Board Certification. Based upon a recommendation from a Carnegie Foundation task force, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) was established by the foundation in 1987. The NBPTS is a nonregulatory, nongovernmental organization designed to provide a voluntary system of national teacher certification. The NBPTS allows for certification in fourteen additional areas, including a generalist certificate. Although each certification is based upon a unique set of standards, national board certification is predicated upon five core propositions: (1) Teachers are committed to students and learning,

(2) teachers know the subjects they teach and know how to teach those subjects to students, (3) teachers are responsible for managing and monitoring student learning, (4) teachers think systematically about their practice and learn from experience, and (5) teachers are members of learning communities. In 2006, about 50,000 teachers had obtained national board certification. A few studies have examined the relationship between nationally board certified teachers and student achievement, and the results have been mixed.

Adverse Certification Actions. Each state has a mechanism for taking adverse actions against teachers holding teacher certificates. These adverse actions include noninscribed (private) reprimands, inscribed (public) reprimands, suspension of certificates for specified periods of time, and certificate revocation. Using an administrative hearing process, the certificate granting agency takes the adverse certification actions because of a wide range of improper actions on the part of the certified teacher. The improper actions include the violation of the code of ethics, contract abandonment, and the violation of state or federal laws.

Alternative Strategies

Traditional teacher certification programs are often criticized as operating under a set of cumbersome, highly structured rules that serve as roadblocks to innovation and creativity. Therefore, during the teacher certification reform of the 1980s and due, in part, to a shortage of certified teachers willing to teach in the public schools, some states began to allow for alternative means of certifying teachers. Many saw the new strategies as an attack on the traditional, university-based system of preparing teachers, and many prominent teacher educators viewed alternative certification as professionally irresponsible.

Alternative certification rules provide for a different system of teacher preparation, often allowing for teacher preparation to occur in locations other than a university setting. Alternative certification programs are based either in a specific school district, in a governmental institution, or as an entrepreneurial venture. School district-based programs are typically housed in large school districts that have the resources available to deliver the training in pedagogy and classroom

management. Generally, it is these same districts that have the greatest shortages of qualified teachers.

Using the flexibility allowed by alternative teacher certification statutes, states have seen the growth of nontraditional programs in universities and intermediate education agencies (i.e., regionally located education service organizations). In states where there are two sets of program regulations, one for traditional university-based programs and one for alternative certification programs, some universities have opted to develop teacher certification programs under alternative rules. Others have chosen to develop two distinct programs, traditional programs for the traditional university students and alternative programs for mid-career-changing individuals or nontraditional students.

Intermediate education agencies use the flexible alternative certification rules to design programs that enable individuals who hold bachelor's degrees to bypass the structured university environment. They begin teaching after completing various program modules. Consequently, unless an arrangement has been made with a university, the content of the modules does not result in university credit.

A few states have opened teacher certification programs to entrepreneurial groups. Prominent among these are national programs such as Troops to Teachers and Teach for America that are touted as viable alternatives to traditional, university-based programs.

Mark Littleton

See also Alternative Accreditation for Teachers; Educational Reform; Standards; Teacher Preparation; Teachers, Professional Status of

See Visual History Chapter 20, Printed Records and Photographs of School Activities and Personnel

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TEACHER EDUCATION IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

In the twenty-first century, educators are experiencing the challenge of working with learners and families who represent a diverse range of experiences, practices, and beliefs. The changing demographics regarding the languages spoken, communication patterns, family configurations and functions, expectations of education, child rearing, problem solving, and access to resources ensure that educators will be working with persons whose culture and experiences are different from their own. Educators will be working with native learners and families who have very different experiences and expectations, as well as children and families who are immigrants from Western and non-Western cultures. As a result, teachers must increasingly be taught to do their work in a global context. This entry looks at what is required and how teacher education can meet these needs.

Demands of the Global Context

As nations are developing their education systems and opening educational opportunities to a broader population of learners, they are confronting the issues of ensuring the quality of teacher education, dealing with the shortage of qualified teachers, and meeting the needs of more diverse students. In their attempts to meet those needs, nations are recruiting educators from more diverse populations and from abroad. These educators are exiting their own cultural niche to enter the cultures and work with diversities that may be very different from their own.

Educators of the twenty-first century are working in a global society and preparing students to be citizens of that society. National as well as state and local economies are competing for the world's resources, among them jobs, education, services, minerals, water,

fossil fuels, and intellectual property. This competition tends to increase friction between the "haves" and "have nots," both globally and locally. Immigration and outsourcing of jobs are key issues.

Educators must prepare young people to create policy and practice that address quality-of-life issues and determine who will have access to basic needs/resources. An unequal distribution of resources and opportunities by ethnic/racial groups will create factors that place children at risk (poor health, poverty, violence, homelessness, migration, education, etc.) and affect local, national, and international societies. Educators will have the responsibility of educating these at-risk learners.

Within this global context, teacher preparation is aimed toward preparing globally competent teachers and, as a result, globally competent students and citizens. Within a global context, teacher education prepares teachers who demonstrate the ability to listen, observe, evaluate, analyze, interpret, and relate political and cultural histories, global systems, and global issues. Teachers are also prepared to understand the interconnectedness and implications of local and national decisions on global issues (nation-states, regions, ethnic groups, European and non-European origins, languages, history, traditions), and vice versa. Teachers prepared within a global context can prepare students to be successful citizens in a global society, who themselves exhibit these same characteristics.

Required Characteristics

Teacher preparation programs that incorporate a global context focus on personal experiences, intercultural communication, problem solving, and collaboration in the context of global cultures and issues as well as local, state, and national cultures and issues. Personal experiences might include faculty providing their teacher candidates with personal acquaintance and experience with a culture different from their own through field experiences in situations that are new and uncomfortable and bringing the world to their teacher candidates in a way that can be heard and understood. The focus of these experiences should be development of self-knowledge, or awareness and understanding by teacher candidates of their own

filters, beliefs, practices, and norms. Providing teacher candidates with opportunities to experience, interpret, reflect on, and share out-of-comfort-zone experiences with the guidance of faculty and trusted others encourages them to listen to people who others may think have nothing to say, see what the larger society often overlooks, and understand the implications for their own professional practice.

A focus on intercultural communication would include modeling new or alternative ways of seeing and knowing and discovering patterns of connection between communities of professional and social communities. This focus involves exploration of communication as more than language differences, analyzing factors such as gestures, paralanguage, context, and so on. Faculty must model listening, observing, and establishing rapport quickly, and they should provide teacher candidates with multiple opportunities and contexts to practice these skills themselves.

Developing globally competent problem solvers involves providing teacher candidates with opportunities of direct observation, investigation, experimentation, and skill in the application of their knowledge and skills, modeling a collaborative mindset in problem solving and taking advantage of the diversity of ideas, practices, and beliefs represented rather than fearing them. Faculty must encourage their teacher candidates to take the initiative and risks of using old knowledge and skills in unique ways or circumstances.

By modeling and providing opportunities to develop resourcefulness and adaptability in using information in new and changing situations and environments, faculty will help their teacher candidates build perseverance so that they can overcome barriers and/or continue despite barriers. Such experiences challenge faculty and teacher candidates to explore their own beliefs and those of others, and to develop self-reliance and self-confidence to function in multiple, dissonant environments and work in difficult and ambiguous settings.

Faculty developing globally competent collaborators use enthusiasm and humor in their interactions with others, and they enlist allies to model being an effective and cooperative team player and motivating others to excel. Faculty model and provide opportunities for teacher candidates to collaborate effectively

and knowledgeably on teams consisting of individuals representing multiple discipline perspectives as well as cultural perspectives, in diverse settings and contexts. Teacher candidates are encouraged to engage in personal and professional inquisitiveness and enlist allies to support their explorations and practice.

In conclusion, teachers of the twenty-first century can expect to plan and implement curriculum and instruction and to monitor learning outcomes for international learners. Whether the venue is a classroom in their native country or in a foreign country, whether the audience be PreK–12 students, higher education students, or in-service teachers, educators must be prepared to address their own and their learners' culture at each stage of the education process—planning, implementation, and follow-up.

Knowing the contexts of the learning and teaching of teachers is important in planning teacher preparation content, processes, and experiences. Understanding the communication and language similarities and differences among agencies, disciplines, and locales is another key to success. Teacher preparation for decision making and practice is facilitated by familiarity with the legal and social policies governing delivery of services to learners with diverse abilities, as well as the involvement of their families and communities. Finally, the need to build easily accessible shared knowledge regarding attitudes, policies, and practices in teacher preparation, teaching, and special needs learners across cultures and globally, as well as knowledge and use of materials normed and appropriate for different cultures' learners, is ongoing and should be addressed.

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See also Comparative and International Education;
Teacher Preparation

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TEACHER PREPARATION

The social and cultural foundations of education infuse the field of teacher preparation throughout all levels within the United States, providing a context for the study of education. Future teachers learn why schools are the way they are and how they are based within social, cultural, political, economic, community, and historical contexts. Educational foundations is a course taught in many teacher preparation programs. The topics addressed are also frequently found within state standards for what candidates for teaching credentials must demonstrate. The foundations of education also have a presence in national accreditation organizations; contribute to national debates on education; and influence educational policy at the local, state, and national levels. At the same time, however, there is a consistent concern about the dwindling importance of foundations within schools of education because of increased standardization. This entry will describe the basics of teacher preparation: when it occurs, where it occurs, and what is taught in the programs. It will also describe the issues of key concern for the social and cultural foundations of education related to teacher preparation.

When and Where

In order to earn a teaching credential, a candidate is usually expected to hold a bachelor's degree, often along with additional education. Some states allow candidates to receive their teaching credential while earning their bachelor's degrees in education. Other states have a postbaccalaureate program that follows a bachelor's degree. And yet other states have programs that offer the teaching credential in conjunction with a

master's degree. Newer teacher preparation designs involve direct paths to teaching through internship programs that offer full-time teacher status with university courses taken at the same time.

Traditional teacher preparation programs offer university courses at the college or university campus, followed by multiple weeks or multiple semesters of practicum, called "student teaching," in K–12 classrooms. However, there is also a movement toward shifting part of teacher preparation programs into the schools and communities. In what is called the Professional Development School model, teacher preparation programs are expanding to meet not only the credentialing needs of university students who desire to be teachers, but also the professional development needs of current teachers who serve as mentors for the university students. These new structures of teacher preparation have resulted in an increased connection between university colleges of education and public schools and districts. In these structures, teacher preparation is more field-based, and teachers in schools have the opportunity to be more research- and theory-based.

Curriculum Issues

Programs commonly combine university coursework with field-based experiences to gain practice in classrooms. When these two components of a teacher preparation program are separated by time or location, the result is a tension between educational theory and educational practice, often termed the "theory/practice split." To draw theory and practice together, courses in educational foundations draw on philosophy, history, sociology, and anthropology of education to provide the theory on which to base practice.

An additional tension within teacher education is found between pedagogy and content, between "how to teach" and "what teachers should know." Lee Shulman, among other educators, has helped to clarify the connections between pedagogy and content with his concept of "pedagogical content knowledge," which states that a teacher must have in-depth knowledge of a subject matter, as well as knowledge of how to teach that content to students.

Shift Toward Critical Pedagogy

A key role for the social and cultural foundations of education has been to help shift traditional forms of thinking in teacher preparation programs to take a more critical stance on the education system. In what is called critical pedagogy, educators critically challenge accepted norms and power structures within society and the educational system. Teacher preparation candidates are challenged to examine issues of power and racism in order to help create a more participatory democracy within their classrooms and society.

An additional approach encouraged through foundations of education is called “culturally responsive teaching.” Through this approach, teacher preparation candidates are now asked to consider how learning and curriculum relate to race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. Candidates are asked to address how privilege is expressed in education and how to help put an end to inequalities.

National Standards

Several national organizations exist that help forward the agenda of reflective teaching, improved teacher education, and the examination of context within teacher education. Two examples, among many, include the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, under the guidance of current president Lee Shulman, and the National Commission for Teaching and America’s Future, with founding Executive Director Linda Darling-Hammond. Through these and many other organizations and individuals, the social and cultural foundations of education have found a place in state and national standards for teacher preparation, promoting active participation in debate.

The Council for Social Foundations of Education has created its own standards of preparation and certification, titled “Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education, Educational Studies, and Educational Policy Studies,” which clearly define what the foundations of education are and how teacher preparation programs can prepare teachers better if these standards are addressed. Organizations such as these engage in

active examination of how to improve teacher education, as well engaging policymakers to make change.

Jana Noel

See also Alternative Accreditation for Teachers; Culturally Responsive Teaching; Holmes Group; Teacher Certification

See Visual History Chapter 3, The Common School Movement

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TEACHER RECRUITMENT

Teacher recruitment includes varied efforts to attract potential candidates to the profession and/or to vacant teaching positions. Although the United States prepares sufficient teachers to staff available openings,

teacher recruitment serves two broad purposes: diversifying the teacher workforce and staffing key shortage areas. Recruitment policies and programs, leveraged by states or local districts, generally address teacher preparation, entry requirements, and hiring incentives. Some of these initiatives appear promising. However, teacher turnover threatens the success of recruitment efforts. Nevertheless, teacher recruitment plays an important role in shaping the teaching profession, especially teacher characteristics and pathways into teaching. This entry looks at goals of teacher recruitment, strategies for accomplishing it, and teacher shortages.

Purposes of Teacher Recruitment

The urgency for teacher recruitment depends on supply and demand. Some studies predict nationwide teacher shortages in coming years. Other speculations are more moderate; arguing regional shortages—inequities in teacher *distribution* (rather than insufficient supply of teachers)—will continue to be the norm. Regardless, two conditions drive contemporary efforts to expand the pool of teacher candidates: teacher demographics and specific shortage areas. The former has national scope, whereas the latter is somewhat more localized. Each presents its own unique set of challenges, but the concern that cuts across both is teacher quality.

Forcing a Shift in Teacher Demographics

There are two demographic issues pushing teacher recruitment: diversity and academic ability. The first tackles long-standing patterns of who becomes a teacher. The teaching population continues to be dominated heavily by White females. Yet student populations are increasingly more diverse, especially in areas of the country like California and Texas. The disparity between student and teacher demographics underlies efforts to diversify the teaching force—recruiting minorities and males so that the race/ethnicity/gender of the teaching population more closely matches the student population.

A second issue concerns teacher candidates' general academic ability. Statistical studies show that students with lower college entrance exam scores are

more likely to become teacher candidates than those with higher scores. These figures cause alarm about teacher quality. If education is the next generation's hope for the future, students deserve the “best and the brightest” as teachers.

Attracting Teachers to Key Shortage Areas

The No Child Left Behind Act, enacted in 2002, requires all teachers to hold credentials appropriate for their teaching position. The mandate prevents districts from hiring teachers who are “out of field,” a practice used to fill vacancies in the past. Consequently, there is a push to attract candidates for national shortage areas in mathematics, science, bilingual, and special education—there are simply not enough teachers preparing for these areas. Labor market specialists point out that potential mathematics and science specialists often have a wide array of career options in industry and government, with better salary and benefits than teaching typically offers.

Certain geographic areas and types of school districts are especially prone to teacher shortages. States with large student populations (e.g., California), high-poverty urban centers, and isolated rural districts often struggle to fill vacancies with qualified teachers. Wealthier districts are more likely to have resources that attract qualified teachers—salaries, working conditions, and other incentives. Consequently, high-poverty schools are less competitive in the teacher market—a situation that leaves the neediest students at risk for substandard education. The recruitment challenge is twofold: increase the number of applicants without sacrificing quality.

Teacher Recruitment Strategies

Whereas local districts typically operate their own recruitment programs, many states sponsor statewide or district teacher recruitment efforts. At the federal level, Title II Teacher Quality Enhancement Recruitment Grants support state and local efforts to recruit highly qualified teachers for acute shortage areas. States/districts strapped for teachers are the most aggressive, employing multiple strategies to attract qualified teachers. Some districts, for instance, hire marketing specialists to put together recruitment

campaigns that include job fairs, slick Web sites, and media coverage. Other types of strategies include specialized teacher preparation programs, streamlined licensure policies, and incentives. As might be expected from locally controlled recruitment, there are many versions, reflecting local variation and staffing needs.

Specialized Teacher Education Programs

Because teacher education programs are dependent on students for their livelihood, recruiting teacher candidates goes hand in hand with teacher preparation. Although teachers tend to cite intrinsic (e.g., helping children, contributing to society) rather than extrinsic (e.g., salary) rewards as reasons for becoming teachers, job security attracts them as well. Programs targeting shortage areas can promise (and sometimes even guarantee) participants teaching positions upon completing their degrees.

Teacher education programs recruit teachers into key shortage areas in several ways—early outreach, “grow your own,” and shortage-specific preparation programs. Early outreach acquaints elementary and secondary students with teaching as a career through job fairs, clubs, coursework, and tutoring/teaching experiences (e.g., the Teacher Cadet program). State and district “grow your own” or “pipeline” programs produce the teachers they need themselves, often in partnership with teacher education institutions. These programs provide financial assistance for undergraduates, paraprofessionals, or teacher aides to obtain their teaching license in shortage areas, often in exchange for a multiyear teaching commitment. Teacher education institutions increasingly offer an additional approach, tailoring undergraduate and postbachelor’s programs for urban districts or other shortage areas—mathematics, science, bilingual, and special education. Many early outreach, grow your own, and shortage-specific programs are designed to attract men and minorities to the profession as well.

Alternative Certification Programs

Alternative certification programs are another method for drawing nontraditional populations, including minorities, mid-career changers, and retired

professionals. Labor market specialists suggest that teacher certification requirements may keep talented individuals from pursuing teaching as a first or second career. Alternative routes, as they are sometimes called, recruit individuals with subject expertise to high-need teaching areas. These programs streamline the path into teaching, allowing college graduates to become full-time teachers sooner than state certification would normally permit.

Alternative certification programs have mushroomed during the past decade. However, programs vary widely, from entry requirements to educational components to on-the-job support. Teach for America and Troops to Teachers are examples of national programs that recruit teachers through alternative certification pathways. At the state level, in 2006, nearly all states reported offering alternative routes to teacher certification. Moreover, districts increasingly design their own alternative route programs for shortage areas. For instance, Chicago and New York both have “Teaching Fellows” programs, recruiting academically and professionally successful individuals to teach full-time in shortage areas while completing teacher certification requirements.

Incentives

Specialized teacher education programs and alternative routes offer ready-made teaching positions as their plum. A parallel recruitment line targets the financial rewards of teaching. Monetary enticements run the gamut—increased salaries and benefits, housing assistance, loan forgiveness, scholarships, and signing bonuses. Most states use at least one of these incentives to recruit teachers. A few states, desperate for qualified teachers (e.g., California and North Carolina), use them all.

Impact on Teacher Shortages

It is difficult to evaluate the impact that innovative recruitment strategies have on teacher demographics and shortages. Although states and districts design recruitment with such purposes in mind, few studies rigorously examine their effects. There is still much to be learned, and results are mixed. At present, it appears that some alternative certification programs

attract a population that is more diverse by ethnicity, gender, and age. Few conclusions can be drawn about teacher education or grow-your-own programs; the research is insufficient. Moreover, there are no conclusive results about the influence of these programs on teacher quality. The same holds true for incentives. Although financial rewards, to some extent, may attract more teachers, there is limited evidence about how these incentives influence the demographics or quality of the teacher workforce.

Shaping the Workforce

The composition of the teacher workforce has been relatively consistent. A more open labor market heightens competition for teachers. Recruitment strategies have the potential to bring more, and demographically diverse, individuals to teaching. It appears unlikely that shortage areas can attract qualified teachers without re-imagining how teachers are educated, certified, and compensated. Much more research is needed, however, on the implications of recruitment innovations on teacher quality.

Furthermore, the extent to which recruitment practices shape the teacher workforce and affect key shortage areas is moderated by teacher attrition. The teacher labor market has been described as a revolving door or a leaking bucket because of teacher turnover. Recruitment efforts can open the door or fill the bucket. However, the hiring practices and working conditions that teachers encounter can just as quickly drive them away. Recruitment, then, is not an isolated activity—its impact is tightly tied to teacher retention.

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See also Teacher Alienation and Burnout; Teacher Preparation

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TEACHERS, LITERARY PORTRAYALS OF

Teachers appear as characters in a wide range of literary writing—including novels such as *Jane Eyre* (1847), *Good-Bye Mr. Chips* (1934), and *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1962); short stories such as “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” (1820), “Wings” (1919), and “The Children’s Story” (1963); plays such as *Love’s Labours Lost* (1595), *Three Sisters* (1901), and *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947); memoirs such as *The Thread That Runs So True* (1949), *To Sir, With Love* (1962), and *The Water Is Wide* (1972); and children’s books such as the *Magic School Bus* series (1986–2001), the *Miss Malarkey* series (1995–present), and the *My Weird School* series (2004–present). These literary depictions of teachers—whether real or fictional—can provide valuable insights into the ways in which the teacher identity is constructed within our society. Furthermore, because such literary works are widely disseminated throughout society, they not only reflect what people think about teachers, but they can also actually help to shape these perceptions.

Some of the more common themes that emerge from literary depictions of teachers include the following: teacher as nurturer, teacher as subversive, teacher as conformist, teacher as hero, teacher as villain, teacher as victim, and teacher as outsider. In some instances, a single teacher may simultaneously possess multiple identities, whereas in other instances, he or she may be transformed from one identity to another as the story progresses.

Teacher as Nurturer

Many teachers are depicted as caring, understanding, compassionate, and benevolent leaders in their classrooms—including Anne Shirley in *Anne of Avonlea* (1909), Ella Bishop in *Miss Bishop* (1933),

Miss Temple in *Jane Eyre* (1847), Rick Braithwaite in *To Sir, With Love* (1962), Laura Ingalls in *These Happy Golden Years* (1943), Mr. Chips in *Good-Bye Mr. Chips* (1934), and Pat Conroy in *The Water Is Wide* (1972). These teachers tend to be respectful toward their students and work hard to provide them with sustenance for their intellectual growth. They also value the formation of relationships with students and the importance of building a sense of community within their classrooms.

Perhaps this kind of teacher is best exemplified by Ella in *Miss Bishop* (1933), a novel about the life and career of a college English teacher. Ella quickly establishes a reputation for being a friendly, hard-working, and gifted teacher who steers her students toward their passions. Her nurturing also extends to her personal life, as she cares for her sick mother for nine years, and also selflessly rears her cousin's newborn orphaned daughter whose father had actually been Ella's fiancé before the cousin had seduced him away from her. Illustrating her eternally optimistic nature, Ella names the little girl Hope.

Teacher as Subversive

Subversive teachers resist "the system" or the status quo of teaching in some way, sometimes openly rebelling and other times quietly proceeding with unsanctioned activities outside public view—often at the risk of being fired. For instance, the teacher might deviate from the approved curriculum, or teach the students to be critically aware of their taken-for-granted assumptions about the world in a way that challenges strongly held belief systems or existing structures of power.

Examples include Mary Logan in *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976), who is fired from her job as a seventh-grade teacher in rural Mississippi during the 1930s for teaching her students about the systemic structures that undergird racism; Joe Robert Kirkman in *Brighten the Corner Where You Are* (1990), who is called before the school board for disciplinary action after teaching evolution in his high school science class; Anna Vorontsov in *Spinster* (1958), who literally burns her workbook in order to free herself from

its control; and Mr. Anderson, the art teacher in *Speak* (1999), who is reprimanded for not grading his students' work.

Undoubtedly, however, the most well-known example of a subversive teacher is Jean Brodie, a progressive educator in a conservative school in 1930s Scotland, who systematically molds her students after her own interests and desires to create an identifiable clique of girls within the school known as "Brodie Girls."

Teacher as Conformist

In contrast to the subversives, conformist teachers unthinkingly conform to the system, fully accepting the conditions of their work and of society at large without critical examination. They serve as agents of hegemony within their communities, continually and unknowingly reinforcing the status quo.

One teacher who fits into this category is Miss Crocker in *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976), who whips Little Man and Cassie because they refuse to accept tattered old textbooks that were previously owned by White students. Miss Crocker cannot comprehend the reason for their behavior and instead views it as a simple act of defiance that must be punished.

Another teacher is Miss Dove in *Good Morning Miss Dove* (1947), who is so formal, so routinized, and so unchanging that she personifies the system itself. Laura Ingalls in *These Happy Golden Years* (1946) is also a conformist. Although sympathetic as a character and well-liked by her students, she nonetheless dutifully accepts the system without question, remaining naively unaware of the moral, social, and political implications of her work.

Teacher as Hero

Some teachers are cast as heroes. They may heroically respond to a crisis in a way that protects or saves others, or they may become heroes by taking a strong moral stand in the face of adversity. In *My Face to the Wind* (2001), Sarah Jane Price is a young teacher who reacts courageously to save the lives of her students when their poorly constructed schoolhouse collapses

during a blizzard. Similarly, in *Blackboard Jungle* (1954), Rick Dadier bravely stops a student from raping another teacher and later performs another heroic act when he disarms a knife-wielding student who attacks him in his classroom.

Mr. Chips, from *Good-Bye Mr. Chips* (1934), acts as a more subtle hero when he calms his students by continuing to teach a lesson on ancient Rome in the midst of a German bombing raid during World War I. With bombs exploding around the school, he wryly insists to his students that the noisiest things in life are not always the most important. In another example, Mary Logan in *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976) acts heroically when she organizes an African American boycott of the local hardware store whose White owner is the main source of racial conflict in their town.

Teacher as Villain

Many examples exist of teachers who are depicted as villains. They may be obnoxious, arrogant, authoritarian, cruel, spiteful, sinister, self-serving, or physically or verbally abusive toward their students. One example is Mr. Warrick in *The Schoolmaster* (1968), who does many positive things for the people of the small Trinidadian village where he is hired, but he also exploits them for his personal financial gain and rapes his seventeen-year-old assistant, causing her to commit suicide.

Another example is Holofernes in *Love's Labours Lost* (1595), who is vain, arrogant, confusing, superficial, abusive toward others, and lecherous toward women. In addition, he tends to speak in heightened language using extensive alliteration and forced puns to demonstrate his verbal dexterity, and he frequently intersperses English and Latin in ways that leave the people around him confused.

Other examples of villainous teachers include Kantorek in *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), Mr. Dobbins in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1875), Mrs. Gorf in *Sideways Stories From Wayside School* (1978), Miss Scatterd in *Jane Eyre* (1847), Mr. Phillips in *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), Severus Snape in the *Harry Potter* series (1997–2007), and Mr. Neck in *Speak* (1999).

Teacher as Victim

Victimized teachers are oppressed or defeated in some way by students, administrators, their communities, or sometimes the profession itself. They may be down-trodden, pitiful, or pathetic, and they may feel totally overwhelmed by the demands of their work. Some are literally the victims of specific attacks targeted against them, whereas others are victimized more figuratively by the overall conditions they encounter in their jobs.

For example, when Wing Biddlebaum in “Hands” (1919) is falsely accused of molestation by a “half-witted boy,” the boy’s father beats him and he narrowly escapes being lynched. Similarly, in *The Children’s Hour* (1934), two teachers are falsely accused of being lesbians by a disgruntled student, causing them to lose their jobs and destroying them financially. Margaret Narwin in *Nothing but the Truth* (1991) also loses her job following a minor conflict with a student that rapidly spirals out of control, leaving both Ms. Narwin and the student as victims in the process.

In other stories, Ichabod Crane in “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” (1820) is victimized by Brom Bones, and Mr. Dobbins, the villainous teacher in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1875), is victimized by his students who use a cat, a string, a wig, and a can of paint to play a joke on him while he sleeps. Finally, in *Three Sisters* (1901), Olga is a teacher who is victimized by the job of teaching itself. In a moment of despair, she remarks that four years of high school teaching have drained her of her energy, left her with a perpetual headache, and aged her prematurely.

Teacher as Outsider

Outsiders are teachers who are different from their students or others in their community. They may feel perpetually alienated in some way—being of a different race, class, culture, ethnicity, or sexual orientation—or they may be border-crossers who successfully transcend these differences.

For example, Anna Vorontosov in *Spinster* (1959) is a White woman who teaches Maori children in rural New Zealand, and Frank McCourt in *Teacher Man* (2005) is an Irish teacher working with American

children of various races and ethnicities in New York City. Similarly, Rick Braithwaite in *To Sir, With Love* (1962) is a middle-class African-Caribbean-British man teaching poor White children in east London.

One particularly intriguing outsider is Julia Mortimer in *Losing Battles* (1970). Julia is an educated White woman who teaches poor White students in rural Mississippi. She is fully dedicated to helping her students gain knowledge that will enable them to transcend the ignorant isolation of their families and to improve their lives, yet her life ends in bitter disappointment as she herself becomes completely isolated from the outside world. Other teachers who may be considered outsiders are Grant Wiggins in *A Lesson Before Dying* (1997), Ichabod Crane in “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” (1820), and Mr. Warrick in *The Schoolmaster* (1997).

Implications

Through examining the ways in which teachers are depicted in literary works, scholars can gain valuable insights into what it means to be a teacher in contemporary society, and what it has meant in past eras, too. In fact, for distant eras in history, the fictional accounts of teachers that were written at that time often provide rare, firsthand glimpses into the daily lives of teachers that are not readily available from other sources. However, the teachers who appear in literature do more than just reflect past and present societal views of teachers; they can also help to shape these views.

People’s preexisting perceptions of teachers (and the work that they do) are routinely challenged, reinforced, or extended by what they read about teachers in literary works. In addition, such works can serve as tools for the professional development of pre-service, beginning, or experienced teachers by enabling them to think about their work through the vicarious experience of reading about the lives of other teachers.

James A. Muchmore and Elaine G. Sayre

See also First-Person Accounts of Teaching; Images of Teachers in Popular Culture; Stereotypes of Teachers

See Visual History Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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TEACHERS, PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF

In various historical and societal contexts, teaching has been considered a profession—or not—as the result of a historical process in which teachers have experienced professionalization, deprofessionalization, or proletarianization. This entry discusses the professional status of teachers from functionalist and conflict perspectives.

Functionalist Perspective

From a functionalist perspective, professionalism is tied directly to a positive “social fact”: that there are professions (prototypically medicine and law), non-professions, and “semi-professions.” In this view, professionals are differentiated from workers in other occupations because they (a) perform an essential service or task; (b) engage in mental versus manual work; (c) function based on an ideal of service; (d) gain their expertise and values through extensive preservice education; (e) operate with autonomy in the workplace; (f) have colleagues (versus nonprofessionals) in control of selection, training, and advancement in the field; and (g) receive a high level of remuneration.

Social scientists and educators, based in a variety of societal contexts, have addressed the question of whether or not teaching is a profession. Although answers to this question have varied somewhat, studies of the occupation of teaching in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and North America have generally concluded that teaching does

not fully measure up on the “traits” of a profession, but rather is a semi-profession.

Conflict Perspective

Those adopting a *conflict perspective* may agree that teaching has not fully measured up to the functionalist definition of profession, but they reject such definitions as ideological. Moreover, conflict theorists view functionalists’ traits—and teachers and other worker-citizens who appropriate the ideology of professionalism—as contributing to the reproduction (perpetuation and legitimation) of unequal class, gender, and ethnic group relations.

Within a functionalist perspective, professionalization is viewed as a universal, evolutionary process, potentially open to all occupations in all contexts, involving the acquisition of the traits associated with the ideal type profession. In contrast, conflict theorists view professionalization as the result of an occupation’s success in its struggle with other occupational groups, the state, and/or economic elites.

Many scholars, policy makers, and practitioners have promoted the idea that the occupation of teaching is undergoing professionalization and/or should strive to professionalize. For instance, in France and Mexico, teachers gained in status and work autonomy—but not remuneration—as rewards for allying with secular state elites in their struggle with the Church. During World War II, teachers’ status increased in England, Germany, and Japan as a reward for their ideological and physical contributions to the war efforts. In Canada in the late 1930s through the 1960s, in England after 1926 but particularly from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s, and in the United States in the mid-1940s, educators experienced professionalization for helping to defuse and deflect radical movements.

From a Weberian conflict perspective, deprofessionalization involves the reduction in an occupation’s status, autonomy, and remuneration—whether that occupation previously was or was not considered a full profession. Deprofessionalization, like professionalization, occurs as a result of interoccupational, occupation-state, and occupation-economic elite struggles in this view.

The issue of teacher deprofessionalization has been addressed by many scholars. For instance, in Vietnam during the French colonial rule; in India during and after British colonialism; in China—with different ideological emphases—before, during, and after the Cultural Revolution; and in Hungary before, during, and after the Stalinist regime, political and economic elites restricted teachers’ autonomy through training, inspection, and rewards. Moreover, in the 1930s in Germany, some teacher groups lost status and were denied the right to organize for higher wages because they publicly protested against the Nazi Party’s fascist project. Additionally, during the 1990s in Europe and Korea, teachers were deprofessionalized, losing social status and authority in the eyes of the public—as the result of government officials’ and media criticisms.

From a Marxist conflict perspective, proletarianization involves the process by which the work of an occupational group—whether such work is considered manual or nonmanual and whether such workers are more or less educated—is altered regarding (a) separating the conception of work tasks from their execution; (b) standardizing and routinizing work tasks; (c) intensifying the demands of work; and (d) reducing the costs (salaries, benefits, training, etc.) of workers.

Various authors have discussed how teaching and teachers have experienced proletarianization. For instance, in Australia, Canada, England, Mexico, New Zealand, and the United States during economic and political crises of the 1970s and 1980s, the state sought to deskill teachers through various bureaucratic and technical controls as well as to intensify the range and pace of teachers’ work. Ironically, some teachers have accepted the intensification of their work—a key aspect of proletarianization—because they perceive such as a sign of their professionalization.

Mark B. Ginsburg

See also Comparative and International Education; Politics of Education; Reproduction, Educational; Teacher Attitudes Toward the Teaching Profession

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TEACHERS, RELIGIOUS VALUES OF

Religion and education have a complex legal, political, and ethical relationship, particularly as it relates to what teachers can and should do in the classroom vis-à-vis their own religious identity. Robert Nash suggests that teachers often fear to express or even admit their religious identity and that this silencing runs counter to the pluralistic ideal of expressing and embracing other parts of their identity, such as race or gender (although, of course, these are often marginalized as well). Religious identity is troublesome, however, because teachers may not only face prejudice but also be predisposed to practice it themselves. This entry attempts to define religious identity, then looks at how it can influence teaching practice and what the courts have had to say on the issue.

What Is Religious Identity?

To define religious identity requires a broader concept than religious beliefs or religious values. To define it as “being religious” excludes those who are undecided, ambivalent, passively nonreligious, or

actively antireligious. To qualify it simply as belief or a set of values reduces it to an internal phenomenon of the intellect, emotion, or spirit. If religion were solely a matter of belief and thought, it would be only marginally relevant to teachers as it could be easily contained within the individual and not have to affect anyone else.

Religion, however, also entails an important dimension of behavior and action, the external manifestation of what a person does that defines and gives shape to his or her religious identity. What one *does* testifies to one’s devotion to a standpoint on religion as much as (or more than) what one says or thinks.

Likewise, affiliation and community are fundamental parts of defining religious identity, both at present and in the context of history. Religious identity has a social dimension and shared body of experience that frames a person’s life-space long before any conscious choice of belief can be made. Identity can also be ascribed to a person by others, often with stereotypes attached, even if the person does not claim it, believe it, or act on it.

In describing a person’s religious identity, the direction and magnitude of each of these factors—belief, behavior, and belonging—are relevant and important in understanding how their religious identity affects them. For teachers, this provides a more nuanced framework for understanding what teachers do and why, as well as the different ways their religious identity could come into play.

Religion Versus Profession

The connection of religious identity to a teacher’s professional self can be described in several ways. For many, the connection is incidental; religion and profession are compartmentalized in different parts of the teacher’s life-space and have little to do with each other. At the other end of the spectrum are those who perceive that one’s religious beliefs cannot be separated from their daily life and work. They are unable or unwilling to separate teaching from their religious identity, whether in the content of classroom work (where explicit connections are drawn and reinforced between religion-related ideas and ideals and content area topics in all school subjects, from math to science

to history to language) or teaching style and method, or even how the room is decorated.

Beyond the classroom, religious identity compels an impulse to find teachers, students, communities, and schools of similar identity to one's own. Whether teachers tried working in a public context or avoided it because they found it too inhospitable to how they felt they needed to teach, those whose religious and teacher identities are tightly integrated are often winnowed out of the public teaching pool.

In between these extremes are teachers who perceive barriers between how they would like to embody their religious identity and how they are (or believe they are) allowed to do so by the school culture, policy, or community expectations. To reconcile these competing demands, teachers can take different approaches. They could introduce religious content, lessons, materials, and ideas obliquely, indirectly, in coded language, and in the guise of other things, so that if challenged about bringing their religious identity into play, they could simply deny it.

On the other hand, teachers could be quite open about introducing their religious identity but justify doing so within inclusive teaching about the full spectrum of religion and spirituality, universal themes and ideas, ethics, values, and personal and community relationships. Religion could even be read more broadly as a type of culture and explored as a subdivision of pluralistic, multicultural study.

A key balancing point in this is how teachers react and respond to the religious identities of others, especially those whose identities differ from their own and those who are religious minorities. Being attentive to and championing the cause of such students is a way for teachers to remedy imbalances, although it could create a sense of social capital, in that teachers advocating for the needs of other religious identity groups might feel entitled to do more advocacy for their own as well.

What the Law Says

The legal issues around what teachers may do with their religious identity in schools are complex. The anti-establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment offer conflicting imperatives for

what a public school teacher should be able to do as an agent of the state and as a free citizen. Clearly, teachers in public schools cannot openly favor one religious standpoint over another or mandate religious activities. Still, neither teachers nor students forfeit their individual rights and do have a legitimate interest in not having their religious identity kept out of sight, restricted to a purely private sphere. Free exercise entails more than freedom of conscience, belief, or speech, but the dilemma is where exercise ends and establishment begins, especially when balancing majority versus minority rights around religion.

Thomas Jefferson's idea of separation of church and state, which is often invoked to support restricting religious speech, activity, or exercise in schools, is nowhere stated in the U.S. Constitution, and U.S. Supreme Court decisions have given no single clear answer. The chief precedent on the issue, the 1971 *Lemon v. Kurtzman* decision, does allow public agencies to address religion as long as the policy or activity also has a secular policy purpose, does not have the primary effect of promoting or inhibiting religion, and is not an "excessive entanglement" with religion.

The 1984 Equal Access Act also guarantees religious students, groups, and clubs equal rights with nonreligious groups in access to school facilities and resources. The continuing challenge for teachers around how to use their religious identity in schools is finding the right balance, not favoring all religion or secularism, and not silencing or inhibiting any religion in a quest for neutrality or allowing one standpoint on religion to be privileged over others.

This last point is a special difficulty because the commonality of Christianity (at least in a generalized, mainline Protestant sense) in the United States and many other countries creates a societal "Christian privilege." Christine Clark and associates describe this as operating similarly to other privileged identity features (e.g., male or White privilege). Teachers, especially those who are themselves Christian, must learn to recognize the ways in which privilege attaches to their religious identity or that of their students, even without awareness or intent, and to work to reduce or eliminate it. Clark would suggest that this is usually Christian privilege, although others argue that in schools and society, it is a privileging of secularism

that is a larger problem; Stephen Carter's *Culture of Disbelief* is a strong critique from this perspective.

Teachers face real conflicts when their religious identity is not something they can (or wish to) easily hide, even when privilege and prejudice around religion would suggest that they should, and usually must invent their own idiosyncratic solutions for what to do with their religious identity in their work and career choices. Theorists such as Nash and Nord both suggest that this is insufficient, that teacher preparation should be more intentional about preparing teachers to deal with the intersection of religion and education, not just as a subject to be studied but as it personally affects them and their students. Works such as Sears and Carper's *Curriculum, Religion, and Public Education*, involving perspectives from across the spectrum of religious identity, are a good first step in helping beginning teachers think through different perspectives on this difficult question.

Jason Eric Nelson

See also Church and State; Religion in the Public School Curriculum; Rights of Teachers

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TEACHERS AS RESEARCHERS

Teacher research is defined as research that is conducted by classroom teachers on their own practice, hence the title "Teachers as Researchers." Recently, this type of research has expanded into the university setting, and there is some debate as to whether this, too, should be considered teacher research. Generally, the field has settled on the term *practitioner research* to define all forms of teacher research and *teacher research* as limited to PreK–12 teachers. This entry looks at the historical development and current practice of the teacher as researcher.

Historical Development

Teacher research as a research methodology has existed since at least the end of the nineteenth century. Although many would credit the start of teacher research with Stephen Corey at Columbia University, it is difficult to give a precise history or starting point for when teacher research began because many teachers have long incorporated research to inform their own teaching practice, without the intention of publishing their results.

A modern example of this can be seen on a systemic level in the Reggio Emilia preschools, where teachers are expected to do action research as part of their normal duties. The fact that this research is not published does not mean it is not happening. As such, it is impossible to state exactly when teacher research started as a practice and to quantify how widespread it was in the past, or, for that matter, how prevalent it is today. It is safe to say that during the beginning of the twentieth century, teachers started to call their work research and to share it with others.

The struggle to have the research teachers do on their own practice be considered valid has existed since its beginning. This struggle has been fundamentally about control; initially, this argument came from an academy reluctant to relinquish its control on knowledge production. Although this argument continues, and subjects teachers unnecessarily to positivistic criticism that is no longer tolerated within the academy itself, the current struggle of teacher

researchers comes from governments, both federally and locally, as politicians collectively exercise greater influence and control over what teachers can and cannot do in their classrooms.

Increasingly, teacher research is coming under pressure not because it is banned or discounted, but because teachers' work is so legislated and controlled that there is little room for teachers to conduct research on their own practice except as a counternarrative. Teacher research reached a peak of popularity in the 1990s, but it has been steadily losing ground ever since. Today, pockets of teacher researchers can be found in the United States and throughout the world, but rarely are they aware of each other's existence.

Current Practice

How is teacher research best described? Teacher research does not dictate a specific method. It is possible, as a teacher researcher, to do experimental, quantitative research, but the classroom setting and the fact that teachers are typically participating in the research that they are doing lends itself to qualitative approaches.

Often, teacher research is simply described as a form of action research, but this perspective ignores and undermines the power of teacher research as a "new" methodology, and undermines the power of teachers as researchers. Although action research is the one method of conducting research that resonates best with what teachers are trying to do in their classrooms, teacher research is not just a type of action research. Teacher research does not dictate either a qualitative or quantitative methodological perspective or use of specific methods.

This is essentially because teacher research is its own methodology. It is a specific worldview that argues that the teacher can have the authority to conduct research in his or her own classroom. This simple notion turns the world of "traditional" research on its head. Teacher research as a methodology dictates not only that teachers have the right and power to conduct research in their own classrooms, but that teachers are in a better position than anyone else to conduct that research.

Criticisms

In part, this explains why teacher research is often attacked. It challenges the traditional power structures that are inherent in U.S. school systems. Even though exclusively positivistic models reflective of the modernist movement are no longer dominant in current educational research, criticisms of teacher research are often based on the assumptions of this model. Teacher research is seen by these critiques as subjective and unscientific. Others would argue that all research is subjective.

This subjectivity may, in fact, be the potential strength of teacher research. The transformative power of this research has been realized by teachers throughout the world and is now seen as normal practice by many teacher researchers. Despite negative attitudes among some in the academy and others in power, teachers have taken up teacher research, and many schools and communities are transformed for the better as a result. The transformative power of this research has also been seen by many teacher education institutions and is now often a requirement of many postdegree certifications and graduate degrees.

How It Works

The power of teacher research is that it is not significantly different from the work that good teachers already do. Effective teachers are focused on the learning of each student in their class and are engaging in reflective practice, constantly examining their own teaching to become the best teachers that they can be. These two practices supply a teacher researcher with more data than anyone could ever need. The difference between a teacher researcher and a teacher is the intentionality behind the collection of these data.

Teacher researchers are collecting these data not just to be better teachers but to answer the bigger questions that they have about teaching and education. Teacher researchers are systematic about how they collect and analyze data. The power lies in the fact that when teachers approach their own classrooms as researchers, they have total access. Teacher researchers can see more and learn more than any researcher who comes in once or twice a week for a few months can ever experience. Teacher researchers

are unquestionably subjective, but this, as was mentioned, may be a strength, not a weakness, of this research. Their subjectivity gives them access and power to make change in the only place where it really matters—locally, in their own classroom with their own students. Whether or not teacher researchers go on to share this work publicly does not detract from its value as research.

Educational journals are increasingly welcoming work by teacher researchers, and a number of publications specialize in it. Teacher researchers are also increasingly presenting their work locally, regionally, and nationally, at events such as the International Teacher Research Conference, which is held annually following the American Educational Research Association's annual conference, in the same city. With increased recognition and opportunities to share their work, more teachers may adopt the researcher role.

Jeffrey William Wood

See also Action Research in Education; Educational Reform; Praxis

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one who is comfortable with both employment in and the direction of the school in which he or she works. Several fields, including psychology, sociology, and business, have informed the research on the satisfaction of teachers. This entry examines satisfaction as a concept, discusses the various factors associated with satisfaction, and considers teacher satisfaction under the current standards and accountability policy context and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Satisfaction as a Concept

To understand teacher satisfaction, one must wrestle with satisfaction with *what*. In other words, is the teacher satisfied with his or her career choice, with the school organization, with the specific position within the school (e.g., third-grade classroom teacher), with particular aspects or duties of teaching, or with the financial compensation received? Alternatively, teacher satisfaction is sometimes conceptualized in a more global sense in terms of one's general feelings or attitudes about teaching.

Regardless of the level of satisfaction examined, teachers' primary sources of satisfaction have consistently been linked to their individual interactions with students. Teachers derive satisfaction from their ability to make a difference in their students' lives in terms of both academic achievement and social or affective goals. In essence, teachers' primary sources of satisfaction are intrinsic in nature.

Teacher satisfaction is important because it can affect individual attitudes and behaviors, including the decision to leave one's school or district and the decision to leave the teaching profession itself. In addition, teachers' satisfaction levels can affect their motivation, morale, and performance. Beyond the individual level, the satisfaction of the members of an organization can influence the overall performance of the organization. Satisfied members are more likely to accept the organizational goals and work collaboratively toward them, whereas dissatisfied members may either intentionally or unintentionally reduce the effectiveness of the organization.

In defining teacher satisfaction, many theoretical and empirical studies have tried to delineate satisfaction from commitment. Satisfaction is considered a concept

TEACHER SATISFACTION

Teacher satisfaction refers to the pleasure, contentment, or sense of fulfillment one has for a job based on personal expectations or needs. A satisfied teacher is

relating to the nature of one's work; commitment, on the other hand, relates to one's obligation to or engagement in the organization in which a person works. Whether a teacher derives satisfaction from commitment or commitment from satisfaction remains undetermined.

Psychologist Albert Bandura's self-efficacy theory is also discussed in relationship to satisfaction. Self-efficacy refers to one's perception or personal judgment about whether or not he or she can successfully meet a particular goal or outcome. Self-efficacy beliefs can influence satisfaction levels, meaning that the more a teacher believes, for example, that he or she can successfully teach the students in the class the range of academic and affective learning outcomes, the more that the teacher will be satisfied with teaching. Self-efficacy beliefs are affected by both a person's individual ability and organizational environment.

Factors Associated With Teacher Satisfaction

The research examining the relationship between individual characteristics and job satisfaction has uncovered mixed results. Although some studies have found relationships between satisfaction and teacher's gender, length of time teaching, race or ethnicity, and school level, more comprehensive studies that include school-level factors suggest that individual characteristics do not influence teacher satisfaction.

A number of school-level factors, or organizational features or characteristics, influence teacher satisfaction. These factors are often referred to as teachers' working conditions. One aspect of the school environment that influences satisfaction is the culture or climate of the school organization. Teachers are more satisfied when the members of the organization, including both teaching and administrative staff, operate under shared values and norms, exhibit collegial support, and trust and respect each other. These social interactions, particularly with teaching colleagues, influence teachers' attitudes toward their work. In other words, the development of a professional community in the school that has these characteristics is important to teacher satisfaction.

Beyond culture and climate, principal leadership is another aspect of the school organization that is linked

to teacher satisfaction. Teachers have greater satisfaction when they teach in schools with principals who are instructional leaders. These principals articulate the vision for the school, develop goals for students and teachers and a plan for meeting those goals, understand how students learn, provide opportunities for professional development, and offer ongoing support to teachers. In addition to valuing this type of leadership, teachers are more satisfied when they believe that the environment is safe and student disciplinary policies are clearly articulated and supported. When student behavior in the school is perceived as disorderly or unsafe, teachers are more likely to be unsatisfied, especially if they believe that administrators or staff are not providing them with adequate support in this area.

Teachers' beliefs about the degree of control they have within their schools, sometimes referred to as *teacher empowerment* or *teacher autonomy*, also influence teacher satisfaction. Although having decision-making authority over curriculum and instruction in one's classroom is an important aspect of this, teacher control frequently refers to involvement in school-level decisions as well. The association between control and satisfaction has been identified through research, but the relationship between satisfaction and particular reforms designed to increase teacher control, such as site-based management, inclusive or participatory decision making, and charter school reforms, has not been determined, perhaps because of the variation that exists in the implementation of these reforms in relation to the degree of control (or empowerment or autonomy) that teachers experience in practice.

A final school-level characteristic associated with satisfaction is parental support and involvement. Parental support and involvement can range from more traditional parental roles, such as leading field trips and bake sales or communicating with teachers around homework assignments and classroom progress, to more intensive roles, including offering instructional assistance in the classroom. Although teachers have varied expectations regarding the school or classroom activities in which parents should engage, they seek parent cooperation with, rather than opposition to, their teaching efforts.

The professional and social identities of teachers also influence their satisfaction, although less is known about these associations. Teachers who view their job as a profession are more likely to be satisfied about their work. However, teachers' professional identities may be shaped not only by their individual views of teaching and their professional competence, but also by public perceptions of teachers or the status of teachers within a particular community or in society.

Standards, Accountability, and Teacher Satisfaction

State and federal policy over the past two decades has led to statewide standards in particular subject areas, such as mathematics, as well as statewide assessments to measure whether those standards are being met by students. This standards movement has coincided with calls for greater accountability in public education, culminating in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which requires states to create a system of school-level sanctions linked to aggregated student test scores. Whether increased standards and greater accountability influence teacher satisfaction remains undetermined.

However, the increased pressure on teachers to succeed, the public perception of teachers as unqualified or unmotivated, and the limits on control and autonomy that result from higher stakes being attached to test scores have the potential to negatively influence teacher satisfaction. Given what is known about the influence of satisfaction on organizational effectiveness, examination of the association between accountability and satisfaction within the lowest performing schools that are, as a result, operating under accountability sanctions is of utmost importance.

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See also Teacher Alienation and Burnout; Teacher Attitudes Toward the Teaching Profession; Teachers, Professional Status of

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TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Teachers College was founded in 1887 to address the issues of education during a period of profound social, economic, and cultural change in the United States. The purpose of the institution was to educate teachers, in all grades, in the knowledge and skills basic to teaching. Through the fundraising efforts of Grace Hoadley Dodge, the treasurer of the college; the intellectual vision of Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Industrial Education Society; and the leadership of the first dean, James Earl Russell, the dream of an institution focused specifically on the education of teachers was realized after fourteen years in the making.

Although the curriculum of the college expanded over the past century, there have remained two constants. One is the dynamic affiliation with Columbia

University. The other is that Teachers College has remained responsive to the changing culture, character, and context of education. It has held a central role in shaping the world of educational research throughout its 120-year history.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Edward Lee Thorndike, one of the school's most well-known professors, established the field of educational psychology, declaring that psychology was the science of intellect, and the schoolroom, a great laboratory. His colleague in the philosophy department at Columbia, John Dewey, was invited to lecture at the college in 1906, making Teachers College an influential center of educational theory.

The economic recession of the 1930s brought to light a new school of thought in the institution. Professor George S. Counts argued that progressive education had focused too much on the child in school. Instead, he countered what the role of the school should be within the larger society. These questions were addressed in a pamphlet titled "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?" Not surprisingly, the 1930s were a time of upheaval, and there was now emphasis on the administration of schools. This led to the establishment of a new degree, the Doctor of Education, or EdD, in 1934, which also saw the publication by the faculty's staff of the revolutionary educational journal *The Social Frontier*.

In the late 1930s to 1950s, many Teachers College faculty members were deeply committed to social issues of the time. Mabel Carney, a professor of rural education, championed the development of Black teachers during this period. She traveled to the South to teach and was instrumental in the migration of Black southern scholars to the college. During the period of legalized segregation in the United States (1896–1954), the largest number of doctorates in education earned by Black scholars was from Teachers College. This was not the first or only example of the faculty looking beyond New York City. In 1899, the program in comparative education was established, and in 1956, the first society and journal dedicated to those issues was established by the faculty in that program.

During the 1960s, the issue of equity emerged as an increasingly important issue for the college. In the

ensuing decades, the institution has managed to stay in the forefront of educational transitions and policy while maintaining a strong connection to the foundations of its past.

Cally Waite

See also Higher Education, History of; Progressive Education

See Visual History Chapter 24, Schools and the Farm Security Administration

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TEACHING PROFESSION, HISTORY OF

Teaching is the mechanism by which skills and knowledge are imparted to an individual, and society has entrusted teachers with the responsibility of providing the populace with the skills and knowledge deemed necessary to engage as citizens and lead productive and meaningful lives. To be effective, teaching must be interesting, stimulating, challenging, and satisfying, and it must result in learning that is culturally significant, is valued by society at large, and prepares individuals to meet the needs of their changing world.

The American public school system was built on the premise that the quality of education children receive can have a tremendous impact on their quality of life and their ability to become contributing members of society, especially given the demands of globalization in the twenty-first century. As the U.S. educational system struggles to deal with demands and controlling influences imposed by politicians, businesspeople, and special interest groups, as well as with the ever-increasing diversity in today's schools,

it is important to understand the history of the American teaching profession in order to better understand the current and future milieu of teaching. This entry examines early teaching, development of the system of teaching credentials in the United States, the debate surrounding the professionalization of teaching, and issues that have and will continue to affect teaching in the twenty-first century.

Early Teaching

The earliest of educators were often members of the clergy, such as priests and rabbis, or were slaves from conquered states employed in the households of wealthy Greeks and Romans. In Greece, several of the most notable teachers of all time, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, emerged during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, generating foundations of teaching that are still used today. Although formal education in China dates back to 2000 BCE, in Europe, it was not until the Middle Ages that formal institutions of learning were established by the Roman Catholic Church.

According to some, formalized education in the United States was launched in 1647 with the passage of a Massachusetts law requiring each town of fifty or more families to establish a school. Fictional portrayals of early schooling would have many believe that teachers were young, single women, when the domain of teaching actually belonged almost exclusively to young men. For these young men, teaching was considered a means for social mobility for those who could not find work; however, it was also considered *temporary work*, with the majority of teachers leaving the field after only five years. It was not until the 1850s, a period commonly referred to as the “feminization of teaching,” that women began entering the teaching force in great numbers, the prevailing attitude being that women possessed the caring skills and attitudes necessary to nurture and guide young minds. Prior to this time, teachers were hired based upon the ability to control and dominate predominantly male students, and little formalized training was expected or required.

By the early twentieth century, teacher training institutions, such as normal schools, began to evolve into degree-granting institutions and colleges predominantly geared toward the preparation of elementary

school teachers. Throughout the course of the twentieth century, states enacted legislation extending compulsory education through the age of sixteen. During this time, high school graduations escalated from a scant 6 percent to almost 88 percent, radically increasing the need for secondary school teachers equipped to teach select disciplines. This expansion of the American public school system created the need for more and more educators, and vast numbers of women sought teaching credentials to enter the field, mostly at the elementary school level. High schools, however, remained the province of male teachers.

Teaching Certification

Requirements set forth for teaching were modest up until the mid-nineteenth century. Getting a teaching job often necessitated little more than a review of the moral character of the individual, and, in some cases, a test of general knowledge and/or a test of basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. However, by 1867, most states required local testing for state certification for teaching. Teacher training was sporadic and varied; some localities offered their own programs, whereas others relied on teacher training institutes and colleges, such as Teachers College at Columbia University, founded in 1887. By the onset of the twentieth century, a wide range of bona fide teacher education undergraduate and graduate schools and programs emerged throughout the United States. Completion of teacher education coursework, which replaced local testing, became the means by which teaching certification was granted.

Many of these programs came under scrutiny in 1983 with the release of *A Nation at Risk* and again in 1996 with the release of the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future reports by the U.S. Department of Education calling for educational reform. *A Nation at Risk* called for the establishment of more arduous national teacher preparation standards; the Commission’s report enacted six goals directly related to teaching and the professional development of teachers. Although few argue the merits of these goals, they have not been instituted everywhere. All fifty states and the District of Columbia require the licensing of public school teachers; however, the

requirements for licensure vary by state. Licensing measures are intended to strengthen the quality of teaching, but the escalating shortage of teachers has forced many states and/or districts to implement alternative licensing measures to supplement the dwindling teaching workforce, particularly in large urban school districts.

Alternative, temporary, provisional, and/or emergency licensing programs allow individuals without preparation or licensure to teach. Such programs allow districts with high teacher vacancies to hire and retain uncertified or unlicensed teachers as a stopgap measure. Teacher shortages are prevalent in large urban schools; rural schools; regions in the South and West; and in specific subject areas, such as science, mathematics, and special and bilingual education. Alternative licensing programs for teaching are quite varied and include four- to six-week courses, mentoring by a master teacher, and/or taking education courses to supplement a current degree. Even though other feasible measures to eradicate the teacher shortage have not been forthcoming, many believe that alternative licensing programs widen the chasm between raising teaching standards and staffing classrooms.

Teaching as a Profession

Schools are labor-intensive organizations, with 75 percent to 80 percent of schools' budgets allocated for personnel cost, and how teachers are treated greatly affects their performances, personal satisfaction, and ultimately their decision to remain in a district or the teaching profession altogether. Since the early 1900s, those in teaching have fought for professional status; however, efforts in that area have proved fruitless for a variety of reasons. Many believe that the "feminization of teaching" in the 1850s left a legacy that the profession of teaching still endures to this day; that is, the stigmatization associated with the diminished stature of women in the workforce that imposes on teaching the categorization of little more than a domestic occupation requiring administrative control. Current demographics show that the composition of the field of teaching is 75.1 percent females and 24.9 percent males.

Others believe that teaching will remain an occupation or semi-profession until issues regarding control over the professional licensing of teachers, the competencies and qualifications for teaching, and the standards upon which licensing will be based are resolved. Meanwhile, the debate continues as teaching salaries remain noncompetitive with those of similarly educated individuals in other professions, an issue that serves to deter entry into or persistence in the field of teaching.

Teaching in the Twenty-First Century

The quality of education that children receive can have a tremendous impact on the quality of life they have and their ability to become contributing members of a global society. The ever-increasing diversity of American schools has added to the challenge, as the more diverse the group, the more complicated teaching becomes. Today in the United States, the field of education is struggling in a climate of change, criticism, and economic limits resulting in the steady erosion of confidence in schools.

In that vein, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was revised to become the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, an effort intended to improve the American public education system, and teaching was at the heart of the legislation. Among the provisions of the nearly 1,000-page NCLB bill was the directive that every child be taught by highly qualified teachers, as teacher subject-matter knowledge has been correlated with student learning. Teachers are deemed to have Highly Qualified Teacher (HQT) status if they hold a bachelor's degree in the subject area in which they teach, demonstrate subject-area knowledge of the subjects they are assigned to teach, and obtain full state teacher certification. All teachers were required to obtain HQT status by 2006; however, not all states were able to meet this mandate. Currently, teaching proficiency is being gauged by the results of standardized tests; schools persistently rated as failing, as indicated by test scores, are mandated to replace certain teachers, change the curriculum, or risk restructuring or state takeover. In NCLB, teaching is clearly viewed as both the cause and the solution to many societal problems facing America today.

Undoubtedly, many factors affect student achievement, and some of the more important factors are what teachers believe, know, and can do. However, teachers deal with a plethora of issues in their schools and classrooms over which they have no control. Limited English proficiency, special needs, poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate classroom supplies, outdated textbooks, and increased violence are some of the factors affecting teaching daily. With the national emphasis on improved instruction, it is critical to recognize the complexity and importance of quality teaching for high-performing schools; however, it is difficult to attract and retain well-qualified teachers in schools labeled as failing.

NCLB has had a significant impact on teaching practices in many schools, as teachers are often required to teach to the test to avoid sanctions. Some believe that this has resulted in a narrowing of the curriculum and effective teaching practices, thus altering the school experience for students and teachers alike.

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See also Archives and Library Collections on Education; Education, History of; Models and Methods of Teaching; National Education Association; School Law; State Role in Education; Teacher Certification; Teacher Preparation; Teachers, Professional Status of; U.S. Department of Education

See Visual History Chapter 1, Colonial Beginnings; Chapter 3, Teachers in the Early and Middle Nineteenth Century; Chapter 9, Frontier Teachers and Schools; Chapter 20, Printed Records and Photographs of School Activities and Personnel

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TECHNOLITERACY

Basic technoliteracy involves learning how to use and socially manage the wide range of tools and material artifacts that are fashioned by humanity to modify the natural environment in order to meet people's perceived wants and needs. Historically, this functional form of technoliteracy has been more narrowly conceived as the proper domain of public schools' vocational programs, such as delivered in home economics courses concerned with the proper use of household technologies; shop-floor courses that teach carpentry, metalwork, and the manipulation of automotive repair tools; and typewriting, word-processing, and computer-programming courses designed to familiarize students with various professional office machines.

Since John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1916), however, theorists of educational foundations have maintained critiques of the curricular attempt to reduce technoliteracy to such functional and vocational exercises. Consequently, critical theories and programs of technoliteracy have arisen that are additionally concerned with both generating pedagogical attention to the systemic aspects of technology and facilitating the comprehension of technology as complex networks of social, cultural, economic, political, and historical processes that govern the creation and operation of technological artifacts proper. Accordingly, contemporary movements for critical technoliteracy seek to expand technological studies across the curriculum toward helping students achieve democratic and socially reconstructive understandings about the costs and benefits of our modern technological age as well

as its possible futures. This entry looks at technoliteracy from the perspectives of public education, international policy, and scholarly research.

Technoliteracy in Public Schools

The past few decades have seen the worldwide, exponential growth of information-communication technologies, emergent digital media, and other types of high-tech scientific innovation related to the rise of a technologically induced global network society in which new forms of culture, politics, and technologically mediated existence are increasingly the norm. During this same time, trends in U.S. educational policy have been toward the correlative expansion of merely functional versions of technoliteracy that have sought simply to train students in standardized computer and information skills and to transform schools into a marketplace for corporate technological goods and services.

In 1983, the U.S. government released the report *A Nation at Risk*, which first articulated a vision of American students as unprepared to meet the requirements of the coming high-tech information age and recommended that a basic computer science course for personal and work-related purposes become mandatory within school curricula. By 1996, with the nascent World Wide Web generating major socio-cultural transformation, the U.S. Department of Education began to refer to technological literacy as the new basic skill and to call for the saturation of public schools with computer-associated technology along with requisite training in this technology for both students and teachers alike.

Most recently, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and 2004's U.S. National Education Technology Plan have reinforced and extended this view of functional and market-based technoliteracy. Both policies advocate for information-communication technology and other forms of new media to be infused in innovative ways across the curriculum such that every student, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, family income, geographic location, or disability, will have mastered computer-based competency standards by the end of the eighth grade. Notably, in all of these policies, little attention is paid to the need to educate students to understand the more critical and complex

aspects of technology as part of the process of realizing a more technoliterate citizenry and good society.

International Policy

A reductive policy approach to technoliteracy is not mirrored at the international level, where the United Nations has developed the educational goal of "science and technological literacy for all" (STL) as part of its Project 2000+ campaign on behalf of equitable social and community-building practices. Project 2000+ began in 1993 as the brainchild of UNESCO and eleven major international agencies with a combined mission to prepare citizens worldwide to understand, deliberate on, and implement technological strategies in their everyday lives around sustainable development issues such as population, health, environmental well-being, and cultural welfare.

Although Project 2000+ actively incorporates pedagogical strategies concerned with the management and use of information-communication technologies, it is important to recognize that STL is specifically committed to promoting multiple ways of knowing and deploying appropriate technologies—technologies that can be defined as the simplest, most sustainable means of responding to a given human end. In this context, STL attempts to make people conscious of the potential for new technologies to exacerbate divides between rich and poor, male and female, and the global North and South. STL also supports education into the nature of and need for local cultural tools as well as the way in which global technological trends can be meaningfully embedded within vernacular traditions and values. Therefore, even though the United Nations finds that technoliteracy is a universal goal of mounting importance due to present global technological transformation, Project 2000+ programs in STL require that various individuals, cultural groups, and states will formulate the questions through which they gain literacy into global technology differently and for diverse reasons.

Research Areas

Although U.S. policy that conceives of technoliteracy as a type of vocational competency in the use and development of information-communication

technologies differs markedly from the international STL movement, scholars continue to work on critical theories of technoliteracy that draw upon founding work in the field by intellectual figures such as Dewey, Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, Marshall McLuhan, Herbert Marcuse, and Neil Postman. A key document in this respect is “A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing Social Futures” by the New London Group (1996), a leading amalgam of technoliteracy scholars from the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.

Through the concept of multiliteracies, the New London Group attempts to highlight how dramatic developments in contemporary technology are affecting a hybridic shift and increase in the communication of the world’s cultural and linguistic diversity. For these reasons, the New London Group believes that traditional literacy programs should also evolve to help students learn how to critically reflect upon and navigate their immersion in diverse linguistic, visual, audio, spatial, gestural, and multimodal forms of technological environments such that people become empowered to have more creative choice about their life’s work and are thus able to help design their own social futures.

In similar fashion, there has been much significant work done in theorizing forms of critical media literacy, critical computer literacy, and critical multimedia literacy as part of a pedagogical movement for a more robustly democratic and socioculturally reconstructive form of technoliteracy. Therefore, although standards-based, vocational forms of technoliteracy continue to dominate professional education on the large, they are countered significantly by attempts to legitimate culturally sensitive, sustainable, and other critical forms of technoliteracy both domestically and internationally. These latter forms hope to fashion the enhancement of a literacy of critique so that students can begin to name the technological system that constitutes their lives as citizens, describe and grasp the rapid technological changes occurring as defining features of a burgeoning global network society, and learn to engage experimentally in creative and counterhegemonic practices in the interests of a more radically democratic and self-reflective world.

Richard Kahn

See also Computing, Ethical Issues; Critical Literacy; Media Literacy; Technologies in Education

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TECHNOLOGIES IN EDUCATION

Educational technology is commonly associated with computing. In fact, there are many other educational technologies that play an important role in education—some dating as far back as antiquity. This entry explores that history as the context for a larger discussion of the revolution in education created by the computer and the Internet.

Early Tools

The term *tabula rasa*, which is now used as a metaphor to describe the idea that humans are born with no built-in knowledge of the world, literally refers to the Latin term for a “scraped tablet.” Although the term is associated with the phrase “blank slate,” it actually refers to a smooth wax slate on which Roman schoolchildren inscribed their lessons. It was an educational technology.

Historically, the most important educational technology has been the book. Books became practical when paper was introduced into Europe from China during the medieval period. When books were written by hand, they were expensive, cumbersome, and often inaccurate. The introduction of movable type in the late fifteenth century changed the nature of the book as a cultural and technological phenomenon.

What is commonly described as the Gutenberg Revolution (c. 1450) made possible the distribution of relatively inexpensive and highly accurate texts. Its creator, Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1398–1468), was a goldsmith from Mainz, Germany. His invention of the printed book represented the merging of several independent ideas, including movable type cast from

metal, oil-based ink, and a wooden press for creating an impression.

The Impact of Printing

The effect of the introduction of printing on education in Europe was profound. Essentially, it redefined educational discourse at all levels. Knowledge was no longer limited to what could be remembered in one's memory, or recorded in cumbersome handwritten documents. It was now possible to distribute relatively inexpensive and highly accurate texts on almost any subject. These texts could include elaborate illustrations, diagrams, charts, and tables that would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, to reproduce by hand. In addition, as a technology, typographic sources lent themselves to careful editing and proofing. Unlike a hand-copied text, each copy of which had to be proofed, a single master text could be proofed once and then reproduced (printed) on an unlimited basis.

Within a generation, European universities abandoned much of their emphasis on oral approaches to instruction that emphasized memorization and recitation. Their curricula increasingly depended on textually based models. Books became means for extending memory, as well as precision in thought. During the early Renaissance, humanist educators sought to establish definitive editions of important classical texts, such as those from Plato and Aristotle, as well as those from a host of lesser luminaries.

Many believe that the introduction of inexpensive printing made possible the Protestant Reformation, as well as many of the advances that came in fields such as medicine, cartography, architecture, and physics during the Renaissance and early modern era. How effective would Luther have been if he had not been able to circulate his ideas through broadsheets and inexpensive books? Would the scientific advances in medicine and cartography during the Renaissance have been possible without the technology of the book? Would Nicolaus Copernicus's or Isaac Newton's works have been possible without the resources provided by printing?

Pictures Arrive

Mass-produced illustrations probably first appeared in illustrated and hieroglyphic Bibles. Luther's early

Bible, for example, was illustrated. In addition, Luther and others were responsible for the development of the first catechisms. These religious primers became the basis for the development of secular primers during the sixteenth century.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, new ways of using illustrations began to redefine educational texts. Perhaps the most important example was the work of the Czech educator, John Amos Comenius (1592–1670). In 1658, he created the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, which many people consider to be the first illustrated textbook for children.

In the *Orbis Pictus*, Comenius included detailed illustrations that provided a visual context for printed material included in his text. This material, which was printed in Latin as well as German, represented an astonishing pedagogical advance, one that was based almost entirely on the technology of the book.

Comenius's influence can be seen in primers and textbooks from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. *The New England Primer*, first published in 1692, clearly is modeled on the *Orbis Pictus* in its use of illustrations. Textbooks became increasingly widespread by the middle of the eighteenth century. They created a pedagogical discourse that emphasized the written over the spoken word. By the time of the American Revolution, textbooks had become the single most important formal source of curriculum in the schools. As a technology, textbooks create a uniform curriculum across schools. It is no accident that works such as Noah Webster's 1781 three-volume *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (the first volume of which was the famous "Blue-Back Speller") emphasized not only basic literacy, but ideological and political knowledge as well. Webster was interested in creating educated Americans—members of a new and revolutionary culture—not loyal British subjects. His texts emphasized English as it was spoken in North America, not in Great Britain.

Blocks and Blackboards

Although textbooks remained the single most important technology used in schools during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, other technologies gradually made their way into the classroom. As early

as 1692, John Locke (1632–1704) wrote in “Some Thoughts on Education” about the use of alphabet blocks in the education of children.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, educators such as Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) were developing school curricula around the use of pedagogical devices ranging from construction blocks to weaving activities and even an early type of Tinkertoy® construction system. Similar types of learning devices were introduced by the Italian physician and educator Maria Montessori (1870–1952).

Perhaps the most enduring educational technology of the nineteenth century was the blackboard. Larry Cuban has noted that its persistence in the classroom is indicative of its dependability and functionality. Early blackboards were made from pine covered with a carbon and egg-white writing surface. Slate, introduced later, was replaced in the twentieth century by easier-to-read green boards and eventually by white boards, which are plastic surfaces on which erasable, felt-tipped pens are used.

Audiovisual Modes

By the end of the nineteenth century, educators were experimenting with other new technologies, such as the phonograph. At about the same time, lantern slides began to be widely used. Pioneers in audiovisual education, such as the St. Louis public schools, made slide sets available for classroom instruction as early as 1905. In 1911, Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) released a series of silent historical films that he hoped would be used in classrooms. By the 1930s, educational radio broadcasts were also being used in classrooms. It was at this time that the filmstrip was invented, introduced for the first time at the Century of Progress Exhibit in Chicago in 1933.

In general, despite wide experimentation with technology, most innovations have had far less impact in the classroom than was originally anticipated. During the 1950s and 1960s, educational television and videotape were thought to have the potential to revolutionize education. But as Larry Cuban has pointed out, educational technologies such as radio, film, and television actually have had only a marginal impact on classroom instruction.

Why is this the case? One possible explanation is that teaching is far more a social process than a technical one. What may count the most in the classroom is the interaction that takes place between teachers and students. Rather than teachers simply being conduits for knowledge, and students receivers of information, a much more complex process of social interaction is at work. Technologies, whether in the form of radio, film, or television, are of relatively little importance in the curriculum as compared to what teachers do in the classroom. Essentially, technologies can be useful to skilled educators, but they have not fundamentally changed the nature of most teaching and learning.

The Computer Revolution

This is not necessarily the case, however, with the most recent educational technology—the computer. Computing devices are as ancient as the abacus, but modern computing as we know it has existed only since the end of World War II. At that time, machines such as the ENIAC (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer) were developed by the engineering school at the University of Pennsylvania. An extremely limited machine compared to modern computers, the ENIAC was designed to calculate ballistics for use in the military.

As computers became increasingly widespread in government, business, and higher education during the 1950s and 1960s, their use was largely limited to mathematical calculations and business functions. Because of their prohibitively high cost, their use in education was almost entirely limited to specialized areas such as statistics and the sciences. This began to change in the late 1970s with the introduction of relatively inexpensive microcomputers, or, as they eventually came to be known (as they increased in power), desktop computers.

The first really practical desktop computers were introduced in the 1970s by the Apple Corporation. Founded in 1976, the first Apple computer, the Apple I, was a personal computer kit that had to be assembled by the owner. The Apple II, which was introduced in April 1977, was the first really practical desktop machine. Because of its size and relatively low cost, the machine made computing a possibility

for private individuals, as well as various types of educational institutions. By the early 1980s, rivals such as Microsoft and IBM began to compete with Apple for domination of the personal computer market.

Desktop computing, as with earlier educational technologies, was considered by many educators to have the potential to revolutionize the classroom. Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., in his book *Beyond the Gutenberg Galaxy: Microcomputers and the Emergence of Post-Typographic Culture* (1986), postulated that the desktop or microcomputer revolution (happening during the 1980s) functioned in many respects like the Gutenberg Revolution nearly 500 years earlier. As was the case with the introduction of the book in the sixteenth century, the widespread availability of the computer created a new set of users who suddenly had access to new types of information and tools, and, as a result, were correspondingly empowered. The new technology provided by computers likewise created new ways of learning, as well as radical innovations in terms of representing and manipulating scientific and humanistic knowledge.

Much of this, as was the case with the revolution in printing, is now taken for granted. Research and the acquisition of knowledge have changed dramatically in the past twenty-five to thirty years as a result of the widespread introduction and use of computing. A library card catalog is essentially obsolete, no longer even available in most libraries. Library catalogs are now largely electronic, as are many of the collections to which they are linked. Students and teachers at all levels now have access to information and data through computers that a generation ago could be accessed only by specialized scholars working in archives and university collections. Anyone in the world can access the great libraries of the world and, increasingly, large parts of their collections. The Internet search engine Google is rapidly evolving into a world library or an encyclopedia or database. Most of the world's essential knowledge will be available online. More traditional knowledge systems are becoming obsolete. For example, what is the relevance of a traditional text-based encyclopedia such as *Encyclopedia Britannica* when much of the same information is available online in forms such as Wikipedia? What happens to traditional intellectual

authorities such as Britannica, which seeks out the best experts available on a subject, when they are challenged by an "open source" reference work, in which volunteers constantly edit, revise, and update articles, as is the case with Wikipedia?

The Power of the Internet

Why is the computer such a potentially powerful educational technology? The question is more complicated than may at first seem to be the case. A minimum of three to four revolutions in computing have taken place since the end of World War II. All of them have affected education—some more than others. Mainframe computing, which lasted from the mid-1940s to the late 1970s, has already been discussed. To a large degree, its impact was confined to science and government, with a limited impact on universities and colleges. The introduction of desktop computing during the late 1970s made computing available on a practical basis for the first time in K–12 schools.

With the introduction of the Internet and World Wide Web in the early 1990s, educational computing went through another major evolution—making unprecedented access to information and communication resources possible for the general public. The Internet originated in 1969 when the U.S. Army established an online computer-based communication system known as the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET). The primary concept behind the ARPANET was to develop a networked series of computers that could survive a nuclear attack. Evolving rapidly, the system was made available to university researchers through the National Science Foundation in 1983 and became accessible to the general public in 1985.

Initial access to the Internet was limited due to the complexity of its design and protocols. In December 1990, however, a major innovation occurred when Tim Berners Lee, who was working at the European particle physics laboratory in Bern, Switzerland, developed a graphical-oriented computer browsing system that made it easier to communicate when using the Internet. Known as the World Wide Web, this graphical user interface uses hypertext markup language that allows hyperlinks to connect text, visual,

and sound files. Today, approximately 1 billion of the 6 billion people in the world make regular use of the Internet. Use varies widely, however, based on geographic location and level of economic development. In North America, for example, Internet use is nearly 70 percent, whereas in Africa, usage is only 3 percent.

In industrialized countries such as the United States, computer access is becoming sufficiently widespread that its use in education is taken for granted. Even though appropriate training of teachers to use the technology varies widely, and resources are not by any means equal, the availability of computers as an educational technology in the schools is becoming universally accessible. Accessibility, however, does not necessarily guarantee equal use. Serious issues underlie how computers are used in different settings. At the elementary level, boys are often allowed greater access to computers than girls. “Skill and drill” educational programs using computers are often emphasized with minority students and students from lower socioeconomic groups, whereas more creative uses are emphasized with other students.

A New Educational Environment

How do the desktop computing revolution that began in the late 1970s and the Internet revolution of the early 1990s combine to create a new environment for teaching and learning? To begin with, teachers and students are no longer limited by their geographical location. Access to information and communication is potentially available on a worldwide basis. Individuals can communicate via e-mail, exchange data, and access both formal and informal informational networks. As television in an earlier generation provided viewers with a “window on the world,” computers connected to the Internet and World Wide Web provide users with access to knowledge and communication on a global basis.

Augmenting Intelligence

In addition, educational computing has the potential to augment the intelligence of users. The concept of the computer augmenting intelligence comes from the work of Douglas C. Engelbart. In the early 1960s, when

Engelbart was an engineer working at Xero Park, a research center affiliated with Stanford University and funded by the Xerox Corporation, he published a series of seminal essays on computing. In these works, he outlined for the first time the basic principles of word processing, the use of screen icons, as well as concepts such as the computer mouse and digital scanning.

In a 1963 essay, Engelbart also theorized that human beings could augment, or enhance, their intelligence by using a computer. This concept of augmentation was similar to the idea of using a mechanical device such as eyeglasses to improve one’s vision, or a tool such as a pair of pliers to increase one’s grip. The idea of a tool for augmenting one’s intellect was not necessarily new, although Engelbart was the first to clearly articulate the concept. The printed book, for example, is an intellectual augmentation device because it expands the user’s knowledge base as well as the user’s ability to precisely recall information and data.

Computer augmentation of our intelligence occurs all the time. Handheld calculators are, in fact, computers that allow us to add, subtract, multiply, and do square roots at a level that would be impossible to do in our heads and difficult with pencil and paper. Grammar and spell-check systems, now common with word processing systems, are intellectual augmentation devices. Using one makes it possible for a relatively weak grammarian and/or speller to produce a written document that is significantly better than he or she could produce simply by writing with pen and paper, or using a typewriter.

Computers can also augment our physical selves. In the case of children with special needs, adaptive computer technologies make it possible for them to have access to information and ideas that would not otherwise be available. A vision-impaired child can use a computer that magnifies text on a screen, or that reads text aloud. A paralyzed child can use eye movement that is tracked by the computer to manipulate a keyboard, making it possible to type or search the Internet.

Changing Classrooms

Robert Taylor, in an early work on educational computing, identified multiple ways in which computers are used in classroom instruction—the idea of the computer

as Tool, Tutor, and Tutee. In the Tool function, a computer is used to do something, such as draw a picture, write a sentence, or multiply a number. The Tutor function involves the learner being taught something by the computer, such as a math program that teaches and reinforces multiplication and division skills. The third function, Tutee, involves the user programming the computer to do something. This last function is relatively rare compared to the other two functions.

Taylor's model is useful in that it emphasizes the idea that not all educational computing functions are the same, and that they imply different levels of involvement and control on the part of the student. The Tool function, for example, places the student largely in control, whereas the Tutee function emphasizes the learner being acted upon by the computer program.

Other important distinctions in educational computing have been raised by Cleborne Maddux. In a widely cited article from the mid-1980s, Maddux makes a distinction between Type I and Type II uses of computers. Type I use involves the computer being used to do something that has always been done in education, but that is superseded by the computer, such as using the computer to do word processing in place of typing. A Type II use represents a totally new use of the computer, such as a simulation program that allowed a student to practice emergency procedures for flying a disabled airliner. Prior to computers, such an activity would have been impossible.

More Than a Tool

What occurs when a student uses a computer to learn something raises a number of interesting questions. If a student uses a computer to draw, is he or she actually learning to draw or simply learning how to draw with a computer? In this context, it can be argued that the computer is simply a tool, just as a pencil is a tool that allows an artist to create. As with any medium (chalk, ink, oils, acrylics, or charcoal), the medium used changes the nature of what is created. This is certainly the case with the computer. No medium is neutral, but represents a particular way of creating and constructing the world.

According to the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), any technology amplifies or

reduces the experience that it mediates. Thus, a telephone amplifies the spoken word while virtually eliminating the visual in its use. Television and film emphasize the visual. Educators must consider what it is that the computer mediates during the learning process. What does it amplify? What does it reduce? As mentioned earlier, calculators are used because they accurately add, subtract, multiply, and divide. Is being able to accurately add, subtract, multiply, and divide so important to learn if students have access to calculators? How well do students need to be able to spell if they have access to a spell-checker? How much time needs to be spent on grammar in a writing course if students can use a grammar checker? Educators have to decide what role the technology represented by the computer is to play in the teaching and learning that goes on in a classroom.

How does the fundamental character of the classroom change as a result of the computer? This is a basic question raised by a number of educational theorists. C. A. Bowers, in his book *Let Them Eat Data* (2000), for example, argues that we need to understand computers in terms of how they mediate and change the educational environment of classrooms and schools. Like Heidegger, Bowers believes that the computer is not a neutral technology, but one that profoundly shapes our way of knowing and understanding the world. Bowers argues that computer use reinforces certain “root” metaphors that reinforce specific ways of looking at culture and nature. Knowledge, for example, is data driven instead of being based on intuition or faith.

The Cosmopedia

Theorists such as the French hypertext theorist Pierre Levy argue that as a result of the development of inexpensive computers and the Internet, we have entered a new knowledge space that he refers to as the *cosmopedia*. According to Levy, the computer makes possible the development of a shared or “collective intelligence.” The cosmopedia links people together in vast networks that go beyond traditional text and static images to include video, sound, interactive simulation, interactive maps, expert systems, dynamic ideographs, virtual reality, artificial

life, and so on. Levy believes that the cosmopedia can break down the artificial boundaries between the disciplines, making it possible to fold almost any field into another. Thus, traditional ways of knowing and learning are profoundly challenged. Also, new types of intellectual authority may emerge. Thus, an individual can establish a blog or other type of Web site that allows his or her ideas to be heard in ways that were previously not possible. According to Levy, we are standing on new cultural ground as our intellectual traditions mutate into something very different from those experienced by previous generations.

Issues in Social Foundations

Computers in the classroom raise fundamental questions that are traditionally related to the social foundations of education: (a) Who has access to computers? Are computers used in the same way across different socioeconomic, racial, cultural, and geographical groups? What type of training is given with that access—drill versus skill? (b) What assumptions underlie certain models of programming? What types of interfaces are used? Do certain interfaces privilege or favor one group over another? (c) How is the process of writing changed when one learns to do it using a computer rather than a pen and paper? (d) How is the process of researching a topic changed when students have access to the Internet and the World Wide Web? (e) What is the appropriate use of computers?

The use of the computer can shape, in critical ways, how students think and approach the tasks of learning. Elementary and secondary school children now have access to information resources that were previously available only to college and university students a generation ago. How does this affect something as traditional as writing a term paper? Although students have greater access to sources of useful information, they also have a greater potential to plagiarize written material. Teachers now find it increasingly necessary to do global online searches of sections of their students' work to see if it has been copied.

Computers also have an effect on social interactions between teachers and students. At the elementary and secondary level, teachers can post homework assignments to a Web site, which means that parents

can monitor the work that their children are expected to complete. At the university level, office hours have become less important as a means by which students communicate with professors. Contact with students increasingly takes place online. Although convenient, this process changes the fundamental nature of interaction between the student and the professor. One is not likely to ask students via e-mail about their family background, their study habits, or their personal lives as one might during an informal chat during office hours. Much may be lost as a result.

The process of teaching and learning in schools is undergoing a profound redefinition. For some, this process, much like the Gutenberg Revolution, represents a "singularity." The concept of a singularity is drawn from the work of science writer Vernor Vinge and describes an event that is so profoundly important that the world is redefined as a result. The invention of movable type was a singularity, as was the creation and explosion of the first atomic bomb. The computer revolution that began with the development of main-frame machines and continued with inexpensive desktop computing and the widespread implementation and use of the Internet and World Wide Web is almost certainly another example of a singularity, or possibly multiple singularities.

The emergence of a singularity is a relatively rare event, although, as technology continues to evolve rapidly, it may create a situation in which singularities are more common. The Human Genome Project, for example, which is already revolutionizing fields such as biology and medicine, is almost certainly a singularity, as is the related technology of genetic cloning.

To a significant degree, computers and their increasingly widespread use in our culture and educational system change the nature of educational discourse. These changes are not neutral, but represent very specific ways of knowing and understanding the world. Being aware of this process is fundamental to understanding what can and cannot be accomplished in the teaching and learning process in our schools. As such, the question of technology and its impact on education becomes one of the most critical issues that all educators must address.

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See also Adaptive Technology; Audiovisual Education, History of; Distance Learning

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions; Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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TELEVISION, PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL

Proposed by, lobbied for, and signed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967, the Public Television Act, which created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, was the impetus for public educational television as it exists in the United States today. The issue of funding was not resolved in this act, an issue that continues to be problematic. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), although created by federal law, is a private, nonprofit corporation. The CPB receives money from Congress to fund the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which was created in 1968, as well as National Public Radio and Public Radio International. Its funding has frequently been controversial in Congress, with opposition, primarily among conservatives, centering on the cultural and educational programs which the CPB supports.

PBS airs most of the educational public television in the United States. PBS, like CPB, is a private, nonprofit organization. Ownership is shared among its 354 noncommercial member stations nationwide. PBS does not actually produce programs, but rather distributes them so that they can be aired.

Educational programming on PBS is created and produced by a number of companies. The Sesame Workshop, formerly the Children's Television Workshop, was established in 1968 and is responsible for the program that many Americans automatically associate with educational television, *Sesame Street*. Created by educators and psychologists with the education of urban preschool students as the focus, *Sesame Street* began in 1969 and is still on the air today. *Sesame Street's* characters, both human and puppet, increase in diversity to be inclusive of their audiences.

During the 1970s, shows teaching everything from cooking (*The French Chef* with Julia Child), remodeling (*This Old House*), and yoga (*Lilias, Yoga and You*) came to complement spelling, math, and character-building programs such as *The Electric*

Company and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. In the sciences, *NOVA*, which first aired in 1974, continues to be a favorite among viewers and teachers alike. For audiences interested in business, PBS began offering *Wall Street Week* in 1970, another program that continues to air.

From its earliest inception, PBS and its content suppliers relied on programs produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation, and that history is still evident in series such as *Masterpiece Theater* and *Mystery*. Although public television cannot properly be said to have competitors, as cable networks such as A&E and the History Channel have emerged and created shows that follow the educational format established by PBS, PBS has lost some viewers.

John P. Renaud

See also Politics of Education

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TESTING, HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most Americans did not know about scientifically developed tests. This situation changed after World War I. Wartime leaders implemented extensive intelligence and vocational testing programs to help them categorize the numerous military recruits with whom they were dealing. Popular newspapers and magazines raised awareness about testing when they informed the general public that the soldiers' scores on the new assessment devices were unexpectedly low.

Once the war was over, former military psychologists accepted jobs in the schools. They implemented academic testing programs that were similar to those that they had employed in the armed services. Publishers supplied the school psychologists with tests in areas such as reading, writing, and mathematics. The publishers also provided specialized tests to industrialists and businesspersons. The numerous scholastic and business customers that they were able

to nurture provided the postwar testing publishers with a solid foundation for growth.

Scientific testing was presented as efficient, cost-effective, and objective. Impressed with these positive features, influential leaders in government and business supported it. Most parents, who wanted to be reassured that their children were making educational progress, also supported it. At the same time, many professional educators opposed testing. They thought it was an unreliable and invalid assessment of students. Furthermore, they saw it as a challenge to their professional independence and expertise. Although confrontations between these groups continued, scientific testing became a critical component of American education. This entry looks at the history of education-related testing.

Early Intelligence Tests

Nineteenth-century teachers had evaluated student learning through recitation. This was a classroom practice in which the students took turns orally recapitulating key pieces of information about a subject that they had studied. The teacher determined whether the students had demonstrated sufficient learning. A group of disgruntled educators began to criticize recitation for being too subjective. They urged teachers to employ the new approach to assessment with which psychologists were experimenting.

Many scientifically minded educators were extremely impressed by Alfred Binet (1857–1911), a French psychologist who had created a distinctive intelligence exam. The 1908 version of Binet's test relied on a limited number of simple tasks. For example, Binet thought that people had the intelligence of three-year-old children if they could restate numbers; describe pictures; identify their personal family names; repeat sentences of six syllables; and point to their noses, eyes, and mouths. Binet devised more demanding tasks to determine whether examinees demonstrated advanced degrees of intelligence. Because of its straightforwardness, ease of administration, and consistent results, Binet's intelligence test became the template for instruments with which teachers could measure the academic accomplishments of their students.

Early Academic Tests

During the first half of the twentieth century, Edward Thorndike (1874–1949) was the most famous spokesperson for academic assessment and the assessment-centered approach to teaching. The distinctive tests that he and his colleagues developed closely resembled the classroom practices that they purported to measure. This correspondence bolstered the confidence of those teachers and parents who were skeptical about the novel instruments.

The tests that Thorndike championed were attractive for several additional reasons. For example, some of them could be administered to groups of students and scored with special effort-reducing devices. Another advantage was that many of the tests relied on statistical techniques that standardized the performances of students. School administrators who employed standardized tests could compare the learning demonstrated by two students, even if those students had used different textbooks or studied with different instructors. Although many educators thought that scientifically based tests would produce accurate estimates of learning, some of them also hoped that reliance on them would elevate the teaching profession to a more prestigious position in American society.

Tests were devised for all grade levels and in multiple areas of the curriculum. Additionally, they incorporated multiple types of tasks. For example, early reading tests assessed students' abilities to use phonics, recognize words, interpret the meaning of sentences, form inferences, and employ illustrations as aids to comprehension. Tests of mathematics, writing, social studies, English, and science contained similarly diverse tasks. Some of these tests could be administered only to individual students, others only to groups, and still others had the flexibility to be given to either. Although most of the new tests were estimates of student achievement, a good number were diagnostic tools that could facilitate remedial instruction.

Those critics who distrusted the assessment that had been provided by teachers and school officials were extremely optimistic about tests. They thought that the new instruments could measure student learning more accurately than the teachers and school administrators could evaluate it. Some of them thought that tests could help create a business-like

atmosphere in which school budgets would be linked to student performance. A few of the critics suggested that the scores earned by students on standardized tests should serve as the basis for giving merit raises to teachers or renewed contracts to administrators.

Impact of World War I

World War I military leaders had asked psychologists to design tests that would differentiate those recruits who would be successful as soldiers. To the surprise of many persons, the scores on these tests revealed that a significant portion of the recruits lacked the intelligence to perform some of their critical duties. Conservative politicians used these data to dramatize the need for greater military preparedness. Many of them railed against the public educational system, which they thought had failed to meet a cardinal commitment to national defense.

Two types of intelligence tests were developed by the military psychologists. The Alpha Test was a written exam that could be used with large groups. The other exam, the Beta Test, was an interactive measure that was designed for soldiers who were illiterate or unable to communicate effectively in English. Although the press publicized the disappointing scores that soldiers earned on these general exams, it ignored their performance on many of the other tests that the army psychologists had created. Some of the alternative tests assessed the recruits' aptitudes for the different military trades and vocations. Some of them measured the degrees to which soldiers already might have mastered the skills that were required for specific jobs. After the war, the military's vocational exams were adapted so that they could be administered to job applicants or employees in industry, commerce, and business. They also were modified for use with high school and vocational school students.

Influence of Entrepreneurs

Once they had confirmed that academic and vocational testing could be profitable, textbook publishers began to develop large inventories of materials for these markets. By the 1940s, thousands of distinctive tests were available and were administered to millions of students. Some of the most profitable products

were completed by high school students as part of their application to selective colleges or academic programs. The Educational Testing Service, which was founded in 1947, quickly established itself as the dominant force in this market. As an indication of its success, the Educational Testing Service was earning annual income in excess of \$100 million just 30 years after it had been founded.

Although the opponents of standardized testing attacked the entire testing industry, they frequently focused their criticism on the Educational Testing Service. They claimed that it was secretive, monopolistic, unethical, and unfair to students from racial minority groups. They were able to air these views in newspapers and magazines. As a result of the ensuing publicity, the New York legislature passed a “Truth in Testing Law” that required publishers to disclose the content on their tests. This 1970s state law enabled critics to uncover several incorrect items in these tests. Even while they were enduring sustained assaults, the Educational Testing Service and the testing industry in general continued to grow.

Test-Based Accountability

During the 1980s, a series of reports alleged that a crisis was threatening American education. By far, the most influential publication was *A Nation at Risk*. The authors of this 1983 federal report pointed to low test scores as evidence of weaknesses in the schools. Believing that the value of testing already had been demonstrated, they called for additional and more extensive testing to monitor the health of the educational system. Influential business leaders endorsed this report’s conclusions, including the recommendation for greater assessment.

Also impressed by the report, numerous state legislatures implemented testing programs to help them determine whether high school students should graduate, teachers should receive bonuses, or school administrators should be awarded new contracts. Because their consequences were so severe, these initiatives were characterized as high-stakes testing plans.

The National Educational Association, which was the largest professional organization representing teachers, repeatedly condemned high-stakes testing. However, polls demonstrated that the teachers had

misgauged the attitudes of the general public. Once they realized that they lacked the nation’s confidence, the members of the National Education Association attempted to garner greater public support. They promised that they would devise teacher-endorsed assessment procedures that were more useful, cost-effective, practical, reliable, valid, and fair. However, the antitesting factions were unable to fulfill their commitment. As a result, their credibility dropped even further. Meanwhile, a bipartisan coalition supported testing. Backed by this broad political alliance, Presidents George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush made standardized testing a key component of their plans for improving education.

Gerard Giordano

See also Intelligence Testing

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TEXTBOOKS, HISTORY OF

Textbooks are an invention of the early modern period and reflect the emergence of the new technology of the book, as well as the realization that children have separate needs and lives from adults. Over the years, textbooks have covered more and more subjects, and they have become increasingly subject to controversy. This entry looks at the history of textbooks, particularly in the United States, and examines some of the more recent and powerful controversies.

Early Texts

Although catechisms were common by the end of the sixteenth century, the first modern textbook is widely recognized as being John Amos Comenius’s *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. The *Orbis Pictus* was approximately 400 pages, with an illustrated text, originally published in both Czech and Latin. It literally had as its purpose introducing the child to all of the major

objects and things found in the world. The *Orbis Pictus* is important because it identifies the child not only as a subject to be educated, but also as someone who can be shaped by the technology of print and an illustrated text. The influence of Comenius's work is clear when one looks at the first textbook used in the American colonies, *The New England Primer*.

The New England Primer was first published about 1690 by Benjamin Harris. A small book that could easily be held in the palm of a child's hand, the text was heavily illustrated and incorporated many elements into its content, such as an illustrated alphabet, found in the *Orbis Pictus*. The book, as textbooks in general, reflected the values and beliefs of the culture for which it was produced: in this case, a conservative Protestant and biblically oriented tradition. The book begins with a prayer, followed with lists of words, many with religious overtones, such as benediction and purification, for the children to recite. Even its famous rhyming alphabet was religious in nature.

Early textbooks were primers, spellers, or reading books. Primers provided learners with a basic introduction to reading, whereas spelling books dealt with more advanced word and sentence construction. Spellers typically concluded with simple reading passages—in particular, fables. Readers, as their name suggests, provided advanced reading material, often increasingly difficult in its content.

A New Nation

Prior to the American Revolution, British textbooks were used in colonial schools such as those by Lindley Murray. With the success of the American Revolution, the need to develop American textbooks with distinctive American versus British themes came to be seen as increasingly urgent. Most important of these efforts was the work of Noah Webster (1758–1843), who published the three-volume *Grammatical Institutes of the English Language* in 1783. This work, whose first volume eventually came to be known as “The Blue Back Speller” because of its blue covers, was deliberately political in its content (anti-British and pro-American).

Later known as *The American Spelling Book*, and, after 1829, as the *Elementary Spelling Book*, Webster's

spellers continued to be used into the twentieth century and sold tens of millions of copies. Webster's speller was not the only textbook published after the Revolution that had a political agenda. Jedidiah Morse's *Geography Made Easy* (1784) very consciously promoted political, social, and moral values—ones that were consciously American.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, more than a dozen different primers, readers, spellers, and arithmetic books were being published in the United States. Among them were Nicholas Pike's *New and Complete System of Arithmetic* (1788) and Nathan Daboll's *School Master's Assistant* (1800). Operating under the assumption that students could already read, the arithmetic books taught that there were “rules” for every problem. Even in the arithmetic books, patriotic heroes such as George Washington appeared in the word problems.

An Expanding Field

In 1836, a professor from Ohio, William Holmes McGuffey (1800–1873), published a multivolume collection that included a primer and a set of six readers that came to dominate the American textbook market for the next fifty years. The first of *McGuffey's Eclectic Readers* largely reflected the moral values of the day. One distinction that set them apart was their emphasis on pacifism. The readers also included literary selections from Aesop's Fables, Shakespeare, George Gordon (Lord Byron), Washington Irving, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Geography textbooks such as Arnold Henry Guyot's *Physical Geography* (1866) likewise reflected the biases of their authors and the beliefs of the society by dividing and ranking the races of people. Blacks were typically depicted as being childlike and unintelligent—stereotypes that continued well into the twentieth century. Religious prejudices were also found in textbooks. Jews and Catholics were often depicted in a discriminatory way: the Pope as a tyrant and Roman Catholicism as a threat to the American democracy. So serious was the prejudice against Catholics that by the 1840s, the Catholic Church began to produce its own textbooks to be used in parochial schools.

Textbooks have often been the source of controversy in American culture because they reflected regional values. Prior to the Civil War, there was a general feeling on the part of the South, for example, that most textbooks were antisouthern and reflected a northern bias against institutions such as slavery. This is not surprising because most of the textbook authors in the United States at that time came from the northern states. During the Civil War, the production and sale of distinctively southern textbooks became an important issue for the Confederate states.

Textbooks and Values

Textbooks are almost never value free: A primer teaches a child to read while introducing social values; a reader provides role models in its stories; and an American history textbook is written from a particular political point of view. The issue of the cultural content of textbooks remained an important issue during the twentieth century and even into the current era. During the late 1930s, the Progressive educator Harold Rugg (1886–1960) produced a series of American history textbooks that strongly emphasized critical thinking and the criticism of the failure of capitalism as reflected in the economic Depression that was holding the country in its grip. A systematic campaign was organized throughout the country to have his books removed from the schools.

Until very recently, history textbooks have ignored the accomplishments and roles of women in American history. The history of men, instead, was emphasized, particularly in textbooks published prior to the 1970s. In doing so, a null curriculum was promoted—in other words, the teaching of a way of knowing and understanding by not teaching about it. Cities, much less slums, rarely appeared in readers: Non-Black, non-Hispanic, non-Native American children always seemed to be playing on neat lawns in front of houses surrounded by white picket fences. Slowly, the situation changed as history books began to mention more women and Black historical figures.

During the late 1960s, textbook critics such as Mel and Norma Gabler of Longview, Texas, and founders of Educational Research Analysts, a textbook evaluation group, consistently called for a more conservative

political content in textbooks that reflected their rural, middle-class, and conservative Christian values. Their impact was particularly important, because they strongly influenced the adoption of textbooks at the state level. This practice, which occurs primarily in the southern states, strongly influences textbook publishers because the state committee determines whether or not public funds can be used for the purchase of textbooks at the local level.

These adoption committees and procedures are particularly important for publishers in states such as Texas, California, and Florida because of their size. A large state such as Texas, for example, guarantees millions of dollars in sales for a publisher. As a result, most publishers are not willing to risk their investment by producing textbooks that could potentially offend a broad spectrum of the population. As a result, textbooks—particularly in subjects such as history and literature—follow safe and long-established traditions, try at all costs to avoid controversy, and try to appeal to the largest audiences possible. As such, they represent consensus and often conservative works.

More textbooks are sold each year than any other type of book. As textbook authors and editors try to please the many different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups in the United States, the result, more often than not, is that textbook content is more likely to be bland and acceptable rather than critical and provocative. What makes a particular textbook acceptable to an individual parent or community may make it unacceptable to another parent or in another part of the country. The pressure from special interest groups is particularly strong when considering elementary and secondary textbooks. Because the profits from these books are potentially the greatest for publishers, they are going to produce books that appeal to the largest number of people.

Increasing Controversy

Attempts to keep textbooks out of controversies do not always succeed. In March 1974, in Kanawha County, West Virginia, a controversy erupted over the content of 325 language arts textbooks that appeared on a list submitted by five teachers to the board of education for adoption. The protestors objected to the

textbooks because they considered some of the authors (such as the radical African American Eldridge Cleaver) whose work was included in them to be unsuitable. They also objected to the violence, sad themes, and “dirty language” they found in the books.

What became known as the “battle of the books” raged on into the fall. Textbook protesters kept 8,000 (out of 42,000) students from attending school on September 3, 1974. Wildcat strikes broke out among local businesses and industries that supported the protestors. When the school board’s attempts at compromise with the protestors failed, they were forced to completely close the schools to protect the students. The school board removed the most controversial books from the approved list and had the books shelved in the library rather than being used in the classrooms. But the protestors were not happy with the board’s compromise: Students were removed from the schools and buses were fired upon. The Upper Kanawah County Valley Mayors Association obtained arrest warrants for the superintendent and the school board, charging them with contributing to the delinquency of minors by adopting “un-Christian” and “anti-American” textbooks.

The school board responded by drawing up a set of guidelines for textbook adoption. The acceptable books could not contain profane language, had to encourage loyalty to the United States, and show respect for the sanctity of the home and one’s parents. By the beginning of 1975, the controversy had quieted down. Even though unusually violent, the controversy did, however, highlight the fact that dramatically different viewpoints about what should be taught in the school can exist within a particular community.

Controversies over textbooks continue to appear on a regular basis and will almost certainly continue to do so in the future. They are, by definition, the most public and easily available material found in the curriculum and can be easily subject to political and social criticism. As the most publicly visible evidence of the curriculum being taught in the schools, they are particularly fascinating to those interested in studying the educational values of a culture.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

See also Curriculum Challenges in Schools; Politics of Education

See Visual History Chapter 2, Early Textbooks; Chapter 5, The McGuffey Readers and Textbook Depictions of Teachers

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TITLE IX

The 1960s and 1970s were a tumultuous time in America’s history. Many changes occurred within the population, the culture, and the politics of that time period. Women were demanding equal rights, and one of the primary areas in which they wanted this equality was education. In 1972, the educational amendments passed in the U.S. Congress including Title IX, which promised that “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” This entry looks at the law and its impact.

What the Law Says

Although Title IX covers all programs that receive federal funds, the main focus has been on athletics, specifically college athletics. This seemed to be based on the assumption that athletics was where the greatest disparity existed between men and women. Before Title IX, the *Encyclopedia of Women’s Sports* found

that only 1 percent of the average athletic budget went to women's sports. Stereotypes of female athletes led many women to avoid sports altogether. In education, many colleges maintained quotas that limited the number of women who could enter certain programs. Even newspaper classified advertisements separated jobs by gender.

These disparities caused many women's organizations and leaders to call for the federal government to address the gender discrimination. In the summer of 1970, Representative Edith Green (D-Oregon) chaired a special subcommittee on education. The goal of these hearings was to amend gender discrimination in federally financed programs, including higher education. The hearing covered more than 1,000 pages of inequity grievances that ranged from classified advertisement separation to gender stereotypes. The women who presented these grievances made demands for equality in employment procedures, salary, federal income tax, and Social Security benefits. The result of these hearings was the Education Amendments Act of 1972, which passed through Congress and was signed on June 23, 1972, by President Richard Nixon.

In order for schools or programs to be deemed in compliance, they must adhere to one of the three options (or prongs) listed in Title IX: (1) The number of available opportunities for each gender must be proportional to the number of each gender's interest and numbers on campus; (2) the school must show a history of program expansion in response to interest and abilities of each gender; (3) the school must show that its present programs address interest and abilities of each gender. Thirteen programs are typically addressed to evaluate compliance, and they include, but are not limited to, practice facilities, times, coaching staff, and financial assistance.

Impact and Critique

Because the wording of Title IX was so vague, the prongs so flexible, and the original enforcement so lax, it has received many criticisms and setbacks during its tumultuous history. College administrators, coaches, and male athletes argue that Title IX costs more money and forces some men's programs to be

cut. Many of these dissenters also disagree with the federal government's threat and mandate to withhold federal funds if schools are not found in compliance. During the late 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century, lawsuits have been presented arguing that the proportionality clause hurts other men's programs. The majority of these lawsuits have ruled in favor of the female plaintiffs. In 1996 and as recently as 2002, Congress has upheld the three-prong test, with only one of the prongs needed for compliance.

Even with its dissenters, delays, and slow enforcement, Title IX has made tremendous improvements for women and has opened the doors to education and athletics at all levels of schooling for women. In academics, Title IX has opened the doors to many more professional degrees for women. Terry H. Anderson reported that in 1970, women made up only 1 percent of engineers, 2 percent of dentists, 3 percent of lawyers, and 7 percent of physicians, whereas recent statistics now report that in 2003, women accounted for 9 percent of civil engineers, 7 percent of electrical engineers, 28 percent of lawyers, and 30 percent of physicians. Nelly Stromquist found that in 1971, women made up the following percentages of degrees: 44 percent of bachelor's, 40 percent of master's, 16 percent of doctoral, and 6 percent of professional degrees (including chiropractic, dentistry, law, medicine, pharmacy, podiatry, theology, and veterinary medicine). By 1989, these numbers had increased to 52 percent, 52 percent, 36 percent, and 36 percent, respectively.

In athletics, Title IX has opened the doors to education at all levels of schooling. Linda Jean Carpenter and Vivian Acosta have found in their research that in 1971, there were only 30,000 college women participating in sports. In 2002–2003, the highest number to date of high school and college students participated in athletics, and women made up 41 percent of these. In 2002, 42 percent of all college athletes were women (150,000). In the 1970s, 294,000 high school girls participated in sports compared to 3.7 million high school boys. In 2002, the numbers were 2,856,358 and 3,988,783 for girls and boys, respectively. In 1972, the average number of female teams per college was only 2.50, whereas in 2004, this number increased to 8.32.

Title IX has helped women gain better access to both education and athletics. This access has helped women achieve equal treatment with men but also has enabled them to improve their own self-concepts. Today's young women are continuing to build on the work of their predecessors as they continue their achievements in both athletics and academics.

Roxanne Hughes

See also Athletics, Policy Issues; Educational Equity: Gender; Educational Reform; Higher Education, History of; Women, Higher Education of

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TRACKING AND DETRACKING

Tracking is an instructional management practice in which students are assessed on achievement or intelligence and then assigned to differentiated curricula to match their abilities. The importance of tracking stems from its impact on student achievement and its broader implications for schools. Today, many countries throughout the world implement tracking in their schools. However, tracking is still viewed as a

highly controversial practice because it is perceived as a source of educational inequality. In some cases, schools have actively sought to “detrack” their curricula by creating more heterogeneous classrooms. This entry provides a brief history of tracking, surveys leading perspectives on its advantages and disadvantages, and discusses the issues raised by detracking.

Historical Background

Tracking has a long history and close connections with the purposes of education. Socrates, through his spokesperson Plato, provides one of the earliest examples that links differentiated education directly to social needs. In his ideal state, the Republic, Socrates argued that society requires three classes of citizens. Using the analogy of citizens as likened to bronze, silver, and gold, these classes were (1) artisans or workers, (2) guardians, and (3) rulers. Because each role in the hierarchical social structure required different skills, education was to be differentiated on that basis.

Socrates' “Myth of the Metals” may seem quaint, if not outright undemocratic, by today's standards. However, his notions were significantly more progressive than those of many later thinkers. In particular, Socrates believed that individuals would be happiest if they were able to use their natural abilities. He also believed that a person's assignment as a worker, guardian, or ruler should be determined according to those abilities. A person's station in life was not inherited on the basis of family position or wealth. In making these points, Socrates anticipated that questions of fairness and equality would long remain central in debates over how education should be used in addressing social needs.

In the United States, tracking as a widespread practice can be traced back to the era of urbanization, industrialization, and the resulting growth of the common schools. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, educational leaders argued vigorously that tracking was efficient for what historian David Tyack called “the One Best System.” As schools became larger and more bureaucratic, educational leaders sought more differentiated forms of school organization. Yet beyond efficiency, tailoring instruction and curriculum to the abilities of varying pupils was seen as a morally justifiable course of action, for educational

proponents argued that the same levels of education for all disadvantage both faster-learning and slower-learning students alike.

The Logic of Tracking

The logic of tracking can be traced from two different perspectives—the pedagogical and the public.

Pedagogical Perspective

In most schools and classrooms, students are likely to differ in their intellectual abilities, interests, and achievements. Recognizing such inequities, many learning specialists have tried to keep students at roughly similar levels of achievement by using curricular or pedagogical strategies. Mastery learning approaches, for example, seek to reduce inequities by extending time and resources for low achievers. In mastery learning, materials are subdivided into units, and students are given a test at the end of each unit. If students do not reach mastery on the test, they are provided with more time and more teaching until they have achieved mastery on a retest. By doing so, mastery learning is intended to ensure minimal levels of achievement. However, providing extra time for slower-learning students to master each unit seems to introduce new forms of inequality. Striving for similar achievement levels leads to unequal time and resources, whereas equal time and resources leads to unequal achievement. In short, educators face a time-equality-outcome dilemma. If extra teaching time for slower students is needed, will teachers have to neglect fast learners? Will faster-learning students be held back while waiting for slower-learning students, or will the slower-learning students be left behind? Tracking is often viewed as a way to address these questions.

Public Perspective

Policy makers and the public at large may view tracking as necessary for three reasons. First, students naturally vary in their abilities. Second, education should address a wide range of social needs. Third, schools can best accommodate individual abilities and prepare students for a productive career by sorting

them according to their abilities. In short, tracking is seen as a way to produce the skills and knowledge needed for a differentiated workforce.

Criticisms of Tracking

Although many educators and members of the public support the need for educational tracking, critics also abound. In particular, critics of tracking argue that low-track classes tend to receive inferior instruction compared to the high-track classes, and that over time, this unequal allocation of instructional resources results in greater disparity in academic achievement. So, what are the outcomes of tracking that concern these critics? These are discussed below.

Curricular Content

First, critics worry that curriculum content in low-track classes focuses exclusively on fragmented and irrelevant information; that is, information at the lower levels of Bloom's Taxonomy. In contrast, curriculum content in high-track classes presents broader, more complex, and more demanding concepts. These qualitative differences may be especially pronounced with today's popular high-stakes tests, where low-track classes are likely to receive commercial "test prep" curricula.

Instructional Activities

Critics also worry that teachers of high-track classes spend a larger proportion of class time on instruction, whereas teachers of low-track classes spend relatively greater amounts of class time dealing with management and classroom behavior. Instructional activities in high-track classes often involve high levels of cognitive content, whereas instructional activities in low-track classes emphasize following the rules. In other words, the fast get the lecture and the slow get lectured.

Teacher Placement

Skeptics also worry that differences in instruction are compounded by teacher assignments. Many studies have suggested that more experienced teachers

and teachers who are regarded as more successful are disproportionately assigned to the higher tracks, whereas teachers with less experience, less training, and generally weaker reputations are often assigned to teach lower-track classes.

Teacher Attitudes Toward Tracking

Skeptics are also concerned that teachers assigned to higher tracks may put more time and energy into their teaching than their low-track counterparts. More time may be spent in class preparation because teachers are more challenged by teaching in a high track. Conversely, low-track teachers may become demoralized because they perceive themselves as less successful. As a case of what psychologists call *need achievement*, low perceptions of success may reduce the motivation of lower-track teachers.

Teacher–Student Relations

By the same token, critics worry that by tracking students, teachers view high-track students positively and low-track students negatively, leading teachers to hold high expectations for high-track students and low expectations for low-track students. This concern is the well-known “Pygmalion in the classroom” effect. High-track students respond to high expectations with improved achievement. Conversely, low-track students respond to low expectations with reduced motivation and achievement levels, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Peer Relations

Finally, critics cite studies that have examined how tracking affects patterns of student friendship. Specifically, students are likely to make friends with others in the same track rather than between tracks. In fact, high-track students use their perceptions of student academic rank as a major criterion for choosing their friends. High-track students form cohesive cliques, often helping each other with homework or preparing for exams. For low-track students, peer acceptability is often associated with negative attitudes toward school and disruptive behavior in the

classroom. In some situations, failure may even become a badge of honor.

Detracking

In light of the criticisms described above, both individuals and groups have advocated “detracking.” Detracking is a process in which students from homogeneous classrooms are reshuffled into heterogeneous instructional groupings. Advocates of detracking believe that heterogeneous classrooms can challenge teachers to influence a wide range of students’ learning, thereby increasing the rewards of teaching. They also believe that this empowerment can enhance low-ability student achievement without diminishing the achievement of high-ability students. Finally, advocates argue that detracking can increase nonacademic school outcomes, such as respect for diversity.

Nevertheless, supporters of detracking reform face significant challenges. The first challenge may stem from parents. Many parents believe that tracking practices raise their children’s opportunities to achieve success in the future. It is not uncommon for parents to intervene by lobbying schools to retain tracking and to ensure that their children are assigned to tracks in a favorable way. At the very least, parents of academically advanced students or parents with high socioeconomic status are likely to feel threatened by detracking policies. Another challenge may come from teachers who view tracking as an efficient way to reduce an already overburdened workload. Whereas some teachers may see heterogeneity as a source of job satisfaction, others may see it as demanding, burdensome accommodations.

Although considerable research has suggested that tracking often contributes to unequal achievement outcomes, researchers have yet to thoroughly examine the effects of detracking on school practices. Research is needed to determine whether detracking is able to reduce the learning gaps between high and low achievers, and, if so, which dynamics are at work. Evaluation of curriculum and instructional strategies, forms of school organization, and community outreach is also needed.

Kai-Ju Yang

See also Pygmalion Effect

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TRIBAL COLLEGES

Navajo Community College (now Diné College) began offering classes in Arizona as the first tribally controlled native college in 1969. Three years later, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was founded, and the group soon lobbied for more stable and better funding. When the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act was passed in 1978, seventeen tribal colleges existed. Today, thirty-five tribal colleges serving about 13 percent of the 170,000 American Indian students in college are listed as governing members of AIHEC from fourteen states and one Canadian province. This entry looks at their history and current practice.

Education of Native Americans

The federal government, responsible for the education of American Indians under various treaties, deferred to private religious institutions at first in this area. Later, when the federal government took over direct control, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) stood in the way of development of tribally controlled institutions. For many years, the goal of Native American education was to assimilate the Indians into White society. Most Indian schools trained in industrial arts and farming, but a few students were selected for study at White colleges. When financial assistance for American Indian students expanded in the 1960s, few took advantage given the high dropout rate from high school and the unwelcoming environment at mainstream colleges and universities.

These dropout rates and the success of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, funded by the non-BIA Office of Economic Opportunity, convinced the Navajo (Diné) to seek funds for a junior college. The college was chartered by the tribe in 1968 and offered classes in 1969. This college served as a model for further development as American Indians pushed for self-determination.

The idea of an American Indian university was not a new one, and several institutions had served a small portion of the native students. But the development of local tribally controlled colleges that focused on tribal culture was new. President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty helped tribes gain some financial and administrative support through the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was not part of the BIA. By the time Congress passed the 1971 Navajo Community College Act, a couple of other colleges had been created.

Current Practice

The tribal colleges in the United States were made land-grant institutions in 1994. Two of the colleges are operated by the Office of Indian Education programs of the BIA. Despite various laws and the development of funding sources, funding remains a major issue. Other issues have included accreditation, faculty development, development of culturally relevant curriculum and preparation for interaction within the

larger dominant society, articulation or ease of transfer to other institutions, support of students from very difficult circumstances, and appropriate working relations with larger land-grant and university partners.

Despite challenges, tribal colleges continue to develop as unique institutions of learning linked to people, land, air, water, and animals. American Indian students traditionally have been the least represented in higher education. These developing institutions are helping to change this and are developing communities while serving as models for the rest of higher education.

Tribal colleges have dual missions that reflect the history of native peoples in light of the dominant culture: to provide quality education that prepares youth to participate in the twenty-first-century world, and to infuse into the curriculum and activities the language, culture, and traditional wisdom of elders. Although native peoples are diverse, they share a holistic and harmonistic worldview that stresses connections; this thinking is often at odds with Western traditions that feature disconnected knowledge bases or disciplines.

In the native worldview, family, clan, and community are places of meaning and relationships. Tribal colleges are important centers for native knowledge and research. The emphasis on community means that they offer adult education services, general equivalency high school preparation, and a myriad of services necessary to create opportunity for their mostly American Indian student population. The students are mostly first-generation college students with an average age of more than 31 years. About two thirds of the students are women, and more than half are single parents.

Challenges

The differing knowledge structures have led to problems when students transfer to such colleges. Some tribal colleges now offer four-year degrees and beyond. As mainstream colleges seek ways to reconnect to their communities and serve all students, the tribal colleges are serving as role models.

Attempting to stay true to mission and serve American Indian student needs creates issues with accrediting agencies. Accrediting agencies are used to

Western institutions with hierarchical structures and high stress on formal credentials. Tribal colleges often stress little formal authority and consensus building. Tribal college pedagogy calls for elders to teach tribal ways. Seldom do they have requisite formal degrees.

Accreditation relates to funding. Colleges often charge some tuition or fees to supplement inadequate government funding. Accreditation allows students to receive federal financial assistance. Accreditation also makes the institutions legitimate in the eyes of legislators, who approve funding. Congress has approved per-pupil funding of \$6,000, but only about \$4,447 is usually received. This is much less than comparable institutions.

Michael W. Simpson

See also Culturally Responsive Teaching; Education and Economic Development; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction; Hegemony; Higher Education, History of; Holistic Education; Indigenous Knowledges; Local Knowledge; Native American Education, History of; Native American Higher Education

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Web Sites

- American Indian Higher Education Consortium:
<http://www.aihec.org>
- Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education*: <http://www.tribalcollegejournal.org>

TRIVIU AND QUADRIVIU

During the medieval period, the seven liberal arts were divided into three verbal arts, or *trivium*, and four mathematical arts, called the *quadrivium*. The trivium is comprised of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and the quadrivium consists of arithmetic, music,

geometry, and astronomy. The trivium and quadrivium represent the historic evolution of the classical education of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as laying the groundwork for the birth of academe. Traditionally, a mnemonic has been used to introduce the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium: Grammar speaks, dialectic teaches truth, rhetoric adorns words, music sings, arithmetic counts, geometry measures, and astronomy studies stars.

The quadrivium has roots in ancient Greece among the Pythagoreans, whose belief that number is an ordering principle of the universe led them to seek out mathematical harmonies through systematic, philosophical analysis. Thus, arithmetic is the philosophy of number rather than the computational subject that later assumed the name. Addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division would, by the medieval period, be called *algorism*, whereas the problems of unity, equality, ratio, and proportion were regarded as the proper objects of arithmetical study. Similarly, the study of music engaged questions about the relation of number to sound and sound to harmony. Boethius's laconic remark that geometry is the study of immobile magnitude and of forms circumscribes that topic well. Finally, astronomy is the study of the movement of heavenly bodies.

The trivium began in earnest with the rhetorical tradition of ancient Greece, although the systematic study of rhetoric was an invention of Plato's in response to the rhetorical philosophy of the sophists.

Rhetoric began as the practical study of oratory, intended to prepare Athenian citizens to take part in assemblies or to litigate at court. By the thirteenth century, rhetoric had turned to the art of embellishment. Circumlocution and amplification—the practice of superfluous speech or writing—took on such importance as to mark virtually all of the poetry of the period with endless digressions and distracting linguistic ornamentation. Grammar was considered the foundational discipline upon which all other disciplines were built. Grammar, the study of language and meaning, was the student's first contact with the word, which is the principle of the trivium much as unity is the principle of the quadrivium. The student of grammar learned spelling, reading, and writing in his early years, and introduction to philosophical topics comprised the study of grammar for young men. The third subject of the trivium, dialectic, is the study of reasoning. Dialectical argument takes as premises answers put forward by one party in response to probative questions of another. The questioner then reasons from the given premises to a conclusion. The difficulty of dialectical argument lies in the fact that the answerers must accept the premises that the questioners form out of their responses. If no agreement can be established, dialectical argument cannot proceed.

Shawn Pendley

See also Classical Curriculum; *Great Books of the Western World*

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UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child establishes a system of rights for the world's children. It provides a mechanism for gradual improvement in the governments' observance of those rights through national reports to the United Nations and periodic reviews by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. The fifty-four Articles of the Convention and its two Optional Protocols constitute an integrated system of common international standards for government conduct regarding children (under age eighteen) and their families.

Here are some of the primary rights protected by the Convention. It protects parents' roles in relation to their children and asks governments to help them in those roles. Children are protected against discrimination of any kind related to themselves or their parents. Children's rights to life, identity, nationality, and name are protected. Governments must try to protect children from physical or mental violence, injury, or abuse. Governments may not separate children from their parents, except in the child's best interests, and should try to facilitate the reunification of children separated from their parents. Children may hold and express their own views, and may participate in official matters affecting their status. To the extent that a government's resources permit, it should protect children's health and remedy their illnesses and injuries; provide

for disability-related special needs; help parents provide children with a standard of living adequate for their development; honor children's cultural, religious, or linguistic identities; offer play and recreational activities; and protect children from exploitative labor, drugs, sexual abuse, slavery, and so on. Children in public custody are protected from torture, capital punishment, life imprisonment, or other abuse, and may not be confined without due process. Children near armed conflict must be protected as much as possible, and may not be permitted to perform combat roles.

With regard to education, governments, to the extent that resources permit, must provide free and compulsory primary education to all children and encourage the development of secondary and higher education in various forms with access open to all. Governments should work to encourage regular school attendance and graduation. International cooperation is encouraged to eliminate ignorance and illiteracy, and to facilitate acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods.

Governments should direct children's education toward the fullest possible development of their personalities, talents, and mental and physical abilities; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; respect for the child's parents, cultural and national identity, language, and values; and preparation for a responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples.

The convention was signed initially in New York on November 20, 1989, and entered into force in 1990; 192 countries have agreed to be bound by its terms. Only the United States and Somalia have not yet accepted the convention. However, the United States has ratified the Optional Protocols to the Convention on The Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography. The convention is the most widely accepted statement of law on any issue, with almost universal participation.

John V. Surr

See also Compulsory Educational Attendance Laws; Parent Rights; Rights of Students

Web Sites

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child:
<http://www.unicef.org/crc>

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

The United Negro College Fund is the nation's largest and oldest fund-raising organization for African American education. It provides operating funds and scholarships for 39 historically Black colleges and universities. This entry looks at its history and contributions.

When Frederick D. Patterson became president of Tuskegee Institute in 1935, he quickly realized that his institution—and Black colleges in general—were in the midst of a fund-raising crisis. He found it difficult to run Tuskegee in an efficient manner while meeting the needs of poor students. Moreover, Patterson observed that he and all of the other Black college presidents were competing for the same dwindling pool of funds from foundations. In 1943, in response to this critical situation, Patterson crafted the idea of a united appeal for private Black colleges. He sought to push giving in a new direction by reaching out to the average citizen rather than focusing exclusively on a small number of wealthy donors.

On April 25, 1944, he established the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) with twenty-seven member

colleges and a combined enrollment of 14,000 students. Initially, the UNCF was merely a new face on twentieth-century industrial philanthropy. Philanthropists such as Julius Rosenwald and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. provided seed money for the organization, and in fact, Rockefeller, Jr. initially maintained a tight grip on its everyday activities. During the mid-1940s, the UNCF publicly acted and represented itself in a conservative manner, portraying Black college students as loyal, hardworking citizens—an image that Rockefeller, Jr. could use to bring in large sums of philanthropic support.

With the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, the UNCF changed its public image. In light of the Court's pronouncement that segregated environments were inferior, the UNCF faced the dilemma of how to represent its all-Black campuses without seeming to be against integration. At this time, the UNCF's African American leadership focused on the benefits of attending Black colleges, as well as the possibility of integration.

By the mid-1960s, several philanthropic organizations, including Ford and Carnegie, began to question whether Black colleges should exist at all. Some of the reports issued by foundations contained blistering attacks, creating the need for a robust defense by the UNCF. Gradually, the UNCF began to embrace a new Black-centered image and to become more activist in the public stances it took. Spurred by a growing Black middle class, the 1970s brought about more change and a greater national presence for the UNCF. It was at this time that the UNCF coined the phrase "A Mind Is a Terrible Thing to Waste"—a slogan that invoked a sense of compassion and obligation in many Americans who might not have given previously to Black education.

No longer relying primarily on money from large philanthropies, the UNCF began to draw from a broader donor pool throughout the country. The 1980s and 1990s were a time of growth for the UNCF. New leadership shaped the organization into an efficient entity and designed more effective fundraising strategies that helped raise \$1.6 billion for the member colleges. Perhaps the UNCF's greatest accomplishment was securing a \$1 billion gift from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in 1999. Through this gift,

the UNCF is able to offer scholarships to students in a fashion unparalleled by any other organization.

Marybeth Gasman

See also African American Education; Minority Student Access to Higher Education

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URBAN EDUCATION

In the United States, almost one third of all school-age children attend schools in large urban districts. It is in these urban schools where the diversity of cultures and languages is highest and where students fail to thrive. Thus, urban education is often viewed as a problem, or a set of problems, to be solved. However, it is helpful to see urban education as a manifestation of our cultural and social arrangements for education. Schools require much of parents, including that they know and accept the assumptions on which schooling works. Schools require people to accept that they are to be assimilated and acculturated if they are to succeed in schools. As Valenzuela demonstrates in his 1999 book *Subtractive Schooling*, middle-class families often experience schooling as “additive,” adding knowledge and skills to that which they already have, whereas poor families often experience schooling as “subtractive,” taking away cultural beliefs, languages, and knowledges that are part of their lives, experiences, and cultures.

Urban education, like schooling in general, is about maintaining the dominant culture. When education came to be seen as a community responsibility, it was because the powerful in those communities were concerned about “dissolute” families—those who were not living the way the powerful wished. In small rural communities that were relatively homogeneous, this often meant those who were not church going, or who drank or engaged in adultery, and so on. In the United States, immigration has been a constant force, and

often the “dissolute” families were those who had a different religious or cultural heritage. Thus, education from the beginning was in the middle of cultural politics. Moreover, as Scott has argued, domination can create the social practices that the dominant use to justify the domination. Thus, difference is both across cultures and created by structures of power. This is nowhere more evident than in U.S. cities. The early urban centers were small by today’s standards and were mostly defined as commercial transportation centers. New York and Boston, for example, were originally ports for export of raw materials to Europe and the import of finished goods into the colonies, a pattern that was a central issue in the American Revolution. The Industrial Revolution spawned urbanization and large plants required large workforces. The Industrial Revolution also outstripped the available workforce in the United States, and in order to keep a labor surplus, which would help suppress wages, industrialists pressed for more open immigration. Thus, urbanization, industrialization, and immigration have been intertwined processes, which over time have led to the view that urban education is all about problems.

Indeed, the basic structure of public education was formed in urban centers dealing with immigration in the mid to late nineteenth century. As Katz showed in his 1971 study, the early private schools were being affected by immigration. These schools were being pressed to respond to the wishes of immigrant groups. Particularly threatening to the Protestant ruling elite was a massive influx of Catholics. These leaders saw that the Catholics paying tuition to these private schools had the potential of changing these schools so that they served the immigrant religions, cultures, and languages. This led to the formation of public schools that were under the control of the Protestant elites and that in many ways represented Protestant values. In part, public schools were seen as part of the mission to convert immigrants to Protestantism and, where this did not occur, to imbue them more implicitly with Protestant values. These same values were cloaked in notions of nationalism and patriotism, in which the newly organized urban public schools were seen as instrumental.

The origins of public urban schools set the precedent that the public schools were to be seen as instruments

of public policy and in service of the government and elite interests. A second example of this can be seen in the turbulent 1950s and 1960s in the United States. African Americans had been essentially ghettoized in urban centers through patterns of residential segregation created in part by the racist policies of banks and mortgage companies. Of course, in the South, segregation by race was *de jure*—codified in law. As the civil rights movement gained momentum, it was clear that dramatic action needed to take place if patterns of segregation were to be changed. The nonviolent protests were filmed by the relatively new television media and showed the violence perpetrated by the police in response to them. In the North and West, urban riots captured the attention of the nation so much that President Lyndon Johnson created the Kerner Commission to investigate the riots. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders noted in a 1968 report that riots were often precipitated by police actions, that 90 percent of those killed at the hands of authorities were Black civilians, and that the rioters clearly seemed to want to be included in the social system and to have the material benefits enjoyed by other Americans. Instead of rejecting American society, it is clear that they were wanting to find a place for themselves in American culture.

The Commission concluded that integration was the best way to improve urban children's education and proposed a massive program for improving urban schools. In the years that followed, federal legislation did begin to address the improvements, but in doing so also solidified the image of urban schools as poverty schools. With court-ordered school desegregation, Whites left urban areas and urban schools in such massive numbers that a new term was coined: White flight. Thus, urban areas and urban schools came to be increasingly populated by the poor and those of colors other than White.

A third major development in urban education is still playing out today. The recent school era, which began with the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report in the early 1980s titled *A Nation at Risk*, was a backlash to the efforts to use educational policy to advance educational equity. In this backlash, educational excellence and equity were seen

as polar opposites. *A Nation at Risk* argued that a failing economy was due to education accepting mediocrity (that is, equity) as the goal and called for efforts at school reform to promote excellence. From this have flowed efforts to reform schools and school districts; establish standards; and, more recently, require accountability in the form of high-stakes testing. In many ways, this reform era has been about the reassertion of control over urban schools by the state and federal governments. This undercuts local control of schools by the citizens whose children attend them. Many scholars on the Left feel that in urban areas, school reform is as much about disenfranchising urban residents as it is about improving the quality of education in local schools. This view maintains that current reforms are actually more about privatizing education than anything else. Through mechanisms such as charter schools and vouchers, privatization is seen as a use of public funds for private gains. That these critics see privatization as an abdication of public responsibility for urban education seems clear.

Miller and Woock wrote in their 1970 text *Social Foundations of Urban Education* that the turbulent urban school relations and the "desperate efforts" to make inner-city schools work was only one aspect of a much larger urban crisis. Besides education, urban ills included rising crime, inadequate police forces, civil disruptions, and inadequate funding, not to mention outdated school buildings, pollution, and lack of effective transit systems. What is clear is that the urban "crisis" is not that at all. A crisis implies a dramatic coming together of forces at a point in time that must be acted upon. Yet in this case, the crisis is of long standing. Miller and Woock date it back to the 1950s, but it could easily be dated back to the turn of the twentieth century as well. Furthermore, the crisis is usually perceived by pundits, politicians, and the public as emerging from forces within the cities. However, Castells argued in 1977 that the crisis results from forces around the cities, including metropolitanization, suburbanization, and social-political fragmentation. More recently, we could add deindustrialization. What is important here is that the problems of cities and of urban education are the result of the exodus of political power; people (especially those

in the middle and upper classes); financial and social institutions; work; and capital (tax bases, income, etc.) from the cities. That is to say, the problems associated with urban education and the urban crisis can be solved only by addressing developments outside of the city. Policies and programs within the city and about city schools cannot then solve these problems.

The fact that the problems of urban education are derivative of things gone elsewhere only means that reform limited to the city will have little effect. It does not mean that the problems are any less real or salient. It does mean that it is necessary to rethink how one approaches understanding and improving urban education. The traditional efforts to reform urban education have involved development of remedial and compensatory education programs, improved student behavior and discipline, dropout reduction programs, improved preparation of teachers, desegregation (where possible), decentralization of decision making, fostering of parent and community involvement, equalizing of school finances, provision of increased social services through the schools, and local school reform efforts. As above, the current efforts at systemic (districtwide) reform and standards and accountability policy are linked in two key ways. First, they emerge because it seems clear that the traditional efforts have not resulted in enduring improvements. Consistent with the neoconservative logic, the result has been to mandate standards and accountability and let the schools figure out how best to achieve the desired results. Second, accountability and systemic reform are both centralization efforts that are based on a mistrust of local school efforts, educators, and local communities.

Considerable debate exists on the effectiveness of current reforms for urban education. Many reforms are seen as being more coercive than constructive. As Miron documents, efforts at reform in cities are pushed by an entrepreneurial coalition that seeks to link urban education more tightly to the needs of business for an undereducated and thus low-paid working class for the services economy. It is likely that reform efforts will not be effective unless broader issues about the economy, social class, race, and privilege are addressed. Whatever the case, it is clear that

in years to come, this will be a potentially hotly contested area.

George W. Noblit

See also Americanization Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Economic Inequality; Immigrant Education: Contemporary Issues; Immigrant Education: History; Urban Schools, History of

See Visual History Chapter 12, Frances Benjamin Johnson and the Washington, D.C., Schools; Chapter 14, Immigration and Education

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URBAN SCHOOLS, HISTORY OF

There is a widespread belief today that city schools are a persistent dilemma. Less than fifty years ago, city school systems were judged much less harshly than at present, and in some cases, they were considered to be quite good. It was only in the latter half of the twentieth century that urban schools came to be seen as a major problem. Historians of urban schools have illuminated the process of evolution that

has transformed urban education in the United States. This entry will examine the principal themes in the development of urban schooling, identifying many of the major historical works that have informed our understanding of changes it has undergone.

Early Schools

To fully appreciate the changes that have occurred in city schools, it is important to begin at the earliest stage of American history. In 1973, Carl Kaestle published a groundbreaking study of the early schools in New York. Following the Revolutionary War, schools appear to have been church-sponsored or conducted by individual masters who taught for a fee. New England had the longest tradition of schools established by community or governmental authority, and these too were predominantly religious in purpose. In New York, small proprietary schools served all segments of the population, although there certainly were distinctions in wealth and status that characterized both students and institutions. Public funding often was intended to assist the education of the poorest students.

By the start of the nineteenth century, the largest American cities had acquired loosely structured systems of private, church-sponsored, and publicly supported schools linked to different classes of the population. In the decades leading up to the Civil War, cities grew rapidly, propelled by industrialization, improved transportation, and large-scale immigration. This is a major theme in Kaestle's work on New York and in other studies of school systems from that era. Charity schooling for the poor became a dominant theme, but there was considerable pressure to create public institutions to broaden the reach of popular education. At the same time, industrialization and the growth of trade transformed the social profile of these and other cities, making the small-scale private institutions of the past seemingly archaic. As several historians have noted, the appearance of poor and unskilled working-class city dwellers gave rise to a new atmosphere of diversity and cultural dissonance.

Schools and Social Benefit

By and large, the nineteenth century was an era of institution building, and urban schools were in the

forefront of campaigns to ensure greater social stability through education. Whether maintained by private groups (such as the New York Public School Society) or public agencies (like the public schools in Boston), "free" (no tuition) primary schools served the children of the poor. As illustrated in a series of studies, these efforts were coordinated by an emerging bureaucracy. Eventually, these institutions developed into fully articulated public educational systems.

As a number of studies demonstrate, however, not all groups made full use of these opportunities; those in the social and cultural mainstream came to embrace the schools most enthusiastically. In other places, such as New York, the transition to public education was fraught with difficulty, as exhibited in Diane Ravitch's 1974 account of battles over education in that city's history. There was conflict on cultural and religious grounds, especially among Catholics, who decided to form their own school systems. Taxpayers objected to rising costs, challenging expensive new institutions, such as public kindergartens and high schools, along with other reforms, as seen in a number of studies. Gradually, however, sustained agitation by reformers resulted in acceptance of change in most places.

A new class of administrators came to lead the urban schools, professional superintendents who strove to build systems in keeping with the latest innovations sweeping the country. These men (and very few women) created professional networks whereby information and ideas were exchanged. These developments are major themes in David Tyack's comprehensive 1974 study of urban schooling in the United States, *The One Best System*.

As pointed out in numerous studies, certain schools or classes were designated for children deemed "slow," or prone to chronic misbehavior. Only a relatively small number of students ever attended secondary schools, but these institutions came to be seen as important repositories of learning and culture, evident in David Labaree's 1988 study of secondary education in Philadelphia. Curricular innovation, often under the banner of progressive reform, created programs of study to link schools to the job market, along with innovative administrative reforms, as in the famous "platoon schools" of Gary, Indiana.

Centralization Trends

The early twentieth century was a time of rapid growth for most American cities. In education, new controversies erupted over matters of curriculum and various mechanisms for the control of schools, often affecting local political arrangements. Studies of controversies surrounding reform in several cities at this time by Julia Wrigley, William Reese, and others, most of which were published in the 1980s, point to the origins of these conflicts in urban politics. Still other studies, published later by Kate Rousmaniere and other historians, highlight the role of teachers in these debates. At the same time, parochial (religious) school systems grew in parallel to the public schools as seen most recently in the work of Mary Ellen Vinyard. All of these developments made for a period of great ferment.

In most cities, public schools were first organized in a decentralized fashion, with control often focused at the local level, usually the city ward. Eventually, this led to an atmosphere rife with conflict and corruption. Reformers aimed to take the schools out of politics by instituting highly centralized administrative systems. The creation of the modern school superintendency in the early twentieth century marked the apogee of this reform impulse. This was documented in David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot's study of prominent educational statesmen.

Political battles raged in some districts, as dissenting groups challenged the newly dominant management ethos. Teachers formed unions, debated intelligence testing, and demanded curricular reforms to help students. But the basic structure of authority in urban school systems remained intact. Although it was seriously tested at times, such as during the financial crisis of the Great Depression, as described in Jeffrey Mirel's 1993 account of Detroit in the 1930s, the prevailing progressive model of school administration thrived in most city school systems well into the second half of the twentieth century.

Dramatic Postwar Change

Following World War II, the urban scene changed dramatically. The major thrust of urban development shifted due to suburbanization, the movement of

people out of the large cities to adjacent communities outside the urban core. The urban population remained culturally diverse, but its composition shifted, and cities did not benefit uniformly from the general affluence of the postwar period.

Millions of southern Blacks were displaced by new farm technology and migrated to the North and West. Large ghettos developed in most major American cities, and when suburbanization accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s, it often became known as White flight. Urban school systems became highly segregated because of changing residential patterns in the cities. This led to glaring disparities in education, and dramatic protests erupted over the unequal resources available to various groups of students.

Many of the newcomers to the cities during this period were quite poor and could hardly afford to support the rising costs of high-quality urban schools. As a result, urban educational systems began to face dire budget shortfalls in the 1960s and 1970s, just about the time that their student populations became predominantly African American or other minority groups. Political battles raged over issues of equity and discrimination in urban education, and the poor schooling was often afforded children in minority communities. It was a period of activism in urban Black and Latino communities, and much protest focused on educational questions. A number of studies have focused on these issues, the most recent being Jack Dougherty's examination of Milwaukee. This body of work considers the struggles that took shape in different cities, noting a variety of approaches to the problems that were seemingly endemic to the times.

The decade of the 1970s saw a number of developments that further aggravated these matters. First, government-enforced desegregation plans and middle-class fears about crime and deteriorating urban neighborhoods contributed to an accelerated rate of suburbanization in many parts of the country. There is a sizable literature on the desegregation era, much of it summarized and assessed recently by Charles Clotfelter. Second, although Black migration from the South slowed, new immigrant groups started to appear in major American cities in large numbers. The largest groups were those who spoke Spanish, most of whom came from Mexico, Central America, or the Caribbean

(Puerto Rico in particular). This posed yet a new challenge, one of educating an increasingly diverse population while dealing with long-standing problems of racial segregation and poverty, as shown in the work of Guadalupe San Miguel.

Urban Stresses

In addition to these changes, the economic base of major cities began to shift as well. In the 1960s, manufacturing employment began to decline substantially, a process often described as “deindustrialization,” and this trend accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s. The resulting loss of employment brought a host of other problems, many with dire implications for education. Since 1970, the number of female-headed households in American cities has grown enormously, as marriages became difficult to sustain in the wake of rising unemployment. Illegal drug sales, violent crime, and teen pregnancy also have increased sharply in the wake of these developments.

With the virtual collapse of urban industrial employment, Black communities that traditionally relied upon the factory for employment entered a state of crisis. These changes had a palpable impact on urban schooling, as demonstrated in a number of studies. In many inner-city communities, destitution and isolation contributed to an atmosphere of nihilistic self-destruction, where illegal activities became important to indigenous peer culture. Dropout rates among urban teenagers climbed to more than 50 percent in many large American cities, as thousands of adolescents turned to the street in the absence of stable and meaningful employment.

Although downtown areas of the big cities have continued to develop economically, and there has been movement of middle- and upper-class Whites back into the urban core, the overall pattern of metropolitan development has isolated minority groups while eroding the fiscal base of local school systems. This process has been documented in many of the works cited earlier, and by sociologists such as William Julius Wilson. As a consequence, in most large urban districts today, a substantial majority of students come from minority backgrounds and are at a disadvantage regarding school success. With these

circumstances, the democratic tenet of the nation’s public school tradition—that education is to be shared by all members of the society—is considerably less viable today than it was for previous generations of urban children.

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See also Economic Inequality; Urban Education

See Visual History Chapter 12, Frances Benjamin Johnson and the Washington, D.C., Schools

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In 1867, Congress established a national Department of Education to collect and provide information to promote school improvement. Education soon lost its cabinet-level status, and federal education-related functions passed over time to a variety of agencies. The U.S. Constitution makes no mention of a federal role in education, and states have continuously argued that education is their responsibility. Until the mid-1960s, the role of the federal government expanded gradually, with the primary purpose being to pass funds from the national level to states, districts, and higher education.

In the 1960s, federal programs to reduce poverty and protect civil rights resulted in a dramatic increase in federal funding for education and regulations to ensure that the rights of racial minorities were protected. In the 1970s, the civil rights functions expanded to cover discrimination based on gender, disability, and language.

In 1976, then-candidate for president Jimmy Carter pledged to establish a cabinet-level Department of Education. With opponents fearing an expanded federal role in education and many interest groups concerned about a loss of influence, legislation establishing the department passed by the narrowest of margins in 1980. The new department encompassed education programs previously housed in the Office of Education and the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, many education-related programs—including those dealing with Indian education, school breakfast and lunch, pre-kindergarten child development, and research on

learning and curriculum development—remained in other federal agencies.

In 1981, President Reagan proposed that the Department of Education be abolished. Although this effort was not successful, the debates made clear that there was little interest in changing the federal role in education, except to increase funding for existing programs. Efforts during the 1990s to initiate new federal programs that would significantly affect state and local authorities found little support.

In 2002, the role of the federal government in education, and thus the functions of the department, changed substantially with the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). NCLB, the major source of federal support for public education, imposed requirements on districts and schools to ensure that all students make continuous progress toward achieving state standards and that all teachers are “fully qualified.” NCLB and other federal policies implemented from 2001–2006 further broadened the department’s influence by tying federal funding to state and local adoption of specific educational curricula and practices and by promoting the establishment of options to conventional public schools.

Despite significant growth in federal expenditures for public education since the establishment of the Department of Education, funds administered by the department account for only about 8 percent of total funding of public schools and for less than 50 percent of federal expenditures on education.

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See also Educational Policy and the American Presidency; Federal and State Educational Jurisdiction

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V

VALUES EDUCATION

Values education suggests a range of stances toward the broad goal of moral development in young people. It may express a desire for intentional education about values to complement education about facts or imply an insistence that education (and schooling) be viewed as value-laden. Some would argue that the term is redundant, that education is always about values.

Values education is also used today throughout the English-speaking world as a synonym for character education, broadly construed as the inculcation or development of prosocial character traits in children and adolescents. As a distinctive approach to moral education, however, values education is typically associated with values clarification and, less often, with a family of other efforts that share a focus on critical reflection in the process of moral development. This entry looks at values education, its critique, and some alternatives.

What It Is

Values clarification was born with the publication of Rath, Harmin, and Simon's *Values and Teaching* in 1966. It was perhaps the best known effort in a significant movement by educators to question the tenets and tactics of traditional moral inculcation. Its temper matched the political temper of the time, that is, questioning authority. In its formal version, it involved an effort to systematize reflection on ethical concerns.

In this, it can be allied with Kohlberg's work in moral reasoning, with Edward Fenton's analytic approach to *The New Social Studies* (1967), with efforts to implement Deweyan democratic schooling, and with service learning accompanied by critical reflection. It can also be allied with what Fritz Oser calls a "discourse perspective" regarding moral education. What distinguishes values clarification from these other critical and reflective values education approaches is its clear focus on the individual as the locus of value recognition and determination and on its determined neutrality with respect to an individual's value choices.

A discussion of values clarification highlights the issues that can arise when values education is invoked. Rath, Harmin, and Simon ground values clarification in concern for children and adolescents who lack self-direction and purposefulness. They seek to develop purposefulness in children with the parallel development of conscious habits of choosing and prizing as well as (consciously) acting in concert with one's choices. They favor the process of valuing over the transmission of predetermined values because they explicitly question the possibility of universalizable truth in any particular social, cultural, political, or epistemological claims. They maintain instead, echoing Dewey, that habits of intelligent choice will better serve those who seek to lead examined lives.

Teachers implementing values clarification present students with values choices that prompt a careful consideration of and decision about potentially conflicting states of affairs. Teachers remain open and neutral with respect to students' responses—and

ensure that other students maintain a similar openness. Willing, feeling, thinking, and intending all inevitably occur as students determine their “values.” In fact, Rath, Harmon, and Simon operationalize the concept of values as that which emerges from this self-reflective thought/action process.

Critiques

Critics argue that claims for the effectiveness of values clarification have not been documented in research and that the strategy is not congruent with its stated theoretical roots in the philosophy of John Dewey. Like the proponents of values clarification, Dewey focuses on valuing and valuation as processes. However, Dewey sees these processes as transactional—between self and environment—rather than as self-referential.

It is the charge of moral relativism that has been most often—and most convincingly—leveled against values clarification. The fact that there seems to be, in principle, no common solution available to values conflicts implies an unacceptable relativism. Individual preference and/or social convention replace an *a priori* moral point of view. Some argue that the very possibility of the moral is devalued.

In a related critique, many condemn values clarification on the grounds that this is an atomistic rather than a relational approach to an intrinsically relational phenomenon. Values clarification is seen as so individualistic that it is self-referential and thus cannot, by definition, be moral. This criticism links us back to the question of its Deweyan roots, because Dewey’s moral self is a social self constituted by and acting within relations with others and the world.

Alternative Moral Approaches

What of the other values education efforts noted at the outset share a focus on critical reflection in understanding the moral? How do they frame values, conceptualize the moral agent, respond to the specter of relativism, regard the role of reason, balance the process of valuation with its products, link value and action, and act for value determination and propagation?

Kohlbergian moral reasoning maintains the promise of universalizability but maintains the

individual-in-thought as the unit of moral analysis. Fenton’s analytic approach to social studies, like contemporary approaches to the moral dimensions of the school curriculum, takes advantage of values clarification’s strengths, such as juxtaposition and interpretation, while avoiding the self-referential aspects by employing analysis with respect to texts and events. Nonetheless, it remains academic rather than action oriented.

Educators attempting to construct democratic classrooms and schools focus not on clarifying values as individual preferences, but on creating “publics” in the Deweyan sense. This results in what Alfie Kohn calls a “reasoned relativism,” where shared values are socially constructed in the process of lived action and communication.

Defined as an educational approach that combines meaningful community service with content instruction and reflection, service learning is widely touted as an approach that counters individualism, incorporates reflection, and results in community-building moral action. Still, as a moral education approach, it is agnostic on the question of universalizability.

Fritz Oser calls for “sensible universalizability” and maintains that a discourse approach such as values clarification can prompt moral growth by shedding light on a person’s moral sense and exposing conflicts between that and moral consensus. Such conflicts are the spaces out of which moral truth emerges. In both “sensible universalizability” and “reasoned relativism,” reasoning is required and simplistic relativism is rejected.

None of the approaches to values education noted above requires the kind of determined neutrality of the teacher that values clarification does; neutrality is not itself a value. Still, like values clarification, all seek a kind of epistemological fairness and openness.

In the end, this may be the key to understanding values education as it emerged in the 1960s and 1970s—as a locution to represent moral education efforts distinctively different from traditional moral inculcation in their focus on critical, democratic reflection.

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See also Moral Education

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VENDING MACHINES IN SCHOOLS

The question of vending machines in schools is one that has provoked controversy on several fronts. Among the areas of concern are the commercialization of the school environment, the nutritional quality of the food offered in the vending machines, and the more complex question of how revenues from vending are directed. Vending of food in schools falls under the category of "competitive foods." In this case, the competition is with food served in the school lunch or breakfast program. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's School Health Policies and Programs Study (SHPPS) 2000 survey, 43 percent of elementary schools, 89.4 percent of middle/junior high schools, and 98.2 percent of senior high schools had either a vending machine or another competitive venue where students could purchase food or beverages. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), which administers the school meal programs, has only limited authority over the competitive food, including vending.

Recently, many states passed or are considering legislation that would restrict vending choices and/or limit the hours that vending machines can be operational. The 2004 Reauthorization of the Child Nutrition Act (which covers school meals) requires

that each school district create a local wellness policy to address physical activity and nutrition, and many school districts are using these policies to address vending at the district level. One example is California's SB 12, which requires all food sold or served on school grounds in middle or junior high and high schools to be approved for compliance with nutrition standards, including limits on the number of calories per serving (vending is prohibited in elementary schools).

In addition to the concerns about nutrition, questions have been raised about issues of commercialization and funding of schools. Some critics believe that schools should be commercial-free zones and that vending machines in schools are part of a corporate effort to promote brand loyalty. These critics note that because children are required to be in school, they are put in the position of being a captive audience for a particular brand or brands. The critics argue that this is not an appropriate role for the nation's public schools.

Supporters of school vending note that the revenues provided by these programs can be critical to the operation of schools and school districts. With students exposed to advertising in many venues outside of school, they note that what students see in school is not new or different. They also argue that these programs build links between businesses and the school community.

These arguments are linked to larger issues of school funding. Some argue that the revenue raised from vending and other competitive food is critical to the operation of schools, including the child nutrition programs as well as curricular and extracurricular activities. Others argue that if this is the case, it is a reflection of other problems with funding of education, particularly in our poorest schools. They add that schools should not be balancing their budgets through sales to students—especially sales of unhealthy food. Critics also note that students who purchase such products include low-income students, who are the most vulnerable to poor nutrition.

There is general agreement on all sides of the debate that vending is not appropriate at the elementary school level, whereas there is more divergence with respect to sales at the middle and high school

level. Some advocates of healthier nutrition have argued that because many school leaders see the revenue as vital, it would be too hard to get rid of vending altogether and that the best alternative is to replace unhealthy vending with healthy vending while also addressing other issues. A number of studies have shown that, in general, there is not a sustained loss of revenue when healthier choices are implemented in the vending machines. School districts that include students in the process of choosing new, healthy products that meet nutritional guidelines have had particular success in matching or exceeding revenues.

With the growing numbers of states and districts putting restrictions in place, many producers are creating new or modified products and package size that meets the new restrictions. The American Beverage Association in 2006 announced new voluntary guidelines as well. These are not binding on schools or bottlers, but seek to limit further restriction by setting some standards.

Although the issues regarding commercialization and equity are far from resolved, the nutrition question received new attention in April 2007 when the Institute of Medicine released its report on nutrition standards for all food served in schools.

The report set new voluntary standards for school districts to adhere to and should potentially influence the USDA if it receives any expanded authority over this area.

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See also Economic Inequality; Lunch Programs

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VIDEO GAMES AND LEARNING

Video games represent a relatively new form of electronic media—one that has existed for only about twenty-five years. More than other forms of media such as radio, television, and film, video games are rapidly evolving. New technologies make the games increasingly realistic and engaging. This is a particularly important point to take into account when looking at them from an educational perspective. This entry looks at their history, their military application, and their impact on young people.

Historical Background

Just how rapidly video games have evolved in recent years can best be understood by examining their history. Magnavox's Odyssey, the first home video game system sold to the public, was introduced in May 1972. Atari's Pong (a simple electronic tennis game) appeared in arcades the following November. A home version of the game was introduced in 1974. During the late 1970s, games such as *Space Invaders* and *Galaxians*, with their rows of descending alien invaders, became enormously popular. In 1985, Nintendo, a Japanese arcade game manufacturer, introduced the Nintendo Entertainment System. This system became the most successful gaming console of its era, with more than 60 million machines sold. Nintendo soon dominated the video game market in the United States.

Early Nintendo games from the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as *Bad Dudes* and *Mortal Kombat*, used a "godlike" technology (i.e., tiny figures represented on the screen and observed from above). By the mid-1990s, increased processing speeds and more powerful software made it possible to create games that moved the player from the "godlike" to a first-person perspective (actually allowing the player to assume the viewpoint of the game's character). Because games that emphasized a first-person perspective often involved shooting weapons such as guns, this type of game rapidly became known as "first-person shooter."

Violence—always an important theme in video games—was given increasing emphasis as the games

became more and more realistic. People then began to express concerns about the extreme violence in video games. In December 1993, the U.S. Senate held hearings chaired by Senator Joseph Lieberman that led to the implementation of an industry-driven video game ratings board. Paralleling studies about the impact on viewers of television and film violence, questions were raised about whether video games teach players to act violently.

As in the case of television and film violence, a great deal of controversy has arisen as to whether or not violent video games teach people to be more aggressive. In other words, do people learn from and replicate the violence they experience as players in video games in the real world? Recent meta-analysis studies by Craig Anderson and Brad J. Bushman suggest that video games do increase aggression significantly. In an analysis of thirty-two research studies on the effects of violent video games, involving forty-six independent samples of participants and 3,800 subjects, more than half of whom were children, it was found that playing violent video games contributed to increasingly aggressive behavior, aggressive affect, physiological arousal, and aggressive cognition, as well as reduced prosocial behavior. The results of these studies also showed that the effects of playing these games were the same, whether adult or child, male or female.

Anderson and Bushman go on to argue that each time players play a game, they are involved in one or more learning trials. In this context, at the most basic level, video games can be understood as being powerful teaching machines. In the case of a typical first-person shooter, for example, the user plays the game and learns its lessons through behavioral reinforcement (shooting accurately and receiving points). If the user learns the “lesson” of the game, he or she receives a high score and “wins.”

Military Applications

It is no accident that the U.S. military uses video game-based simulations to train soldiers. The widespread use of games is a confirmation of the idea that the video game—specifically, the first-person shooter—is a teaching machine. The connection

between the use of simulations and video games and the military is by no means new. In the early 1980s, military recruits at Fort Eustis, Virginia, played the video arcade game *Battle Zone* in which realistically silhouetted enemy tanks, helicopters, and armored personnel carriers were targeted and destroyed. President Ronald Reagan, the military’s commander in chief during this period, argued that video games probably helped people prepare for the military.

The use of first-person-shooter video games to train military personnel began in the mid-1990s. In 1995, under financial pressure to keep costs down while providing the best training possible, the Marine Corps turned to off-the-shelf video and computer games to determine if they could be adapted for military use. Games such as *Doom II* were adapted specifically to the Marine Corps’s needs.

In the Marine version of *Doom II*, military images and weapons were superimposed over the original game, using digital photographs. The game is played with a four-man team—just like an actual marine combat or “fire unit.” Compared to training people with live ammunition, instruction through the use of a game such as *Doom II* provides an inexpensive and safe means by which to train recruits with hours of practice at relatively little cost.

With the success of the Marine Corps’ program of using off-the-shelf versions of video games to train recruits, the U.S. military has become increasingly involved in using video games to teach soldiers the basics of combat. Late in the summer of 1999, the Secretary of the Army, Louis Caldera, announced that the Army was giving the University of Southern California \$45 million to set up a research center, the Institute for Creative Technologies, to create military simulations. Part of the idea behind the program was that technology developed for the military could also be used by the entertainment industry. Caldera described this as “a win-win for everyone.”

The military uses first-person shooters and simulation technology because it believes that these video games are a highly effective means of training people to kill. Using simulations to train people in the military makes perfect sense. Having Navy pilots practice landings on an aircraft carrier in a flight simulator is an excellent way to give them preflight experience

before they get into the cockpit of an actual plane. Highly realistic combat simulations are probably the best way to give military trainees a sense of what warfare is really like without putting them personally at risk. Whether or not these same technologies should be easily available to the general public, and particularly to children and adolescents under the age of seventeen, is a much more problematic issue.

Impact on Children

In this context, it is particularly disturbing to note that Eric Harris, who, along with Dylan Klebold, was responsible for the Columbine High School shootings in April 1999, created his own customized version of the game *Doom*. Harris's version had two shooters, extra weapons, unlimited ammunition, and victims who could not fight back. His modification of the game clearly mapped the key features of the Columbine shooting that he and Klebold carried out. Although it cannot be shown that playing *Doom* necessarily caused them to undertake the massacre, it can be argued that while they practiced their violent scenario in the video game, they almost certainly became more skilled at acting it out in the real world.

Video games are not necessarily bad for children. They can provide an important source of entertainment and instruction. James P. Gee, in his book *What Video Games Have to Teach Us About Learning and Literacy*, argues convincingly that video games are very powerful tools for teaching and that they can, in fact, direct us to important models of effective instruction. These include cognitive functions such as identity information, problem solving, and learning from nonverbal cues, to name just a few. Thus, in the debate over video game violence, what must be considered is not whether playing games is an appropriate means of instruction—virtually all of the literature in the field would seem to confirm that they are, in fact, highly effective teaching machines—but whether or not the content of what they teach is appropriate. In the end, this becomes an issue of curricular content and what narratives and stories we wish to present to learners in our classrooms and our society.

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See also Computing, Ethical Issues; Technologies in Education

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Violence in Schools

Two teenagers armed with guns and bombs walked into Columbine High School in April 1999. Thirteen were killed before the two turned their guns on themselves. The media took charge of the images and sound bites. Dozens of school shooting incidents have taken place in the near-decade that followed. These included shootings at both the K–12 level and the university level, the most noteworthy being the Virginia Tech massacre on April 16, 2007, in which thirty-three people were killed or wounded. As a result, beginning with Columbine, but by no means only as a result of that rampage, reduced tolerance of misbehavior and greater external control of students, particularly at the K–12 level, has become the normal course in schools across the United States. Metal detectors, uniforms, gates, bars, locks, video surveillance, armed security, and police presence have become part of the setting in our schools.

Although school violence is a problem that requires vigilance, schools continue to be one of the most secure places for children. Extreme forms of violence are rare. Both “hard” responses—such as metal detectors, added security personnel, and zero tolerance for weapons possession—as well as “soft” solutions—such as more counseling, conflict resolution programs, and better communications between school and home—have been implemented to improve school safety. Simultaneously, some reports suggest that schools are not safe. Some educators believe that by relying on self-reported data from school divisions, the government statistics underestimate the violence found in schools. This entry discusses the safety of schools in America.

School Policies

Secondary school administrators have addressed public concern by implementing violence prevention programs that instruct students in social-cognitive skills such as anger management; installing zero tolerance policies that expel or suspend students for being involved in fights or for carrying a weapon to school; and heightening school security. Additionally, administrators have worked to keep students safe while simultaneously preserving the democratic freedoms of both teachers and students.

However, consistent school safety policies are not found across the United States. Although 97 percent of schools require visitors to sign in, only 67 percent control access to the school building, and 34 percent control access to the school grounds. Only 1 percent of U.S. schools use metal detectors, according to a National Center for Education Statistics report in 2004. That investigation found that activities designed to increase school safety include counseling services, behavioral intervention, community programs, hotlines, teacher professional development, random dog checks, security cameras, use of clear or mesh book bags, and drug testing. In an effort to make their schools safer, many districts have taken great strides. Some researchers find that school crime overall has decreased significantly during the past decade, and schools are generally more prepared than ever to deal with school safety threats.

What Is a Safe School?

Some believe that a safe school is one in which the total school environment allows students, teachers, administrators, staff, and visitors to interact in a positive, nonthreatening manner that reflects the educational mission of the school while fostering positive relationships and personal growth. Significant effects on the school climate and the ways in which students resolve problems are attributed to the decisions of individual teachers about classroom management theories or their choices of management practices and strategies. In a school free from violence, fear, and intimidation, acceptance and caring are promoted. Expectations for student behavior in this type of environment are clearly stated, consistently enforced, and justly applied.

More than just physical safety, school safety also implies intellectual and emotional safety. With intellectual safety, students know that they can say, “I don’t understand,” and no one will laugh at them. They also realize they can think, doubt, and question what they are learning, and even make mistakes in a secure environment. A safety net is provided by classroom rules and procedures wherein individuals are free to express their concerns and ideas.

Emotional safety is also important. Some researchers have found that violent events such as those at Columbine were preceded by incidents when the eventually violent students were teased, bullied, or ostracized by others or when they were isolated from other students.

Are America’s Schools Safe?

In its 2004 report, the National Center for Education Statistics isolated a number of indicators for school crime and safety. The first, titled “Violent Deaths at School and Away from School,” suggests that the violence mentioned above occurs more often away from school than it does in school. School years from July 1, 1992, to June 30, 2000, were examined. It was found that youth ages fifteen to nineteen were at least seventy times more likely to be murdered away from school than at school. In this indicator, a school-associated violent death is a homicide, suicide, legal

intervention (involving a law enforcement officer), or unintentional firearm-related death in which the fatal injury occurred on the campus of a functioning elementary or secondary school in the United States.

Readiness and ability to learn can be affected in students who experience some form of school violence. Researchers share their concerns about the fact that vulnerability to attacks also has a detrimental effect on the school environment. Needless to say, teaching and learning are made difficult by the presence of weapons at school. Bullying contributes to an environment of fear and intimidation in schools. Learning environments are also affected by numerous physical fights.

In 2004, NCES reported that students in Grades 9–12 who reported carrying a weapon anywhere declined from 22 to 17 percent. Those students reporting that they had carried a weapon to school declined from 12 to 6 percent. These statistics were obtained for the years 1993 to 2003. In 2003, 17 percent of students in Grades 9–12 reported that they had carried a weapon anywhere, and approximately 6 percent reported that they had carried a weapon on school property.

Simultaneously, NCES advises that in 2003, 7 percent of students ages twelve to eighteen reported that they had been bullied at school during the past six months prior to the investigation; the percentage of students who reported being bullied increased between 1999 and 2001. However, no difference was detected between 2001 and 2003.

Interestingly, the percentage of students in Grades 9–12 who reported taking part in a physical fight on school property declined from 16 percent in 1993 to 13 percent in 2003. In 2003, 33 percent of students in Grades 9–12 reported being in a fight anywhere, and 13 percent said that they had been in a fight on school property.

To fulfill their potential in classrooms, youth should be safe and secure in schools. In 2005, the National Education Association Report on School Safety submitted data demonstrating that schools were among the safest places in American society for children. The percentage of students victimized provides an important measure of how safe our schools are and how this has changed over time. Indicator 2 of

the NCES report, *Incidence of Victimization at School and Away From School*, states that between 1992 and 2002, the victimization rate for students ages twelve to eighteen generally declined for thefts, violent crimes, and serious violent crimes at school and away from school. However, this same age group of students was more likely to be the victim of theft at school than away from school in most years between 1992 and 2002.

Because it has received increased attention from policy makers because of its impact on students' learning, school safety is of concern to many. Some researchers argue that schools with lower levels of school violence provide better learning environments for students. These same researchers have concluded that maintaining a safe learning environment, measured by indicators of school disciplinary infractions, has a statistically significant effect on students' grade achievement.

The media's linking of school shootings as a "trend" has tended to exacerbate the public's fears about the safety of children and youth in schools. Educators, parents, and students are concerned about what they perceive as increased levels of violent incidences within schools and the ensuing repercussions upon student performance. Some researchers argue that children living with danger often develop defenses against their fears. These fears interfere with their development because the energy spent on these defenses is not available for learning.

Although school building safety with reference to health issues is of concern, safety with reference to occurrences of violent incidents in or near schools is of deeper concern. It has been noted that a discrepancy between public perceptions and documented occurrences of school violence may be accounted for by the fact that the media have increased coverage of school violence by 240 percent during the period 1990 to 2000. Subsequently, Americans believe that youngsters are responsible for 43 percent of homicides, when they actually perpetrate only 9 percent of such crimes.

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See also Politics of Education; School Governance

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VISUAL INSTRUCTION MOVEMENT

Visual instruction, as a movement, has its roots in the efforts of reformist educators and theorists, who revolted against formalism and verbalism in educational practice during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and sought to emphasize the role of the senses in learning. Although the term *visual instruction* did not evolve until 1906, many developments and trends were already crystallizing into a distinctly new movement in American education.

The visual instruction movement sought to emphasize the role of the senses in learning. The movement was characterized initially by the use of common educational apparatuses such as timepieces, maps and globes, slates and blackboards, and textbooks. Later, the introduction of film led to the formation of organizations and distribution channels within school districts, universities, and state bureaus of visual instruction that concentrated on the collection and distribution of a wide variety of visual media. The federal government used film to disseminate information and support military training during World War I. This entry provides a brief summary.

Early Visual Media

Prior to the Civil War, common educational apparatuses used were timepieces, maps, globes, slates and blackboards, textbooks, and the abacus or numeral frames—most of which were extremely simple and required very little engineering in their manufacture. Visual apparatuses or aids, in terms of their early role in elementary and secondary schools, also included field trips to museums—providing such aids as exhibits, charts, photographs, illustrations, lantern slides, and maps.

As the Civil War came to an end, there was a flood of educational publications in the form of journals, reviews, and weeklies. States began to publish their own educational journals to keep teachers informed. Commercial producers and distributors of such new visual media as stereographs, lantern slides, maps, models, slide films, and motion picture films envisioned an extended market for their wares and eventually christened this new movement *visual education*. All contained articles and advertisements from the school furniture and apparatus companies with enticing illustrations and glowing sales claims—all of which were likely instrumental in persuading many in education to see inherent instructional value in the new apparatuses that were becoming available.

The film industry began in Chicago in 1907, when Albert S. Howell, a farm boy from Michigan who had studied engineering at night, and Donald H. Bell, a movie projectionist, developed one of the first precision film projectors. The first films for instructional uses were usually theatrical films for general purpose or entertainment interest. Later, as the motion picture industry began to expand, it was thought that theatrical films had educational value as well. The earliest forms of educational film were the newsreel, travelogues, and scientific motion pictures.

The use of film in education was brought about by the success and popularity of illustrated lectures on the lyceum and Chautauqua lecture circuit, establishing academic respectability for the use of lantern slides and film in the classroom. World War I provided impetus to the visual instruction movement by the effectiveness and extensive use of films: The

Committee on Public Information used film media to disseminate information concerning activities of the federal government, and the War and Navy departments had organized film divisions for the twofold purpose of supplying informational films to the public and preparing officers and men for war.

A Movement Emerges

As educators gradually began to recognize the significance of instructional films, visual instruction as an important new movement in American education emerged as the use of aids in the classroom gained momentum. The theoretical foundation supporting film use was built on the concept that the film medium brought reality and concreteness—breathing visual reality into the spoken and printed word, stirring emotions and interest, and requiring far less time than traditional instructional methods of the time.

State agencies established separate visual instruction divisions to support the statewide use of visual film, publish visual instruction materials, and serve as lending libraries for visual materials and a resource for training teachers and administrators. The first school use of motion pictures was in 1910 in the City of Rochester (NY) public schools, where the school board adopted films for regular instructional use. In 1917, the Chicago school system organized a visual education department, and in the years following World War I, other large school systems established similar departments or bureaus.

During the 1920s, there emerged a growing realization that current, text-based instructional practices were inadequate to meet the needs of increased school enrollments. Teachers were beginning to carry larger teaching loads and, in many instances, had grown dissatisfied with older teaching methods—seeing them as slow, ineffective, and often wasteful. As a result, many educators gradually became receptive to the faster, more direct teaching process provided by instructional films.

On the other hand, there were the teachers who had misgivings about this new technology. Opposition to new educational apparatuses revolved around issues such as the perception that they were too complicated; nightmares of schools being converted into

educational factories where the teacher would be little more than a mechanic manipulating the apparatuses; or the fear that motion pictures would bring commercialization into the classroom and used more for showmanship, status, or prestige symbols by schools rather than as effective teaching tools.

F. Dean McClusky, Director of Visual Education in Pennsylvania during this period, urged that teachers be given an opportunity to learn the advantages and disadvantages of visual instruction through formal and informal training, and that such courses of study should be introduced into normal schools.

J. José Cortez

See also Audiovisual Education, History of

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VISUAL LITERACY

An increasing focus on visual communication—through intersecting developments in transnational media, the Internet, television, and film—makes critical analysis and comprehension of the image world a high priority for educators. Visual literacy traces its roots to linguistic literacy, based on the idea that educating people to understand the codes and contexts of language leads to an ability to read and comprehend written and spoken verbal communication.

Some theorists equate the linguistic text and the visual quite directly, whereas others seek an alternate discursive space for visual literacy. The theorist Richard Howells, for example, is in the former group, arguing that reading an image involves the same

complex system of decoding that reading a written text entails. Howells warns of a visual illiteracy that is presented as a dangerous proposition in our modern image-world. Other theorists argue for a visual literacy that recognizes the great difference in encoding and reception of the visual and linguistic, not identifying a visual “text” to be literally read. All theorists who work in the field of visual literacy agree about the need for an increased focus on the visual in education with specific goals in mind.

Two of the possible goals for visual literacy outlined by Paul Messaris include the expanded appreciation of the aesthetic form in art and the skills to identify manipulation and deception in visual images. A third possible goal of visual literacy is to encourage active production of visual materials using the elements and codes of images to create meaning, leading students to become producers as well as consumers of the visual.

Aesthetic Appreciation

The most basic goal of visual literacy, especially as imagined by those in the fields of art history and art appreciation, is the learned aesthetic appreciation of images and art objects. This branch of visual literacy is concerned with reading the image, or artwork, for what it is and not for why the image was created and for what ends. For still images, this focuses on learning basic elements of the visual such as color, texture, pattern, space, shape, and form.

Moving images, in the form of television or film, are appreciated for the creator’s technical skill in production, lighting, editing, framing, and visual storytelling. Proponents of education in visual literacy for appreciation believe that increased knowledge of technique and production will lead to greater understanding of the creative process and appreciation for aesthetic qualities in the visual.

Awareness of Visual Manipulation

Another, very different, stated goal of visual literacy advocates is the production of savvy and astute interpreters of meaning and manipulation in images. This involves the ways that images can be digitally

manipulated to intentionally distort appearances and the ways that images manipulate the emotions and comprehension in the viewer. Understanding how meaning is created in still and moving images is a work of cultural image deconstruction that examines relationships of power and persuasion. This involves understanding who produces the image, for whom it was intended, and what the message or intention might be. This form of visual literacy can be applied to classic Impressionist paintings of nude women, the persuasive visuals in advertising, and the framing and editing of television and film.

Understanding the intentionality and message behind advertising and media images is meant to create educated and skeptical visual consumers. The processes of digital manipulation of images in advertising can reveal that models with seemingly perfect skin and bodies have been digitally airbrushed and altered to create an illusion of perfection. In deconstructing advertisements for various brands of beer, students might see the underlying messages about the masculinity of beer drinkers, the sexual appeal of drinking, and the sexual availability of inebriated women. In both cases, visual literacy would seek to make transparent what ideas are being sold through these images and the possible social effects of such manipulation.

Manipulation in other visual media may be subtler, but issues of power and intentionality are central to reading meaning. Feminist criticism has led to increased understanding of the gaze in visual art and media, who is doing the looking and who is being examined. The eye of the viewer or camera is the gaze focused on the object of the work. Some researchers theorize that the lens of the film camera is the male gaze, investigating, objectifying, and often violating the female in the frame. The understanding of the gaze as a tool of power allows viewers to better understand with whom they are intended to identify in an image and how that relates to objectification and authority.

Visual Production

A final direction of visual literacy is to encourage the production of visual materials, using visual methods and codes learned through the appreciation of visual

creation and the awareness of visual manipulation. In linguistic literacy, it is expected that students will learn to read and produce texts. With the visual, students are generally viewers and consumers of images without the opportunity to create meaning of their own through production. This allows consumers to become active agents, responding to the deconstruction of images with the construction of their own meanings. Usually, students are marginally encouraged to create visual pieces in art classrooms, but there is a movement within visual literacy for greater production of student news programs, documentaries, Web sites, and digital images.

Although there is internal disagreement about the goals of visual literacy, and the analogy of linguistic and visual reading, the field is unified in its call for a greater emphasis on the study and production of images. The increased visual nature of media, based upon the preeminence of television and the Internet as tools of communication, means that students will be called upon to be able to understand and analyze the images around them. Visual literacy can provide the formal and cultural tools to make sense of the purpose and intention of imagery. With the appreciation of aesthetics, awareness of manipulation, and production of images, visual literacy has the possibility of creating knowledgeable and skeptical visual consumers, and skilled and savvy visual producers.

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See also Arts Education Policy; Technologies in Education

See Visual History Chapter 11, International Expositions;
Chapter 18, Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

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VULNERABILITY

As a social function, vulnerability is an issue that needs to be better understood by those interested in social and cultural issues in education. The main theoretical work addressing this issue is the American anthropologist Jules Henry's 1966 essay "Vulnerability and Education." According to Henry, one of the primary purposes of schooling is to condition people to feel vulnerable, making it easier for the social system to shape and control them through fear.

According to Henry, if society could not make people fear losing their status, their property, and their safety, it could not exist. He believes that people who do not feel vulnerable, who are not subject to some degree of fear, are not subject to control. How many people would run stoplights with their cars if it were not for the fear of receiving a traffic ticket or being injured? In this instance, fear is part of self-preservation, as well as of conforming to societal demands, rules, and laws. The fear of a parking ticket leads people to put money into parking meters. This is not the same as the case of obeying a stoplight signal, where self-preservation may also be an important factor at work.

Individuals can be made vulnerable through physical coercion, as well as by threatening them with the loss of their reputations. Also, they may feel vulnerable about the threat of being excluded from a social group that is important to them. This may be a group of friends, family, or social organization. In the most extreme cases, this process takes on forms such as shunning in Amish culture, which is applied to individuals who do not conform to traditional religious rules and customs.

According to this theory, schools play a critical role in communicating to students that they are vulnerable and that they must conform to certain societal norms or they will fail in school and in their lives. Students are threatened that if they do not behave and conform to the rules of the school, they will be thrown out, and so on. Students are told that if they do not study, they will fail a quiz or exam, and they will not make the grades necessary to get accepted by a

college or university and to eventually get a good job and make a decent living.

Furthermore, Henry asserts that students are made to feel vulnerable not only to get them to learn, but also to get them to physically submit. Teachers are, by definition, at least until secondary school, larger and physically stronger than their students. Within limits, they are allowed to intimidate and physically threaten students in order to make them conform to required standards and behaviors. Perhaps more important, they are able to make students feel vulnerable by threatening their reputations, making them look foolish with their peers, or withholding respect and overtly positive attention.

According to Henry, as they get older, students learn to resist the process of being made vulnerable and subject to societal control. They do so through active opposition and resistance, as well as through mechanisms such as sham—seemingly accepting direction and control while consciously subverting the actions of those controlling them.

Although a limited degree of vulnerability among students is probably desirable in order to keep a society functioning, it can be taken too far. According to Henry, when society (or teachers) make people feel too vulnerable, this can lead to dysfunction and even madness. As a result, the needs of the social system are not met. Clearly, there is a very fine balance necessary in terms of how much people can be

deliberately made to feel vulnerable, and how much making them feel vulnerable becomes dysfunctional.

For teachers, making students feel somewhat vulnerable can be useful but must be carefully regulated. Thus, making students fear failure on an exam may motivate them to study but, if taken to extremes, could cause them to become dysfunctional and fail.

Students are not the only individuals in schools who may be made to feel vulnerable. Teachers and administrators are expected to conform with school system policies, actions, and curricula with which they may not agree. However, they support these things because of their fear of losing advancement in their careers or possibly even the right to work. Thus, the principles of vulnerability that they use to control their students are applied to them to create a functioning, if imperfect, social system.

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See also Hidden and Null Curriculum; Ideology and Schooling

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W

WALDORF EDUCATION

Waldorf education, which is synonymous with Steiner education, is based on an anthroposophical view of the human being, that is, a being of body, soul, and spirit. The school system's founder, Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), a philosopher, literary scholar, architect, and educator, was born in rural Austria, south of Vienna. The first Waldorf School was built twelve years after Steiner published his essay “The Education of the Child in the Light of Anthroposophy” in 1907. “Waldorf” comes from the name of the cigarette factory that hosted the first Steiner school in 1919 in Stuttgart, Germany. This educational movement later took root in America in 1928 when the Rudolf Steiner School was established in New York City.

The central focus for a Waldorf teacher is the development of a person's essence, independent of external appearance, by instilling in pupils an appreciation of their background and their role as members of humanity and as world citizens. The teacher's aim is to draw out the students' inherent capacities by creating a classroom atmosphere that fills them with wonder and enthusiasm. The pedagogy of Waldorf schools derives from a model that recognizes the developmental stages of the child. The Waldorf philosophy views education as an art form, where each subject is presented through direct experience and augmented with visual arts, poetry, music, drama, and movement. The goal of Waldorf education is to enable students to have

the freedom and full ability to choose their individual paths through life.

The Waldorf kindergarten cultivates and supports the preschool child's inborn attitude, a basic reverence for the world as an interesting and good place to live. Early in elementary school, there is more stress on using artistic elements in different forms (rhythm, movement, color, recitation, song, and music) as a way to learn, understand, and relate to the world. Through the use of what is beautiful in the world, the students are believed to build an understanding of different subjects. In high school, students are led to a more conscious cultivation of an observing, reflecting, and experimentally scientific disposition toward the world, focusing on understanding what is true based on personal experience, critical thinking, and judgment.

Reviews of Waldorf's success are mixed. Many cite the lack of phonics and reading as cause for test scores that lag behind public school students up to sixth grade. However, some reports have cited Waldorf's use of the arts, block periods of study, crafts, and learning without textbooks as reasons why some students have scored higher on standardized tests, including SAT exams, than traditional students from middle through high school. Many opponents also state that Steiner's anthroposophy is a form of religion, and therefore, Waldorf schools should not receive federal funding. In 2005, however, the case of *PLANS Inc. v. Sacramento City Unified School District, Twin Ridges Elementary School District*, which was brought before the federal court in

California, failed to provide any evidence that anthroposophy is a religion.

On the Web site for the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America, one finds a listing of at least thirty publicly funded schools in North America using Waldorf methods or Waldorf “inspiration,” serving perhaps 5,000 to 6,000 students.

Connie Titone and Patrick Stevenson

See also Alternative Schools

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WHITENESS AND EDUCATION

White studies became popularized in the mid-1990s as an effort to understand and critique the role of White identity in society and across disciplines. The groundbreaking work of Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (1993), explored and defined Whiteness in relation to White women’s experiences with power and privilege. It was the first study that examined Whiteness from the perspectives of Whites. Previously, notions of race were primarily explored and discussed by scholars of color, in particular Afro-centric (Black critical) scholars of color as a way of legitimizing experiences of oppression in relation to Whites. White studies has its roots in social sciences and has been engaged more recently as a tool for understanding the continued racial inequities in education.

Whiteness in education became popularized in the late 1990s with the release of such edited books as *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society* by Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda Powell Pruitt, and

April Burns, and *Critical White Studies: Looking Beyond the Mirror* by Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. Since then, the topic has been explored in a multitude of areas in education, including educational leadership, language and literacy, adult education, and curriculum and instruction. A fairly new ideology, the concept of Whiteness in education is still emerging and growing as scholars continue to explore and define the concept and how it operates within education.

Whiteness can be defined as a system of privilege based on race whereby White ideology is viewed as a reference point from which all other identities are compared. Whiteness is the act of silencing the discourse about race as nonexistent through a “colorblind” consciousness that often serves to normalize White experiences. A colorblind perspective attempts to transcend race by claiming not to see race as a factor; however, this inadvertently undermines the lived realities that individuals experience across race lines. The term *Whiteness* refers to the ideology that White identity has become the ideal and is viewed as the norm, whereby other identities such as African American, Native American, Hispanic, and Asian are viewed as multicultural subcultures within society.

White ways of knowing are seen as natural and taken for granted rather than as a construct that often undermines and dominates those from identities other than White. Whiteness can also include the notion of White supremacy, which serves to legitimize a racial hierarchy. A central concept in White studies or the Whiteness literature is the notion of White privilege, which is privileges or the preferential treatment afforded to those who are White in relation to non-Whites. However, it is important to note that even White individuals can and do experience oppression in relation to the ruling class of Whites.

Antiracist studies, critical race theory, and Whiteness studies work together to dismantle the power and privilege of White identity by exploring and legitimizing its prevalence in an effort to shift the power structures that have historically gone uncritiqued, unquestioned. Such scholars and theorists are working to unmask the naturalization or taken for grantedness of race in knowledge construction and the process of teaching and learning. This consciousness

allows educators to examine the role that race plays and how it privileges so that society can work toward shifting these power structures. For example, the continued disproportionate representation of students of color within special education, referral to remedial programming, dropout rates, and positioning of such students as at risk and predisposed for failure are all ways that legitimize unequal treatment by race. Within this system, achievement or success is contingent upon mastering White ways of knowing. As a result, it is quite possible that biases in education used to sort and categorize individuals based on “ability” may be a privileging of race and culture rather than a universal truth about ability and knowledge construction.

Educators in the field of White studies often experience much resistance to the notion of Whiteness because of its complexity and the emotional response. Whiteness is often misunderstood by those in the mainstream as a racist ideology because it confronts the realities of race, which are often unspoken or silenced. However, the aim of Whiteness studies is not to legitimize race as a tool to perpetuate racism but to use it as a tool or lens to recognize and understand how race is constructed from a cultural, social, and political standpoint so that a space is provided for dialog to create a more just society and, in particular, a more eclectic understanding of teaching and learning.

Barbara J. Dray

See also Cultural Capital; Cultural Pluralism; Privilege; Social Capital; Social Justice, Education for

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WHITE PRIVILEGE

White privilege refers to a certain set of rights, advantages, exemptions, or immunities available primarily to White persons of European ancestry. The degree to which such privilege is available to be enjoyed may depend on the particular government's social, cultural, political, and economic context in operation at the time. Therefore, White privilege is sensitive to time and location. For example, contemporary American society is rooted in a historical system of legalized discrimination against people of color. Skin color and country of origin were once used to determine one's right to property (both material and intellectual) ownership and social, political, and economic mobility. In fact, Africans brought to America as chattel slaves were counted as property and were written into the U.S. Constitution as three-fifths human.

Some scholars have even referred to “Whiteness” as property. All people were categorized according to a color-coded classification system, which developed into a hierarchy of social positions ranging from White at the top to Black at the bottom. In addition, observed phenotypic characteristics became the basis upon which expectations of behavior and treatment were determined. The amount of potential reward or benefit available to individuals relied heavily on the appearance of Whiteness and the ability to reflect behaviors and values associated with Whiteness.

Although such legalized discrimination is now unconstitutional, the vestiges of historical racism, prejudice, and bias linger throughout American society. White supremacy is the psychological and material result of centuries of institutionalized White dominance over the minds, bodies, land, and resources of people of color. White privilege is thus the socioeconomic legacy of White ancestors to their White children and is maintained via social, political, and economic institutions and arrangements whose rules ensure Whiteness as the primary qualification for access. Sometimes, the liberal rhetoric of western democratic societies that purport freedom, justice, and equality for all regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, sex, sexual orientation, creed, ancestry,

and other microcultural markers can mask the ways in which White privilege is alleged to work in practice in everyday life.

If one accepts the notion that Whiteness sets the standard for moral, intellectual, and sociocultural behavior, then non-Whites and “others” are placed in the precarious position of always having to prove their worth and value according to Whiteness. A corollary relationship is found between males and females. Male-dominated societies are said to confer privilege upon men, placing women in the insecure position of having their fates determined by men who freely judge women’s worth and value according to such things as sex appeal or ability to bear children. Evidence that women are paid differently for comparable jobs, are underrepresented in higher level political and business positions, and suffer higher rates of sexual assault than men is used to indicate the reality of male privilege. Females seeking success in male-dominated endeavors may have to strategically reconcile presentation of their masculine and feminine personas.

Similarly, evidence indicating the existence of White privilege can either persuade skeptics or simply describe how it manifests itself in the social, political, and economic spheres. One of the most powerful and privileged bodies of the executive branch of the U.S. government, the U.S. Senate, has 100 senators, of whom 99 are White. More than 97 percent of the chief executive officers of America’s corporate businesses are White males. Black and Brown (Latino) males constitute approximately 13 percent of the general population and more than 65 percent of the American prison population. The three largest public school districts in the country (New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago) are overwhelmingly attended by children of color and poor children. All three struggle to retain and graduate about one half of the students from the twelfth grade. Suggested further readings can provide additional critical and historical analysis of the theoretical and conceptual issues related to White privilege. They can also give further insight into the very practical and seemingly trivial ways that White privilege can affect the everyday lives of White people and people of color.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also Cultural Capital; Cultural Pluralism; Democracy and Education; Discrimination and Prejudice; Economic Inequality; Feminist Theory in Education; Hegemony; Multiculturalism, Philosophical Implications; Privilege; Social Capital; Social Justice, Education for; Whiteness and Education

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WOMEN, HIGHER EDUCATION OF

In 2004, women constituted 57 percent of all undergraduate enrollments in U.S. higher education and 59 percent of graduate enrollments, whereas women make up 43 percent of tenured faculty and slightly more than 20 percent of college and university presidents. Female students and faculty are not proportionally distributed across academic fields, although the trend toward women entering fields

traditionally dominated by men is increasing slightly. Female faculty and administrators are more likely to be in community colleges than in four-year institutions and less likely to be at research universities than in any other postsecondary education sector. Federal policies (e.g., Title IX and affirmative action) have been responsible for substantial increases in women's participation in higher education, and White women have benefited disproportionately compared to women of color. Women's status on campus influences and is influenced by campus climate, the pattern of perceptions, and attitudes related to gender. This entry looks at the record of women in postsecondary education and briefly examines issues of campus climate.

Historical Perspectives

Higher education in the United States dates to the founding of Harvard College in 1636; women entered postsecondary education two centuries later through the establishment of academies and seminaries for women in the 1820s and 1830s. There is some debate about which institution should be counted as the first women's college, with arguments for Mount Holyoke (founded as Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1837, becoming Mount Holyoke College in 1893) and for Wesleyan College (chartered Georgia Female College in 1836, opened in 1839). By 1880, there were 155 women's colleges, a number that peaked at 214 in 1960 and has declined since as women's colleges have merged with men's and coeducational institutions or made strategic decisions to admit men. In 2006, there were fewer than 75 women's colleges, educating less than 1 percent of college-going women. Most participate in the Women's College Coalition (<http://www.womenscolleges.org>).

Coeducation—the practice of educating male and female students at the same institution—has a more clear-cut history, beginning when Oberlin College admitted women to its collegiate department in 1837. Coeducation at public colleges and universities happened later in the nineteenth century, beginning with the University of Iowa, which was coeducational from its 1855 inception. There was significant resistance to coeducation at several leading public institutions, including the University of Michigan.

The Civil War resulted in a dearth of available college-age men, which in turn led a number of institutions to admit female students, a trend that continued after the war was over. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 provided funding for public institutions and did not make any requirements for or against women's education. The normal schools, also public, made a substantive contribution to the higher education of women, enrolling coeducational classes from their start. Public, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) were often coeducational from their start, and private Fisk University was founded in 1866 to educate male and female students.

Historically, women of color have had less access to higher education than have White women. The private women's colleges admitted very few known African American students, and legal racial segregation kept many public and private institutions closed to non-White women until the Supreme Court's decision on *Brown v. Board of Education* was enforced. African American and Latina students currently attend college at lower rates than do their White and Asian American peers. American Indian women are more likely than American Indian men to go on to higher education, but they remain less likely than women from any other racial group to attend college. As a group, Asian American women are as likely as White women to attend college, but within the Asian American community, differences in college attendance rates are apparent by ethnicity and generation in the United States (e.g., a third-generation Korean American is more likely to attend college than a first-generation Hmong woman).

Other groups of women have faced substantial challenges to attend higher education. Discrimination against Catholic students, and a desire to educate Catholic women in distinctly Catholic environments, led to the establishment of Catholic women's colleges. Jewish women and men faced tacit and explicit quotas in admissions to selective private colleges throughout the early twentieth century. Women and men from working-class and poor backgrounds have struggled and continue to struggle to gain access to and to afford a college education, as have immigrants to the United States. Women with disabilities are attending college in increasing numbers due to changes in public policy, but they remain underrepresented in four-year institutions.

Access Policies

Affirmative action and Title IX have played key roles in increasing women's access to higher education in general and specific programs within it. Affirmative action, a policy that aims to correct for historic underrepresentation of members of particular racial, ethnic, or gender groups, and its companion practice, Equal Employment Opportunity, were created in Executive Order 11246 (1965, amended to include gender in 1967) issued by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Women—and White women in particular—have benefited in university hiring practices through these policies. Faculty searches that were formerly conducted out of view through predominantly male networks of scholars were opened for public posting and administrative oversight, with accountability for recruiting a diverse applicant pool and advancing qualified female and minority candidates through the process. Affirmative action in selective college admissions had a similar effect, although it did not mandate that all-male institutions admit female students.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 did require public institutions—and any other institution receiving federal financial assistance, which includes student financial aid and thus includes all but a few postsecondary institutions—to open their doors to women. Within institutions, programs and activities that had been previously sex-segregated (including intramural recreation and intercollegiate athletics; military training programs such as the Reserve Officers Training Corps, or ROTC; marching bands; and certain majors such as nursing) were compelled to allow male and female students the opportunity to participate.

Although Title IX is now known largely for its ongoing impact on collegiate athletics, it is important to note that it had a much more sweeping effect on higher education and women's opportunities; known paths to elite leadership ranks (such as the Ivy League colleges and the national military academies) were opened to women for the first time. Title IX is not without controversy, and debates about its relevance arise among calls for more single-sex public education for boys and girls, but its impact on higher education is profound and enduring.

Status of Women

Women make up the majority of student enrollments in higher education, a trend that is predicted to continue. Proponents of gender equity point out that women remain underrepresented in fields of study that lead to high-paying careers in science, mathematics, engineering, and technology and are overrepresented in traditionally female professional preparation programs in teaching, nursing, and clerical support. Progress toward equity has been made in graduate and professional programs in medicine, law, and business, and enrollments in life sciences undergraduate and graduate programs have also leveled off at about 50 percent female.

Female faculty remain underrepresented overall and especially in science, mathematics, engineering, and technology. Women are less likely to have tenure or be in tenure-track faculty positions than are men, less likely to be in research universities, more likely to teach in community colleges, and less likely to be in full-time positions in any sector of postsecondary education. An explanation for this underrepresentation, called the “pipeline argument,” has been advanced; it asserts that once female undergraduate and graduate enrollments rise in areas where women have traditionally been underrepresented, then the proportion of female faculty in these areas will rise in time.

The pipeline argument alone cannot account for gender patterns in faculty work, but it does lend itself to the metaphor of a “leaky pipeline,” which seeks to explain what factors in postsecondary education and society work to reduce the number of tenured female faculty. Factors often cited include campus climate, work-family priority conflicts, an increase in the use of part-time and non-tenure-track faculty across higher education, sex discrimination, and race discrimination that compounds other factors for women of color.

The pipeline argument has also been used in attempts to explain the disproportionately low number of women in college presidencies. Additional factors proposed as challenges to women's academic leadership include the fact that most college and university boards of trustees are overwhelmingly male, and persistent cultural stereotypes of leaders as White men. Women of color leading predominantly White institutions face additional challenges and have few role models.

Campus Climate

Running across discussions of women's status in higher education is the issue of gender climate on campus. Campus climate describes attitudes and perceptions that define the cultural context of an institution and its members. Gender climate, in particular, refers to common patterns in beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors related to sex differences and gender norms on campus. Campus climates have been described as warm and welcoming to members of both sexes and individuals who display a range of gender identities, or as cool and unwelcoming. Bernice Sandler (<http://www.bernicesandler.com>) and her colleagues coined the term *chilly climate* to describe hostile or indifferent campus climates for women and girls.

A key element to understanding and assessing campus climate lies in its nature as both objective or measurable and subjective or perceived. Factors that contribute to a warm climate include policies and practices that clearly prohibit sex and gender discrimination and that effectively prevent harassment based on sex and/or gender; equitable treatment of women and girls in the curriculum; the presence of female role models among faculty, student leaders, and administrators; and a history of welcoming and including women on campus. Factors that contribute to a chilly climate include an absence of any of the warming factors, plus the presence or perceived presence of sexual and gender harassment and discrimination, inequitable treatment of women, and persistent "micro-aggressions" that convey the message that women are not central to the mission and function of the institution.

Although campus climate is largely intangible, it has been shown to affect satisfaction, persistence, and achievement. Person-environment models of college persistence and professional achievement explain the mechanisms through which chilly or hostile campus climate dampens women's expectations of themselves and leads to diminished outcomes. Chilly climate in particular academic fields and in administration contributes to the leaky pipeline rationale for the dearth of tenured women in the sciences and in senior campus leadership. Women's colleges, where the gender climate is arguably the warmest for women, historically

have very high levels of student and alumnae satisfaction and have produced graduates who achieve at disproportionately high levels in academic, business, education, and leadership fields, including those in which women have been and remain underrepresented.

Kristen A. Renn

See also Coeducation; Educational Equity; Gender; Title IX

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WOMEN'S COLLEGES, HISTORIC

In the nineteenth century, American women found few opportunities to pursue any higher learning because collegiate education was available only to men. During this century, most women who chose to attend college went to a women's college, and the majority of those women enrolled at one of the "Seven Sister" schools in the Northeast. These schools are Mt. Holyoke (1837), Vassar (1865), Wellesley (1875), Smith (1875), Radcliffe (1878), Bryn Mawr (1885), and Barnard (1889). From their experimental nineteenth-century origins to their presently declining numbers, these colleges provided unique environments that fostered rigorous intellectual growth. This entry briefly recounts their history and accomplishments.

Becoming Colleges

In the early nineteenth century, common schools rapidly cropped up across the country and provided instruction in the basic rudimentary skills (reading, writing, and arithmetic), but these new schools

required cheap labor to run them. Society looked to hard-working young women of middling backgrounds to fill this role. Although academies and seminaries both offered higher learning to students, seminaries emphasized their mission to prepare young women for teaching. These seminaries evolved into the Seven Sisters.

Other schools followed the precedent set by Mount Holyoke Seminary, which administered rigorous entrance examinations and offered a three-year course that did not include instruction in domestic pursuits or refinement of polite manners. Mount Holyoke, like its post-Civil War successors (such as Vassar and Wellesley), never offered a classical curriculum, but it maintained an English curriculum composed of history, philosophy, modern languages, and natural sciences. These schools followed the seminary model, with only one large building that housed students, faculty, classrooms, chapel, and dining room, providing a familial, domestic atmosphere that allowed faculty to strictly supervise students.

Smith College offered the first four-year course of study, which included the classics and higher mathematics. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, a hybrid form of women's colleges developed in response to pressure to educate women. Radcliffe (associated with Harvard University) and Barnard (affiliated with Columbia) were able to educate women without admitting them outright to their male counterpart. This movement protected the elite status of men's colleges and continued to keep men and women separated.

Expanding Influence

Critics of early women's colleges argued that higher learning would "unsex" women, lead them away from traditional feminine aspirations, damage their reproductive organs, inculcate masculine behaviors and desires, and ultimately lead them away from their proper place within the home. This criticism intensified in the early twentieth century, as a backlash against the women's movement into the public sphere centered on women's colleges. The opposition argued that women contributed to a form of "race suicide" (a term popularized by Theodore Roosevelt) by choosing education and careers over their family.

Women's colleges aimed to preserve their students' femininity in a variety of different ways. Mary Lyon (founder of Mount Holyoke) hoped to create a more progressive understanding of womanhood that encompassed female agency, independence, and critical thinking, whereas other institutions, including Vassar, hoped to preserve a Victorian sense of womanhood by organizing the school in a familial hierarchy. The male president served as a father figure, and female professors operated as mother figures who shaped behavior, habits, and religious life through daily interactions. Bryn Mawr was the first to organize central academic buildings surrounded by smaller homes for the students (each as a private household) in an effort to recreate a refined, proper home.

Both the students and the faculty shaped their own experiences in these colleges and created their own sense of community. The female faculty at these institutions found the opportunity to become professionals as the colleges provided an important entry point into academia. They developed close personal and professional relationships with one another as they worked and lived together. Likewise, students thrived in this environment. They learned and exercised leadership skills that they took with them into their future endeavors. They stratified themselves according to class, but this system took on significant gendered implications within this female world. Upper-classmen played the masculine roles in dances and plays, whereas freshmen played the traditionally feminine roles. With the sexual revolution of the 1920s, women wanted to be viewed as independent sexual beings, and this produced a fear of female intimacy at women's colleges. This, in turn, shifted student culture from its previous internal all-female focus toward an external, heterosexual program (men were involved more frequently in on- and off-campus activities).

Tide of Change

By the 1930s, the elite women's colleges of the Northeast positioned themselves as the "Seven Sister Schools" (the counterpart to the men's Ivy League schools) as the composition of the student body came primarily from the elite strata of American society. As

the twentieth century rolled on, however, enrollment increased at women's colleges, but the percentage of women who enrolled in women's colleges declined. This had to do with several factors.

In the post–World War II period, veterans took advantage of the GI Bill and enrolled in colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers. More women were admitted to postsecondary schools, but although the number of female college students increased, the influx of male students was so considerable that the proportion of women decreased.

Due to a growing economy in the 1960s, there was increased aid for higher education, and colleges had the opportunity to expand and to be more selective. Diversification occurred among students and faculty in response to the national civil rights movement, and as a result, many men's colleges responded by admitting female undergraduates. In the early 1970s, the economy experienced a period of high inflation; by admitting women, men's colleges could increase their enrollments and prevent further economic stress. In this climate, women's colleges coped in four different ways: (1) go coeducational; (2) develop a coordinate relationship with a nearby institution; (3) create programs to attract more revenue; and (4) close, merge, or be taken over by another institution (Harvard subsumed Radcliffe College).

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See also Single-Sex Education; Women, Higher Education of

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WORK-BASED LEARNING

Work-based learning (WBL) is part of planned programs where students are able to experience the workplace without having to commit to their employers for an extended period of time. Students learn about different aspects of an industry, an industry cluster, or a particular business and simultaneously acquire general workplace and employability skills. WBL employs situated cognition because it allows students to recognize the usefulness of what they are learning in school. To facilitate the transition from school to work for students, WBL includes work-based, school-based, and connecting activities that develop a link between vocational and academic knowledge and skills, between teachers and employers, and between high schools and various postsecondary institutions. Many different forms of work-based learning exist, and all have multiple benefits for both students and employers.

Cooperative Education and Apprenticeships

Cooperative education involves school-related, paid work experience for high school or college students whose main objectives are career exploration; the development of employability skills like decision making, problem solving, and teamwork; and the mastery of specific job skills. Its most common form is *cooperative work experience*, which combines classroom instruction with employment. Students usually work part-time during the semester or full-time during their vacations. To make sure that the link with school-based learning is maintained, students, employers, and instructors sign an agreement, and instructors monitor and record skills development carefully.

Depending on agreements between states, industry groups, and schools, some programs offer a cooperative skills certificate or certificate of proficiency, which allows students to enter the job market as skilled workers. A less common form of cooperative education is *youth jobs*, which is work experience not connected to a specific industry or to vocational courses and mainly designed to develop transferable employability skills.

Youth apprenticeship, also known as *school-to-apprenticeship*, is a two-year program for high school juniors and seniors to enhance their classroom knowledge while participating in *registered apprenticeships* and completing their high school graduation requirements at the same time. The programs usually follow state curricula and are designed to meet applicable state standards. At the completion of the program, students receive their high school diplomas as well as an occupational proficiency certificate. These credentials then give them the option of entering the workforce, a traditional apprenticeship, or a postsecondary institution. Hours earned during youth apprenticeships are often transferable to other programs.

Registered apprenticeships are part of a government credentialing system for developing occupation-specific skills and competencies. Apprentices, who are usually high school graduates, receive on-the-job training from a skilled worker and mentor along with theoretical instruction. Under the National Apprenticeship Act, all formal apprenticeships are registered with the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Apprenticeship Training to ensure that programs provide high-quality training and meet federal and state admission and certification standards. Apprenticeships last from one to six years depending on industry needs, and apprentices are paid a wage that increases with experience. After the successful completion of their programs, apprentices are given a nationally recognized certificate of completion.

Service Learning and Internships

Service learning combines community service with academic learning for high school or college students. It is closely related to classroom objectives and is designed to enhance students' knowledge and skills, apply a real-world context to academic skills, and develop civic responsibility and personal growth. In service learning projects, students typically identify and analyze a community need and plan, implement, and evaluate a project addressing this need. True service learning differs from volunteerism because it seeks to meet a predetermined set of learning objectives; students benefit academically as well as socially; and students have the opportunity to reflect

on and develop a better understanding of their experiences through journal writing, discussions, or classroom presentation.

Internships are structured workplace experiences, mostly for postsecondary students, that take place over a number of weeks or months to help students gain experience in a specific occupation. In an internship, a mentor, usually an experienced worker, helps students apply their classroom knowledge to the workplace and develop critical thinking and problem-solving skills. During an internship, students complete a number of preplanned activities to achieve a set of competencies related to acquiring a better understanding of an occupation. Internships are supervised by instructors at the student's educational institution, who also visit the student on site. Students generally have to submit periodic reports that include lists of tasks completed, reflections on their experiences, and mentor evaluations. Internships often conclude with summative evaluations from the mentor and the student's supervisor.

Other Approaches

School-based enterprises, also known as *youth entrepreneurship*, *youth-run enterprises*, or *school-sponsored enterprises*, involve groups of high school or college students who produce goods or services for sale. Students establish a business from the ground up. They develop a business plan, conduct market research, set up ties with the community and the local Chamber of Commerce, design advertising, and eventually function as owners of the business. The role of the school district or college is to underwrite and support such experiences.

School-based enterprises are especially helpful to demonstrate the need for integration of academic and vocational skills. Students learn time management, problem solving, and teamwork. Running a real business increases their understanding of how the economy functions and how organizations respond to challenges. A major advantage is that since no one's livelihood is linked to this enterprise, students are free to experiment and also to make mistakes that would not be possible in an out-of-school setting.

Other forms of WBL include *career mentorships*, *job shadowing*, *practica or clinical internships*, and

work-site field trips. Career mentorships are long-term relationships between a student and an older person with similar career interests. The older mentor is meant to be someone who offers support and advice as the student engages in career development activities. Job shadowing requires a student to follow an experienced worker at his or her workplace for a day or two to gain insight into an occupation or industry. Job shadowing does not teach any job-specific skills but allows students to explore occupations and assists in making a career choice. Practica or clinical internships are short-term activities, often in the medical field, designed to let students complete a project or apply and practice a specific skill in a work environment. Performance-based measures are used to ascertain that students are indeed able to perform the designated skill. Work-site field trips are employer-led tours of work sites and provide information of job requirements and work processes. Such visits allow students to explore occupational clusters and help with their career development.

Benefits

As part of WBL, students can experience learning in a realistic environment. They can gain insight into their job preferences, develop career interests, explore possible future careers, and develop greater responsibility for their own learning once they see how academic knowledge relates to workplace skills. The transition from school to work is also made smoother through work-based learning. For one, students experience firsthand which knowledge, skills, and attitudes are needed to be successful in the workplace. They also learn to see themselves in the role of an employee and become more confident in their abilities, including human relations skills and social competence in general. Work-based learning also strengthens academic skills. The ability to apply knowledge in real-life settings leads to better retention, and the integration of academic and technical knowledge helps students develop problem-solving abilities, self-regulated learning techniques, and higher-order thinking skills.

WBL can help employers recruit qualified employees. It not only creates a pool of qualified workers but also allows employers to observe future employees in action. The integration of academic and technical learning can help employers train employees for exactly the tasks for which they will be needed, and applicants familiar with the inner workings of a company or an industry tend to have higher initial productivity and lower turnover rates. Furthermore, agreements with schools give employers a voice in curriculum development to ensure that industry standards are given consideration when WBL programs are developed.

Another benefit is realized for companies that are interested in good relations with the community where they are located. WBL affords employers the opportunity to be seen as a part of the community by raising the skill and employability levels of its young people and, along with that, the economic viability of the area. Finally, WBL can help companies increase workforce diversity, which in turn helps future generations of students become acquainted with the cultural diversity they will likely encounter in the workplace.

Carsten Schmidtke

See also *Nation at Risk*, A; Service Learning

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Biographies of Important Figures in Education

Biographies of Important Figures in Education

ADDAMS, JANE (1860–1935)

Jane Addams made important contributions to education, sociology, social work, human rights, and labor reform based on knowledge gained through activism in these areas. She was cofounder of Hull House, an 1891 social settlement established in Chicago. Like many well-educated progressives of her era, Addams believed that living in a community with the poor was the best way to work with them to address negative consequences of living in poverty. Even though Addams believed education could alleviate poverty, she was critical of esoteric aims for education. She focused on tying education to community needs by offering classes at Hull House in areas such as literacy, health, nutrition, the arts, and education for the trades.

Whereas Addams was heralded as a saint for her work with poor and immigrant communities, she was criticized heavily for efforts toward other social causes reflecting the humanitarian perspective that pervaded her thoughts and actions. She worked with John Dewey to promote progressive education and joined W. E. B. Du Bois as one of the many cofounders of the NAACP. Addams was among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, a proponent of women's suffrage, and a pacifist who campaigned against World War I. She was also involved in economic reform and children's rights, based on her disdain for the exploitation of workers.

Addams was a prolific writer, *Twenty Years at Hull-House With Autobiographical Notes* (1910) being one of her best-known works. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, four years before her death.

Sandra Winn Tutwiler

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ALLEN, ELIZABETH ALMIRA (1854–1919)

Elizabeth Almira Allen, elected first female president of the New Jersey Teachers Association (NJTA) in 1913, helped introduce one of the first tenure laws and teacher pension systems in the nation and advocated for better pay for women and their leadership of NJTA.

Born on February 27, 1854, Allen was thirteen when she entered the Model School of Trenton, which was associated with the State Normal School. Upon graduation, she began teaching in Atlantic City. In 1871, she took a position in Hoboken, eventually becoming principal of the elementary and high schools. For decades, she also worked at the Hoboken Normal and Training School. In 1882, at age twenty-eight, she became vice president of the New Jersey

Teachers Association, precursor to the New Jersey Education Association. In 1896, her efforts led the state legislature to establish a half-pay annuity for teachers with twenty years of service who were no longer able to teach. The fund was financed by a 1 percent reduction from the salaries of those who chose to participate.

Over time, controversies over Allen's management of the Teachers' Retirement Fund led to loss of support for Allen and her forces within the NJTA. Allen died on May 3, 1919, exhausted from the attacks against the pension system that she had helped create.

Margaret Smith Crocco

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APPLE, MICHAEL WHITMAN (1942–)

Michael Whitman Apple is among the most prominent critical educational theorists working in the United States and a leading social activist. A former elementary and high school teacher, he was vice president and president of the Teachers Union in Paterson and Pitman, New Jersey, from 1962 to 1966. Apple received his bachelor's degree in education in 1967 from Glassboro State College, his master's in curriculum philosophy at Columbia University in 1968, and his EdD in 1970 from Columbia University.

His unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Relevance and Curriculum: A Study in Phenomenological Sociology of Knowledge," can be seen as the starting point for much of his subsequent work. In 1970, he joined the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison. In 1991, he became chair.

A profoundly complex figure—his thinking is broader than any label—his organic intellectuality

draws from analytic philosophy, the new sociology of education, and political science. A prolific writer, his works include *Education and Power*, *Teachers and Texts*, *Official Knowledge*, *Cultural Politics and Education*, *Democratic Schools* (coauthored with James Beane), *Educating the Right Way*, and without any doubt one of the most important educational works of the modern era, *Ideology and Curriculum*.

Apple's work exhibits three major (r)evolutionary stages in thinking—what has been described elsewhere as "Appleian trilogies" (Paraskeva, 2007): (a) issues of power, identity, cultural politics, curriculum theory, and research; (b) critical teaching; and (c) the development of democratic schools.

João Menelau Paraskeva

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ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE)

Aristotle's thought and writing ranged widely from philosophy to the natural and physical sciences. He was founder of a school in Athens, and his influence on generations of philosophers and scientists extends to the present day. Right or wrong, Aristotle's writing on ethics has influenced and will continue to influence character education programs in the public schools.

Aristotle was born in northern Greece, and his father was a doctor to the king of Macedonia. Aristotle moved to Athens to study with Plato at the Academy. Upon Plato's death, he lived in Assos; afterward, Phillip of Macedonia asked him to tutor his son Alexander. In 335, he returned to Athens to start his own school, known as the Lyceum. After Alexander's sudden death, he feared he might meet the same fate as Socrates and be executed for crimes of impiety.

Therefore, Aristotle fled into exile, only to die a year later.

Two of Aristotle's most important works were *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*. His ethical thought contains three discernible components: a reflective comprehension of the good life, the notion that the good life stems from virtuous character, and the idea that what is good is also virtuous. Aristotle's *Politics* has several interconnected threads: a political entity should desire the good life for all of its citizens; democracy is a better form of government than other forms because it uses the wisdom of the many over the few; slavery can be justified; and Plato's ideas in the *Republic* would destabilize friendship, increase social unrest, and undercut private property.

Aaron Cooley

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ARMSTRONG, SAMUEL CHAPMAN (1839–1893)

Samuel Chapman Armstrong founded the Hampton Institute, which was, in its time, considered a model for the education of African Americans. Armstrong, however, believed that Blacks were educable but inferior, and his goal was to train them for work in the trades and accommodation to White attitudes.

He was born January 30, 1839, in Maui, Hawaiian Islands, to missionaries Richard and Clarisa Armstrong. His father developed a vocational and industrial educational program for the local indigent people employed mostly in sawmills and sugar plantations. Samuel Armstrong attended the Royal School at Punahou before enrolling at Williams College in Rhode Island.

In 1862, he joined the Union Army, frequently working with Black soldiers. Viewing himself as a patriot and humanitarian, he joined the Freedman's Bureau following the war. Drawing from family experience, he advocated vocational and industrial education aimed to situate the restless Black population,

stabilize the South, and ultimately help reunite the divided country.

Financed by the American Missionary Association and assorted philanthropists, he established Hampton Institute in Virginia in 1868 as a teacher training program. Armstrong developed a Hampton philosophy and curriculum that included teaching the dignity of labor, learning of vocational and domestic trades, extensive Bible study, a bootstrap philosophy, cleanliness, manners, and forgiveness for the South's racial legacy. Dignitaries frequently visited Hampton, viewing it as a model for Negro education. Hampton choral groups and handpicked students were sent on road shows to advertise the school and its accommodationist views.

Armstrong was far more than a school principal or president. He was a racial ideologist, political theorist, and social engineer. His views were clearly articulated in voluminous writings in the *Southern Workman*, a Hampton publication.

He viewed the Black race as intellectually inferior yet capable of learning. He wrote that Blacks belonged to the "savage races" who were "mentally sluggish" and "indolent." For Armstrong, character deficiency was the central problem. He wrote, "His worst master is still over him—his passions. . . . His main trouble is not ignorance, but deficiency of character. . . . The question with him is not one of brains, but of right instincts" (*Southern Workman*, December 1877). Hence, the solution was hard work alongside the inculcation of sobriety, piety, and thrift. Armstrong saw his as a civilizing mission.

Armstrong understood the political economy of Black labor. He wrote, "There is no source whatever of a suitable supply in lieu of Negro labor. . . . The Negro is important to the country's prosperity" (*Southern Workman*, January 1878).

Finally, as a social engineer, Armstrong foresaw that America would have a permanently diverse population. He believed that racial feelings would have to be moderated, and a place and a fit would have to be found for the Blacks. Armstrong understood that training some people of color could provide the necessary middle or comprador class that would anchor the group for decades to come.

William H. Watkins

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ARNOLD, MATTHEW (1822–1888)

Matthew Arnold was a Victorian poet, critic, humanist, school inspector, and self-professed “liberal tempered by experience.” He wrote frequently and influentially on the topic of education, and his work challenged the traditional notions of society, education, and the way literature is taught.

With contemporaries such as Tennyson and Rosetti, he viewed poetry as the highest criticism of life. In his seminal work *Culture and Anarchy*, he adds to the scholarly discussion of politics and culture and their interrelationships. Acting as a critic of his own society, Arnold attempted to make the one-sided nature of the political and intellectual debates hyper-visible, with the hope of achieving a more just society as well as better schools.

From 1851–1886, Arnold served as Inspector of schools and became Chief Inspector. With this work, he traveled to inspect nonconformist schools as well as several European schools, and he reported his findings (as did Horace Mann). An underlying theme in all of his work on education is his desire for education to be better organized. In addition, for Arnold, education was the bulwark against anarchy, and he thought it should be a national matter, not just a local one. Significantly, even in the current time, he challenges the routinized and industrialized view of teaching (such as teaching to the test, which he considered “anti-educational” and “narrow”) and the lack of a core curriculum that he thought would render forth better critical thinking skills.

He emphasized the humanities in university education, and his work led to better teacher education for elementary teachers and influenced what became the university core curriculum as well. His three most profound essays are “Democracy,” “Equality,” and “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time.”

Elizabeth Hendrix

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BAGLEY, WILLIAM CHANDLER (1874–1946)

For more than thirty years, William Chandler Bagley was the nation’s leading thinker on teacher education. He also was a historian of education and an educational philosopher. In 1938, he became known as the founder of Essentialism in educational theory. His primary field, however, was teaching teachers, and his educational theory cannot be understood apart from his commitment to teacher education.

Bagley was born on March 15, 1874, in Detroit, Michigan. He graduated from Detroit’s Capitol High School in 1891 and attended Michigan Agricultural College from 1891 to 1895. He began his career as a teacher in the fall of 1895 when he taught in a one-room school in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. He completed his master’s degree in psychology at the University of Wisconsin in Madison in 1898. He then moved to Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, where he studied with psychologist Edward Bradford Titchener. He completed his Ph.D. degree in 1901.

In 1901, Bagley took his knowledge of psychology with him to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was an elementary school principal from 1901–1902. In 1902, he and his family moved to Dillon, Montana. He taught teachers from 1902 to 1906 at Dillon’s Montana State Normal School. He left Dillon in 1906 to accept a faculty position at the acclaimed Oswego State Normal School in Oswego, New York. Bagley remained at Oswego for only two years, however, before moving to the University of Illinois in 1908.

While at the University of Illinois from 1908 to 1917, Bagley worked to establish the university's first teacher training program for high school teachers. He was successful at creating the School of Education at the University of Illinois in 1916. Bagley soon left Illinois, however, to teach and conduct research at Teachers College, Columbia University. This Teachers College position offered Bagley the opportunity to focus his efforts on improving the nation's teacher training schools. He lived in the New York City area until his death on July 1, 1946.

For nearly fifty years, Bagley remained deeply committed to teaching teachers. He continued an American tradition in teacher education that began most prominently at Oswego in the 1860s with Edward Austin Sheldon. He published dozens of books and hundreds of articles during his almost fifty-year career. His major works include *The Educative Process* (1905), *Determinism in Education* (1925), and *Education and Emergent Man* (1934). He was both a scholar who labored to understand the history and philosophy of education and a practitioner who put these ideas into practice by helping to improve the nation's body of teachers.

J. Wesley Null

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BANKS, JAMES A. (1941–)

James A. Banks is one of the leading academic figures in the field of multicultural education. He has been referred to as “the father of multicultural education” for his pioneering and current work in the field. He is the Kerry and Linda Killinger Professor of Diversity Studies and the Director of the Center for

Multicultural Education at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Born in the Arkansas Delta during the era of Jim Crow, Banks attended segregated elementary and secondary schools. One of his early teachers told him, “James Albert, you carry the weight of the race on your shoulders.” It is a responsibility Professor Banks has met admirably. The work of James A. Banks exemplifies an academic career devoted to supporting the notion that education should be a vehicle that advances a broad concept of knowledge and contributes to social justice in all societies. Banks reminds readers that the promise education has held for many students, it must hold for all. He envisions the United States as a nation that has the potential to have a multiculturally and globally literate population that contributes to the welfare of the United States and the world.

Professor Banks has researched and written about topics such as social justice in education; racial equality/inequality in schools; the multicultural curriculum; and ethnic, national, and global dimensions of identity. He has authored twenty books and more than 100 journal articles. Among his books are *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (8th ed., Allyn & Bacon); *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge and Action* (Teachers College Press); *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (Jossey-Bass); *Cultural Diversity and Education: Foundations, Curriculum and Teaching* (4th ed., Allyn & Bacon); and *The Selected Works of James A. Banks* (Routledge).

Professor Banks is the editor, with Cherry McGee Banks, of the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, published in 1997, with a second edition in 2004. This volume was the first research handbook published in the field of multicultural education and received the Book Award from the National Association of Multicultural Education.

Professor Banks received the Distinguished Scholar/Researcher Award (1986), Distinguished Career Award (1996), and Social Justice in Education Award (2004) from the American Educational Research Association. He received the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages President's Award in 1998 and the National Council for the Social

Studies Distinguished Career Research Award in 2001. He is past president of the National Council for the Social Studies as well as past president of the American Educational Research Association. Professor Banks has lectured widely across the United States and internationally. He is also a member of the National Academy of Education.

Carlos F. Diaz

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BELL, TERREL HOWARD (1921–1996)

An educator who spent much of his life working in public institutions, Terrel (Ted) Bell served as the second U.S. Secretary of Education during the first term of President Ronald Reagan (1981–1984). Although Reagan had promised to eliminate this federal department, Bell was convinced of the need for a prominent federal role in U.S. education. Stymied by bureaucratic infighting during much of the early years, Bell was able to establish a national commission in 1981 to examine the condition of U.S. education. He did so over the objections of many of Reagan's domestic policy advisors.

In April 1983, after continued delays, the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) released its final report. *A Nation at Risk* decried the condition of American education, deeming it so inferior that it was literally placing the United States at risk—both economically and militarily. President Reagan embraced the tone of the report, but not the substance. Nevertheless, thanks to the report's focus on academic excellence and alarmist tone, policy makers throughout the United States pursued various reforms hoping to improve American schools. The report also made it politically impossible for President Reagan to eliminate the Department of Education.

Bell resigned in December 1984 and returned to his native Utah, where he continued to work as a professor of education and educational consultant. He died in 1996.

Catherine A. Lugg

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BERNSTEIN, BASIL (1924–2000)

For more than four decades, Basil Bernstein was an important sociologist whose work influenced a generation of sociologists of education and linguists. Bernstein spent his academic career at the University of London's Institute of Education, retiring as Karl Mannheim Professor in the Sociology of Education.

Bernstein's early work on social class differences in language distinguished between the restricted communication code of the working class and the elaborated code of the middle class. His critics labeled him a deficit theorist, alleging that he was arguing that working-class language was deficient. Bernstein rejected this interpretation, arguing that difference became deficit because of unequal power relations.

Bernstein's later work examined the connection between communication codes and the processes of schooling. He analyzed the processes of schooling and how they related to social class reproduction, concluding that unequal educational processes reproduced social inequalities.

Whatever the criticisms of his work, it is undeniable that Bernstein's work represents a powerful attempt to investigate significant issues in the sociology of education. His work provides a systematic analysis of codes, educational structures, and processes and their relationship to social reproduction and identity.

Alan R. Sadovnik

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BINET, ALFRED (1857–1911)

Alfred Binet was a French psychologist who, along with Theodore Simon, developed the first intelligence test. Binet was influenced by the writings of John Stuart Mill on intelligence and by the mental and physical growth of his two daughters. During his lifetime, Alfred Binet wrote several hundred articles and books that ultimately shaped psychology as he defined his conception of intelligence by emphasizing attention span and intellectual development for tests of thematic apperception.

While employed at the Sorbonne's Laboratory of Experimental Psychology, Binet began his collaboration with Simon that led to their study and identification of mentally challenged children. The Binet-Simon Scale was developed to measure intelligence by asking children to complete thirty tasks, which correlated to what an observed child should normally be able to accomplish at consecutive numerical ages, with each level having increased difficulty. Binet believed that both qualitative and quantitative measures should be used in the development of intelligence testing to advocate the education of children.

He argued that intelligence develops at a variety of rates and is influenced by both environment and genetics. Lewis Terman expanded on the Binet-Simon Scale by creating the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test to measure IQ.

Binet wrote in French, but his works have contemporary English translations. His most notable works include *La Psychologie du Raisonnement* (1886), *Études de Psychologie Expérimentale* (1888), *Introduction à la Psychologie Expérimentale* (1894), *Les Idées sur les Enfants* (1900), *Étude Expérimentale de l'intelligence* (1905), and *Les Enfants Anormaux* (1907).

William A. Paquette

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BLOOM, BENJAMIN SAMUEL (1913–1999)

Benjamin Samuel Bloom is remembered by students of learning theory as the creator of Bloom's taxonomy, which attempted to define and classify educational skills and goals. His work continues to influence those involved in education in setting curricula and in creating and identifying appropriate assessments of learning.

Bloom was born February 21, 1913, in Lansford, Pennsylvania. He earned bachelor's and master's degrees from Pennsylvania State University before earning his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1942. After earning his doctorate, he taught and did research at that institution until 1983, when he moved to Northwestern University. Bloom retired from Northwestern in 1989 and died in 1999.

The best known of his many publications is *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*, originally published in 1956. Working with a group of psychologists, Bloom addressed three "domains" related to learning: cognitive, affective, and

psychomotor. Concentrating on the cognitive domain, Bloom's taxonomy posits six levels, each requiring greater cognitive skills than the preceding one.

The taxonomy begins with the basic level of *knowledge*. At this level, the concentration is on basic definitions. *Comprehension* is the next cognitive level and requires such skills as interpretation of meaning, comparison, contrast, and summary. *Application* then requires problem solving and other demonstrations of knowledge. The more creative capacities of *analysis* include the identification of patterns or potential alternate meanings. At the level of *synthesis*, examples of competencies are generalization and prediction. At the highest level, *evaluation* is concerned with the assessment of the value of information, identification of bias or other flaws with information, and making further decisions based on information.

John P. Renaud

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BLOW, SUSAN ELIZABETH (1843–1916)

Susan Elizabeth Blow (1843–1916) was an influential theorist in the late-nineteenth-century Kindergarten Movement, a leading proponent of Froebelian methods, and the first director of a public kindergarten in the United States. Blow translated from German the system of Froebel's *Mother Play* for American classrooms, established a normal school for kindergarten teachers, and was a major figure in turn-of-the-century debates on the future of early childhood education.

Susan Blow was born in Carondelet, a section of St. Louis, Missouri, to a wealthy and politically prominent family. Her grandfather, Peter Blow, was the owner of slaves; notably, Dred Scott. Her father was a state senator and ambassador to Brazil. Blow

attended the prestigious McCauley School in New Orleans and the Henrietta Haines Female Academy in New York City.

She encountered the educational philosophy of Friedrich Froebel while traveling in Europe and later studied with two leading Froebelians, Maria Kraus-Boelte and Baroness von Marenholtz-Bulow. When she returned to St. Louis, she worked with Superintendent of Schools William Torrey Harris to incorporate kindergartens within the public school system. The Des Peres Kindergarten, the first public kindergarten in the United States, opened in St. Louis with Blow as director in 1873.

Throughout her career, Blow resisted arguments to integrate emerging theories of developmental psychology within kindergarten training and practice. In a joint series of lectures with Patty Smith Hill at Teachers College Columbia (TCC) in 1903, she advocated the "Uniform Plan," which permitted no deviations from Froebel's logical sequence of symbolic play. Hill's progressivism prevailed, marking a major theoretical transition for American early childhood education. Blow's orthodoxy was now seen as out of date. However, her reputation as the foremost American authority on Froebel endured, and she continued to write and lecture on early childhood education until her death in 1916.

Susan Douglas Franzosa

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BOND, HORACE MANN (1904–1972)

Horace Mann Bond was one of the first educational researchers in the twentieth century to link structural inequalities in American society to the academic

achievement of African American youth. His critiques of the use of IQ test scores to justify inadequate schooling for African American youth helped lay the intellectual foundation for the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954.

Bond graduated from Lincoln University at the age of eighteen and eventually earned his master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Chicago. Early in his academic career, Bond wrote articles in African American magazines and journals criticizing White psychologists who argued that low IQ scores by African Americans reflected innate intellectual limitations. Bond argued that the social environment played a critical role in students' performance on IQ tests and overall academic achievement. Although most White psychologists ignored his views in the 1920s, in the decades to follow, other African American and White researchers would go on to undermine the belief in African American intellectual inferiority.

In the 1930s, Bond extended his research to an analysis of how economic and social factors denied equal educational opportunities to African Americans. His two books, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (1930) and *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study of Cotton and Steel* (1939), represented the culmination of this research and today are considered pioneering works in the history of American education. In Bond's later educational career, he became a prominent administrator at several Black colleges.

Alan Stoskopf

philosophy in 1954, but his initial studies of Algerian peasants in 1958 led him in the direction of ethnology. Bourdieu later became the director of the Center of European Sociology in 1968.

By this time, Bourdieu had turned his focus from Algeria to the French educational system, working with Jean-Claude Passeron to critique education's role in the creation of class hierarchy in France in their books *The Inheritors* (1964) and again in *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (1970).

Moving on to theoretical ground, Bourdieu developed a theory of social practice in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972), creating the concept of "habitus" as the internalization of social and cultural structures that guided an individual's actions. Bourdieu combined this theory and his empirical concerns with culture and education in his most influential sociological study, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979), which argued that education and culture became the means of maintaining one's class position in the social hierarchy by giving people "cultural capital."

Bourdieu later explored a series of empirical problems broadly connected to his interest in culture and power, including his studies of *Language and Symbolic Power* (1982) and *Masculine Domination* (1998). Throughout his life, Bourdieu was also engaged in his own particular form of social activism, presented in his books *In Other Words* (1987) and *Acts of Resistance* (1998).

Steven E. Rowe

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BOURDIEU, PIERRE (1930–2002)

Pierre Bourdieu was one of the most influential and prolific social scientists of the late twentieth century, and his work examined the role that education played in the social hierarchy. He received his doctorate in

BOWERS, C. A. (CHET) (1935–)

Chet Bowers was an environmentalist long before it was fashionable. As a teacher and scholar at the University of Oregon and Portland State University, his work since the 1970s has focused on the developing ecological crisis, the role of education in reproducing it, and the deep cultural roots that underlie it. A contrarian, he eschews the labels of liberal and progressive, and at times claims rather to

be a conservative, because he wants to conserve older traditions of sustainability and community.

While most scholars on the left have focused on capitalism as the source of social and ecological problems, Bowers argues that the roots are much deeper, in the set of metaphorical assumptions he calls “modernity.” These assumptions, or “root metaphors,” have developed over centuries, primarily in Western culture, he says, and include individualism, mechanism, anthropocentrism, and a faith in progress as inevitable and progressive.

Professors and teachers, even those who consider themselves radicals, Bowers points out, reproduce these assumptions in their everyday language in the classroom. For example, a teacher who asks students to “think for themselves” reproduces individualism. This has led him into conflict with prominent followers of Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy, which Bowers considers part of modernity. The assumptions of modernity, he argues, underlie both the ecological crisis and the increasing fragmentation of community that is exemplified in rising drug abuse and child neglect.

He points out that modern culture has forgotten many of the beliefs and practices of older cultures, which carried assumptions that have produced more sustainable ecosystems and communities. He is sometimes accused of romanticizing indigenous cultures, but his point is more to illustrate the problem with modernity than to advocate for a particular cultural practice.

Recently, he has emphasized the importance of the “commons”—what is held in common ownership rather than being privatized. This includes both the natural—air, water, and so on—and the cultural—the skills and knowledge that are passed down through generations.

Jeff Edmundson

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BRUNER, JEROME S. (1915–)

One of the most influential psychologists of the twentieth century, Jerome S. Bruner played a major role in the modern “cognitive revolution.” Perhaps his most important contribution was that he helped establish cognitive psychology as an alternative to the behaviorist approach of figures such as Watson and Skinner.

Born in New York City in 1915, Bruner went to Duke University and then Harvard, where he received his Ph.D. in 1947. As a professor at Harvard, he helped found the Center for Cognitive Studies. In 1970, Bruner left Harvard to teach at Oxford University. A decade later, he was back in the United States, where he eventually became a faculty member at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

In the field of education, his landmark book *The Process of Education* (1960) elaborated on the work of Piaget and advanced his own personal theory of psychology and learning. As a curriculum innovator, he participated in designing and implementing the MACOS (Man: A Course of Study) project during the mid-1960s. Drawing on the emerging behavioral sciences, the curriculum attempted to address the following three questions: “What is uniquely human about human beings? How did they get that way? How could they be made more so?” By the mid-1970s, the curriculum was being criticized by conservatives as elitist.

While at Oxford during the early 1970s, Bruner began to pay more attention to the social and political context of learning. Criticizing elements of the “cognitive revolution,” Bruner’s new interest in cultural psychology was reflected in his book *The Culture of Education* (1996).

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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CALLAHAN, RAYMOND EUGENE (1921–)

Raymond Eugene Callahan is an education historian whose interest in the social underpinnings of education at the end of the nineteenth century culminated in the publication of *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of Public Schools* (1962).

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1921, Callahan attended the city's public schools, worked in factories, and then enlisted in the military during World War II. This duty entitled him to the provisions of the GI Bill for completing his education.

Callahan earned a bachelor's degree from Washington University in St. Louis in 1948; was a fifth-grade teacher for a year; then re-enrolled at Washington University, where he earned a master's degree in history a few years later under the guidance of Dietrich Gerhard, a noted central European scholar. Callahan would always refer to Gerhard as "my great teacher." Later, George S. Counts and John L. Childs were added to form a trinity of Callahan's admired professors.

The mix of public school teaching experience and an intellectual interest in history led him to enroll at Teachers College, Columbia University, to study under George S. Counts, who was one of the architects of the concept of the social foundations of education. Callahan completed the course work in 1951 and took a job at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana, before the awarding of his EdD in 1952. He then got a position at his alma mater, Washington University, where he spent the remainder of his professional career.

One of Callahan's first projects was a textbook in the social foundations titled *An Introduction to Education in American Society: A Text With Readings* that was published in 1956. Counts wrote a foreword. The book sold well and underwent several editions through 1967. Callahan referred to the text as "the book that got me out of pre-fabricated housing." He then turned his attention to more serious scholarship. The catalyst for this change came in part with the reorganization of Washington University's Department of Education into the Graduate Institute of Education in 1955. Robert J. Schaefer was brought from Harvard to be its first director.

Callahan was interested in the dramatic growth in public school education at the end of the nineteenth century. The leadership of the schools, the philosophical basis of administration, the curriculum, and societal expectations for the enterprise within the context of corporate America were placed into a subset of historical questions that Callahan began to explore. Warren Button, an early student and graduate assistant of Callahan, would recall Saturdays of reading, thinking, discussion, and writing in a cloud of cigar smoke. The result was *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of Public Schools*, which was published in 1962 and underwent more than twenty-five printings. The reaction to the book, dedicated to Counts, was immediately positive.

Callahan became president of the History of Education Society for 1963–1964 and delivered the Simpson Lecture at Harvard in 1964. He continued to teach, guide future historians of education, and conduct research up to his retirement from Washington University.

William Edward Eaton

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CARSON, RACHEL (1907–1964)

Rachel Carson, a marine biologist and science writer, is best known for her last book, *Silent Spring* (1962), a groundbreaking book that exposed the destructiveness of manufactured pesticides on the natural world and began a worldwide environmental revolution. Perhaps more than any other modern author, Carson was the first major writer to bring the importance of ecological and sustainable thinking to the general public. As a result, even though her work is primarily as a scientist, she is of critical importance to those interested in the social and cultural foundations of education.

Born on May 27, 1907, in rural Springdale, Pennsylvania, Carson reflected that she was “born with a fascination for the ocean” and credited her love of nature to her mother. Carson, who published her first story at age ten, continued her interest in writing through high school and at the Pennsylvania College for Women (later Chatham College), where a brilliant college biology teacher encouraged her to apply her passion for science to zoology and to pursue advanced studies at Johns Hopkins University. Carson enrolled at Johns Hopkins in the fall of 1929 after completing a summer fellowship at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole.

Family financial problems delayed completion of Carson’s master’s degree until 1932 and dashed her hopes of completing a doctorate. When her father died in 1935, she became responsible for her own and her mother’s support, and found a temporary position at the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries to write radio scripts on marine life. A job at the Bureau as an aquatic biologist became permanent in 1936, when she and her mother moved to Silver Spring, Maryland. In 1949, she was appointed editor-in-chief for Fish and Wildlife Services, where she continued until 1952, when the financial success of her publications allowed her to devote all her time to writing and to build a summer cottage on the shore of Southport Island, Maine, where she could observe the marine life she dearly loved.

Beginning in 1937, Carson’s articles on the sea and the natural world appeared in national magazines. Her first book, *Under the Sea-Wind*, was published

in 1941. After receiving a fellowship and an award for “the best science writing in a magazine,” Carson finished *The Sea Around Us* in 1952, a book that set a record by remaining on the best-seller lists for eighteen months. *The Edge of the Sea* followed in 1955. An article she wrote for parents and dedicated to her adopted nephew, “Help Your Child to Wonder,” was published in 1956, which was later reprinted as the book *The Sense of Wonder*.

Carson’s concern about pesticides’ effects on the natural world began early in her career and culminated in the publication of *Silent Spring*. This history-changing book warned of “the dangers of misuse and overuse” of chemical pesticides and eventually led to the banning of DDT. Although Carson was personally and professionally castigated by the chemical industry and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, she won numerous prestigious national awards and recognition for her work. A film, *The Silent Spring of Rachel Carson*, aired on CBS in 1963. In 1964, Rachel Carson died of cancer and heart failure. She was awarded the President’s Medal of Freedom posthumously in 1980.

Cheryl Taylor Desmond

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CHILDS, JOHN L. (1889–1985)

Educator and activist John L. Childs argued that education was linked to a host of social, economic, and environmental issues, so that society had to be reformed if education was to change.

Born in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, Childs attended the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he earned a journalism degree in 1911. After working for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) for five years, Childs and his wife, Grace Mary Fowler, sailed for China in 1915 to work as YMCA missionaries in Beijing.

In 1922, Childs returned to the United States to begin graduate work at Union Theological Seminary. After returning to China, Childs eventually came back to New York to work on his Ph.D. at Teachers College, Columbia University. Shortly after finishing his doctoral dissertation, Childs became a professor at Teachers College in 1931.

Childs entered the profession at the beginning of the Depression. He soon became a leading advocate of a philosophy of social reconstruction, believing that social, environmental, and economic conditions had to be considered when attempting to understand and address issues facing education and the schools. For him, educational reconstruction and social reconstruction were clearly connected. One could not be undertaken without the other.

Childs's most important work was *Education and Morals*, which was published in 1950. As a pragmatist, he believed that engagement in political issues was a moral responsibility. Similarly, he believed that any important decision made by teachers (often affecting students) was likewise a moral decision. In *American Pragmatism and Education: An Interpretation and Criticism*, published in 1956, Childs outlined the basics of pragmatism and its application to American education. Childs retired from Teachers College in 1955.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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CHOMSKY, AVRAM NOAM (1928–)

Avram Noam Chomsky is a linguist, philosopher, and political activist who is well-known both for his work in linguistics and for his writings about contemporary issues, which are essential inquiries into illegitimate forms of authority and the abuse of power in modern politics. He views education as part of a process that rewards obedience and conformity and promotes those who are most faithful to established institutions.

Chomsky was born to a working-class family in an ethnically diverse immigrant community in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1928. His parents, both of them Hebrew teachers, had immigrated to the United States from Russia in 1913. His father, William (Zev) Chomsky, who had earned his doctorate from Johns Hopkins and went on to become a distinguished scholar of Hebrew grammar, began working at Gratz College in 1924. Gratz ranks not only as the oldest academic institution of Jewish studies in North America, but also as the continent's oldest teacher training college.

Whereas young Noam developed his interest in the study of language from his father, his political sensitivities reflect more of his mother's influence, who was considerably further to the left in her political orientation than her husband. Members of his extended family also shared commitments to leftist politics, and many of them participated in various forms of working-class activism common to the Depression era.

Chomsky's formal education began shortly before his second birthday at the Oak Lane Country Day School, a Deweyite experimental school operated by Temple University. Dewey's educational vision bore a strong resemblance to that of Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose linguistic and political writings shaped Chomsky's views in those same areas. Oak Lane provided Chomsky and the other students with the freedom to pursue their own interests and to expand their knowledge without coercion.

Chomsky's interests, of course, had been decidedly influenced by his parents and his extended family. At the age of ten, he published an article in the Oak Lane student newspaper on the Spanish Civil War that

addressed the fall of Barcelona and the defeat of the Spanish anarchosyndicalist movements that he found inspiring. By the age of twelve, he was reading his father's scholarly writings on Hebrew grammar and the history of its study.

It was also at the age of twelve that Chomsky left Oak Lane and entered Central High School in Philadelphia, where his experiences heavily informed his later critique of state-sponsored schooling. Although labeled a good student because of his high grades, he recognized early the patterns of authoritarianism, regimentation, and indoctrination that serve elite interests. For Chomsky, the primary objective of state-sponsored schooling has always been to sort and select for obedience and conformity. Those most able to tolerate the authoritarian and inane patterns of traditional schooling, those who embrace the obedience and conformity demanded of them, can best be trusted to move "up the ladder" and into the university system, which, in his estimation, likewise rewards obedience and conformity. Those demonstrating the greatest allegiance to the established institutional structures and prevailing dogmas are promoted to positions that enable them to exercise power in the service of reproducing those same structures and dogmas.

Ideally, in Chomsky's view, public schools should provide people with the skills and opportunities to pursue knowledge as a matter of "intellectual self-defense" against the violence and exploitation aimed against them by members of privileged classes. Similar to the Italian socialist Antonio Gramsci, Chomsky regards all humans as intellectuals, that is, as persons who find the greatest satisfaction in life through the free and autonomous application of their own native abilities toward understanding and acting in the world. The fact that intellectuals are viewed as members of some specialized class should, in Chomsky's view, be regarded as a social defect to be overcome.

Nevertheless, he claims that members of this class bear a special burden within what he sees as a marginally democratic U.S. society. Their specialized training, their near-limitless access to resources, and the time that they have at their disposal places them under a greater responsibility to pursue the truth and report it to audiences who matter—persons or groups

affected by the issues addressed in that pursuit—than those who do not enjoy those privileges. In a more genuinely democratic society, teachers in public schools would focus most of their energies on helping students develop those skills of truth-seeking for themselves.

Chomsky earned his own position within the academy through his revolutionary work in the field of linguistics. Although his exposure to the study of language through the writings of his father laid the foundation of that work, Chomsky studied linguistics, philosophy, and mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania beginning in 1945. He completed a BA honor's thesis titled "Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew" that laid the groundwork for his later doctoral studies at Penn and Harvard University. Shortly after earning his Ph.D. from Penn, Chomsky was made an assistant professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His book *Syntactic Structures*, published in 1957, elicited a tremendous response within the linguistic community and established him as one of its leading figures.

Throughout his high school and college years, Chomsky never abandoned his anarchosyndicalist/libertarian socialist political leanings and activism. Given his stature as an intellectual figure within linguistics, his vocal opposition to the Vietnam War attracted wide attention. The 1960s witnessed the publication of Chomsky's first books on politics and contemporary events. In 1969, he published *American Power and the New Mandarins*, and he has published, on average, one book per year on contemporary political issues ever since.

In 1979, Paul Robinson wrote in *The New York Review of Books* that Chomsky was "arguably the most important intellectual alive." Chomsky has never embraced such a characterization of himself, denouncing anything that might contribute toward the development of any "cult of the personality." His collaborative work with Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent* (2002), now in a new and updated edition, remains a highly useful book for understanding the interweavings of state, corporate, and media power. Of particular relevance for scholars in the cultural and social foundations of education is Donald Macedo's *Chomsky on Miseducation* (2000),

which contains numerous essays as well as an important interview with Chomsky conducted by Macedo.

David Gabbard

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CLAPP, ELSIE RIPLEY (1879–1965)

Elsie Ripley Clapp, an activist on behalf of children and the poor, taught at schools established to teach the children of jobless workers during the Depression. A student of John Dewey, she also made significant contributions to progressive education.

Born in Brooklyn Heights, New York, she was educated at Barnard, Vassar, and Columbia. Elsie held a bachelor's degree in English and a master's in philosophy, studying under John Dewey and F. J. E. Woodbridge. Always an activist for children, Clapp

worked with the International Workers of the World in 1913, where she taught the children of striking workers. She supported the work of Margaret Sanger and championed the rights of poor children.

Although she taught in numerous private schools, her best-known documented work was in rural Kentucky and West Virginia. Upon the advice of her friend and mentor John Dewey, Elsie took progressive education to two rural public schools, the Ballard Memorial School near Louisville and the Arthurdale School in West Virginia. She documented her work in two books, *Community Schools in Action* (1939) and *The Use of Resources in Education* (1952). Clapp was chosen to head the Arthurdale School by Eleanor Roosevelt, who believed this New Deal community needed a progressive school. The school was populated by children of coal miners displaced by the Depression with an overarching aim to build community.

Active in progressive education circles, Elsie also edited the journal *Progressive Education* from 1937–1939 and in that short span brought an aesthetic dimension to the journal with focus on art, the child, and the community school.

Sam F. Stack, Jr.

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COLEMAN, JAMES S. (1926–1995)

James S. Coleman was a sociologist and author of studies that fueled controversy around the mandatory busing issue in the 1960s and 1970s: one study providing the rationale for mandatory busing of students to achieve integrated schools, and the other declaring those efforts a failure.

Born on May 12, 1926, Coleman earned a doctorate in sociology from Columbia University in 1955 and began a long teaching career at the University in Chicago the following year. From 1959 to 1973, he

taught and did research at Johns Hopkins University, returning to the University of Chicago in 1973. Despite producing a broad range of research and scholarship, including the publication of thirty books, Coleman is best remembered for two studies.

His 1966 report to Congress, known as the Coleman Report, presented research that showed African American children would learn more and faster in integrated classrooms. Although his conclusions were carefully qualified, this research was used as an argument for wide-scale mandatory busing to achieve racial balance in many schools and correct the de facto segregation that had been found to exist in many American school districts. The controversy and acrimony that this effort generated placed Coleman's work at the center of a firestorm.

Later, in 1975, after "White flight" and other issues had plagued the efforts of this movement, Coleman issued a report pronouncing the mandatory busing movement a failure. This, too, was extremely controversial to the point that the American Sociological Society considered expelling him. Coleman felt his most important work was his 1990 book, *Foundations of Social Theory*, in which he studied the organization and functioning of communities. Coleman died of prostate cancer on March 25, 1995.

John P. Renaud

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COMENIUS, JOHN AMOS (KOMENSKY) (1592–1670)

The father of modern pedagogy, Comenius argued that teachers should use developmentally appropriate instructional methods that tap into children's sense

perceptions. He called for a universal educational system, a standardized curriculum and textbooks, trained teachers, and a common language for all (Latin). Although Comenius lived in turbulent times and suffered many personal losses, he remained optimistic about the future of humankind. His most important works include the *Didactica Magna* (*The Great Didactic*) (1632), the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (*The Gates of Tongues Unlocked and Opened*) (1631), and the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (*World in Pictures*) (1658), one of the first picture books for children.

John Amos Komensky was born March 28, 1592, in Nivnice, Moravia (Czechoslovakia). His parents were members of a Protestant religious group persecuted during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). Living in a time of great political upheaval, Comenius experienced many hardships. His father, mother, and two sisters died of plague when he was twelve. In 1621, he lost his home, his writings, and all of his belongings when soldiers took over the town in which he lived. The same year, his pregnant wife and two of his children died of plague. A refugee most of his life, Comenius traveled throughout Europe, but never returned to his homeland. He died November 15, 1670, in Amsterdam.

Comenius believed in the power of intellect, piety, and systematic learning to improve the human condition. Troubled by the conflict and human suffering surrounding him, he sought to unify people of all nations and faiths. He proposed that pansophy—lifelong study of systematized, encyclopedic knowledge—could lead humans toward shared understanding and global peace. Comenius argued that teachers should put less emphasis on rhetoric (memorization, words, and grammar) and more emphasis on arousing the student's interest by appealing to the senses.

In *The Great Didactic* (1632), he proposed an age-graded system of education: nursery school (0–6 years), elementary school (6–12), Latin school (13–18), and Academy (19–24). Comenius believed that elementary education should be made available to everyone regardless of gender, nationality, or economic status. The *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (1631) described Comenius's method for teaching Latin using the vernacular (the student's native language). The *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658) was a smaller version of the *Janua* and included 150 woodcuts

depicting everyday objects and settings. Elements within each image were numbered and described in Latin and in the vernacular (Spanish, English, German). The *Orbis* was reprinted in many languages and was widely used for more than two centuries.

Jan Armstrong

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Web Sites

- Orbis Sensualium Pictus: An invitation to wisdom and learning: <http://iconics.cehd.umn.edu/Orbis/Default.htm>

COMER, JAMES P. (1934–)

James P. Comer, MD, is the creator of the Comer School Development Program (SDP), a comprehensive school reform model used in more than 500 schools throughout the United States. Currently, Dr. Comer serves as the Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry at the Yale University School of Medicine's Child Study Center.

Comer was born in 1934 in the town of East Chicago, Indiana. Although his parents had limited education, they pushed him and his siblings to achieve in school and to pursue college educations. Comer went on to complete his undergraduate education at Indiana University and his medical training at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Following this, he received a master's degree in public health from the University of Michigan and pursued residency training in psychiatry at the Yale University School of Medicine and its Child Development Center.

In 1968, Comer received an invitation from Dr. Albert Solnit of the Yale Child Development Center to direct a school intervention project funded

by a grant from the Ford Foundation. That school intervention project yielded a model of reform known as the Comer School Development Program (SDP) or simply "the Comer Process." This process is based on principles of child, adolescent, and adult development, and it encourages parents, teachers, administrators, and students to work in a collaborative and cooperative atmosphere based on students' needs. The SDP has taken root all over the United States and has become one of the most important reform models in the history of American education.

Comer's primary work with the SDP has been a reflection of his research on the social conditions facing the poor and minority communities and the link that these conditions have with public policies and institutions. In doing so, Comer has recognized the critical influence of education on adult life and the role that family and community context has on children's future success in school.

Michael E. Jennings

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COOPER, ANNA JULIA HAYWOOD (1858–1964)

Educator and pioneer of civil and women's rights, Anna Julia Haywood Cooper was the fourth Black woman in U.S. history to earn a Ph.D. Her life exemplified commitment to education, women's rights, racial uplift, and social transformation.

Born into slavery, Cooper was educated and later served as an instructor at St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute. After receiving her MA from Oberlin College, Cooper was hired in 1891 to teach at M Street High School in Washington, D.C.; she was named principal in 1902.

While at M Street, Cooper wrote her book *A Voice From the South: By a Woman From the South* (1892),

considered to be a pioneering Black feminist text. In this work, Cooper explored Black women's racial and gender oppression, education, self-determination, literary representations of Blackness, and voting rights for all women.

Although M Street graduates were successful in obtaining admission to prestigious colleges and universities, the D.C. board of education denied Cooper's principal reappointment when she refused to lower academic standards for her students. She remained at M Street as an instructor, however.

Sabrina N. Ross

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COUNTS, GEORGE SYLVESTER (1889–1974)

For a period of more than fifty years, George Sylvester Counts was a major figure in American education. He was, for much of his life, on the left side among educational progressives during the twentieth century. He is most closely identified with the education movement described as social reconstructionism and is considered by many to have been its leading voice throughout his long and distinguished career. He was also the preeminent American scholar on Soviet education and culture.

Counts's activism was uncommon for an academic. The ideas he encountered while studying at the University of Chicago lured him in this direction, at least on the intellectual plane. Although his doctoral dissertation was a study of arithmetic tests and the psychology of arithmetic, he was influenced by the writings of Thorsten Veblen. Upon graduation, he quickly turned to educational and social

criticism, abandoning his early interest in standard deviations, regression equations, and coefficients of correlation.

Counts's career in higher education spanned more than a half-century. During that time, he authored twenty-nine books on American society and education as well as Soviet life and education. In 1957, his book *The Challenge of Soviet Education* was granted the American Library Association's Liberty and Justice Award. It represented an example of Counts's foresight because shortly after its publication *Sputnik* was launched, an event that dramatically altered the face of American education in response to the Soviet challenge.

His writings reflect several seminal works in American education, and his earliest books represented some of the first attempts at analyzing the effects of social class on the nation's schools. Among these were *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education* (1922), *The Senior High School Curriculum* (1926), *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education* (1927), and *Secondary Education and Industrialism* (1929). *School and Society in Chicago* (1928) became very popular as one of the earliest examinations of the inner workings of a large city school system. His coauthored book *Principles of Education* (1924) was widely used as a text in American schools of education.

The book that most defines his legacy and for which he is best remembered is *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (1932). A small book of only fifty-two pages, it was the compilation of three addresses given to educators in the midst of the Great Depression. It was a call to action to teachers across the land, boldly seeking to enlist them in the cause of social justice. It envisioned a teaching profession elevated in its own social status and importance resulting from the leadership it would provide to communities and their schools. The power and impact of his ideas, married to the heft of his delivery, left the convention delegates of the Progressive Education Association in a silence that, for Counts, was more meaningful than applause. In fact, members suspended the remainder of the convention's business to ponder and react to Counts's ideas.

Moreover, his words reflect a perspective that applies no less to our own contemporary circumstance. For example, he wrote the following:

We can view a world order rushing toward collapse with no more concern than the outcome of a horse race; we can see injustice, crime and misery in their most terrible forms all about us and, if we are not directly affected, register the emotions of a scientist studying white rats in a laboratory. . . . In my opinion, this is a confession of complete moral and spiritual bankruptcy. (Counts, 1932, p. 20)

Counts began his career in higher education at Delaware College (now the University of Delaware) as department head before moving to Harris Teachers College in St. Louis for a year. He was then lured to the University of Washington, followed by Yale, the University of Chicago, and finally Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1927, where he stayed until retirement in 1955. After that, he continued teaching for many years—at the University of Pittsburgh, University of Colorado, Michigan State University, Northwestern University, and Southern Illinois University from 1962 until 1971—when he permanently retired at the age of eighty-two.

When he was recruited to Teachers College, Columbia University, it was to serve as the assistant director of the International Institute, which led him to become interested in the Soviet Union. It remained a lifelong project that he pursued alongside his research and teaching about U.S. education. A memorable journey in 1929 was when he drove a Model A Ford more than 6,000 miles across most of the Soviet Union, much of it alone and many miles on unpaved roads. This feat culminated in the book, *A Ford Crosses Soviet Russia* (1930).

Counts's activist posture brought about his recruitment as candidate for president of the American Federation of Teachers, a post he won in 1939. Counts led the effort to purge the AFT of communist influence, particularly among some of its largest and most influential locals. He can be credited in part with saving the AFT because its parent union, the AFL, was poised to expel AFT locals under communist control.

Bruce Romanish

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COVELLO, LEONARD (1887–1983)

Leonard Covello was the twentieth-century's leading theorist and practitioner of community-centered schooling. He dedicated much of his career to the development of Benjamin Franklin High School for Boys in East Harlem and promoted that school's role in the educational improvement of the entire community.

The son of a southern-Italian family that immigrated to East Harlem in the mid-1890s, Covello attended New York City schools in an era of Anglo-conformity. His personal experience of the anti-immigrant bias of these institutions shaped his lifelong commitment to intercultural education and cultural democracy. Following his graduation from Columbia University in 1911, Covello embarked on a teaching career in Romance languages in the city high schools. From 1914 to 1934, with the exception of a two-year hiatus for military service in World War I, he taught at DeWitt Clinton High School, where he chaired the Department of Italian and led a successful citywide campaign to give Italian parity with other modern foreign languages.

Covello played an instrumental role in establishing Benjamin Franklin High School, a high school for boys in East Harlem, where he served as principal from 1934 to 1956. Dedicated to the local democratic

development of East Harlem's constituent ethnic groups and the revitalization of this stressed immigrant district, Covello organized a pioneering community school infrastructure at BFHS that included a community advisory council with multiple subcommittees, adult education and recreational services, a school-based community newspaper, and a set of street units for social clubs and community research bureaus.

Every facet of the community program was education centered, explicitly designed to reinforce the high school's instructional program. Community advisory committees and social clubs, for instance, educated East Harlem parents about interethnic tolerance at the same time their sons were learning these lessons in the high school's intercultural program. School-community partnerships with East Harlem social agencies and large-scale community organizing efforts, such as housing, health, and citizenship campaigns, mobilized local educational resources in the service of the high school.

Although community-centered schooling did not last beyond Covello's retirement, his project, viewed in hindsight, offers an inspiring vision of "active" citizenship as a public purpose of the U.S. schooling system. The major repository for the Covello-era BFHS is the Leonard Covello Papers, MSS 40, housed in the Balch Institute Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Covello articulated his philosophy of community-centered schooling in numerous publications, including his autobiography, *The Heart Is the Teacher* (1958), and his 1944 Ph.D. dissertation, "The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child" (1967).

John L. Puckett and Michael C. Johanek

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CREMIN, LAWRENCE ARTHUR (1925–1990)

Lawrence A. Cremin, one of the most important historians of U.S. education, served as a faculty member and administrator at Teachers College, Columbia University, for more than four decades. His three-volume history of education in the United States, titled *American Education*, examined the development of education from the colonial period to the late twentieth century. The second volume, examining the period from 1783 to 1876, received the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1981.

Cremin's other books included *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957*, which received the 1962 Bancroft Prize in American history and is recognized as the definitive history of American progressive education. His final book, *Popular Education and Its Discontents*, examined the expansion of American education and its resultant successes and problems.

A graduate of the City College of New York, Cremin received his Ph.D. in history from Columbia in 1949. He began his career at Teachers College, Columbia University, and in 1961 became the Frederick A. P. Barnard Professor of Education. He also held a joint appointment in Columbia's history department. After a number of administrative positions, he became the college's seventh president in 1974, during a period of declining enrollments and fiscal problems. A strong supporter of disciplinary approaches to the study of education, Cremin shifted Teachers College's historical commitment from an interdisciplinary foundation of education approach to a more discipline-centered approach in philosophy, history, and the social sciences. By the end of his presidency in 1984, he had developed significant new programs, restored financial health, and reestablished the college's distinctive position. He returned to teaching and research in 1985, while also becoming president of the Spencer Foundation.

Cremin's approach to educational history expanded the historical study of American education through a more multidimensional analysis than previous school-centered approaches. Through an

examination of other institutions and agencies that educate and international educational trends, he provided in-depth analyses of the evolution of education in the larger context of society. Unlike earlier histories of American education, which uncritically celebrated its successes, Cremin provided a more comprehensive, balanced, and critical view. Nonetheless, his work is associated with the democratic-liberal school of U.S. educational history, which views the development of U.S. education as an extension of democratic and meritocratic processes.

Susan F. Semel

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CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P. (1868–1941)

Ellwood Cubberley was instrumental in founding both school administration and the history of education as professional fields of study. He joined the faculty of Stanford University in 1898 and subsequently served as dean of its School of Education from 1917 to 1933. As editor of the Riverside Textbooks in Education series for Houghton Mifflin, Cubberley edited more than 100 monographs and general textbooks in a wide range of educational fields. He wrote textbooks in the fields of school administration (for both the principal's and superintendent's positions), history of European and American education, and introduction to teaching and education as well as school survey

reports. His classes and seminars attracted men who would go on to positions of leadership in education at the state, regional, and national levels.

Cubberley's particular gift was as a synthesizer of an emerging literature within a social efficiency movement in education that drew on the business model of organization and production characteristic of an emerging corporate economy, on scientific management theory, and on behavioral theories of learning and measurement of learning. Using this literature, he developed an influential rationale and design for a bureaucratic organization of schooling at the state and school district levels characterized by an emphasis on ideological and vocational preparation of students for entry into the various class strata in a corporate capitalist economy, on governing boards comprised of leading businessmen and professionals, on administration by professionally educated experts, and on decision making based on quantitative data. Cubberley advocated increases in public school funding as well as such organizational reforms as consolidation of rural school districts and the development of junior high schools. He stressed the need to develop curricular tracks that would prepare students efficiently for their markedly differing adult social and economic roles.

Ideologically, Cubberley argued for schools to develop in students a social consciousness characterized by a sense of interdependence among the various social classes and a belief that interests of social classes within a corporate capitalist society are compatible. Sharing ethnic and racial prejudices that infused the social efficiency literature, he was a vigorous proponent of school Americanization programs that would replace what he perceived to be the deficit values and beliefs of southern and eastern European immigrant families with what he defined to be Anglo-Teutonic political and cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors. Hence, schools were to serve as central institutions for maintaining social cohesion and suppressing class conflict as well as for vocational preparation.

In terms of shaping teachers' and administrators' beliefs through strengthened professional education and development, Cubberley advocated a controlled professional freedom that combined acquisition and

use of a knowledge base commensurate with one's position in the school system hierarchy as teacher, building administrator, or central office administrator, on one hand, with a clear understanding of the limits on the decisions that one in that particular position is authorized to make, on the other. His extensive work as author and editor of textbooks in a range of developing fields of professional education suggests an understanding on his part that, within bureaucratic school systems, control of professional knowledge bases within schools of education and related professional development programs in schools could serve as a source of considerable power.

Stuart McAninch

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CURRY, JABEZ LAMAR MONROE (1825–1903)

Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry was an educator and politician who started his career as a passionate defender of slavery, arguing that it was good both for the South and for African Americans. After the Civil War, he became resigned to the liberation of African Americans and was among the White leaders of educational initiatives for Blacks focused on industrial training.

Curry was born to William Curry and Susan Winn on June 5, 1825, in Lincoln County, northeastern Georgia. By 1834, William owned 7,000 acres and forty-two slaves. Jabez was educated at both the

Willington Academy and the Double Branches School, with advanced tutoring by University of Dublin graduate Daniel W. Finn in Latin, Greek, algebra, and geometry. The family relocated to Alabama in 1837. He later attended Franklin College (now the University of Georgia), excelling in classical studies before entering Harvard Law School, class of 1845.

Boundless curiosity, superior training, and Harvard exposure helped sculpt a capable intellectual and fiery orator. His sociopolitical commitments were to slavery, states rights, and secession. Following a very brief military deployment, Curry was elected to the Alabama state legislature in 1847. From 1850–1853 he was absent from politics as he prospered in the family business. In 1853, he was reelected to the Alabama legislature as a states' rights advocate. In 1857, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he developed a passionate defense of slavery. His recurring theme held that slavery brought civilization and great prosperity to the South. He further argued that slavery had a salutary effect on Blacks.

In January 1861, Curry was elected deputy from Alabama to the new Confederate States of America. He was later assigned to the Confederate Army as commissioner of habeas corpus investigating “disloyalty” among the civilian population.

Following the Civil War, Curry was jailed for inciting rebellion and exchanging illegal currency. Negotiating a \$250 payment, he was pardoned. His hardened political polemics now gave way to uttering the Holy Scriptures. He was soon selected president of Howard Baptist College in Marion, Alabama (1865–1868), and became ordained. Having revived Howard financially, Curry accepted a professorship in history and English literature at Richmond College, Virginia (1868–1881).

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, Curry spoke out passionately against the “horrors” of Reconstruction and the dangers of miscegenation. Additionally, he delivered regular sermons and emerged as a high-profile Southern intellectual.

During the 1880s, he moved between education and politics, serving as general agent for the Peabody Fund, which provided philanthropic support for Southern education, and ambassador to Spain

(1885–1888). The civic-minded and patriotic Curry was resigned to the new social order. In his mature years, Curry understood that the “Negro problem” had to be addressed for the country to prosper. He came to view accommodationist Negro education and education for poor Southern Whites as steps toward nation-building.

In 1891, Curry became general agent of the Slater Fund, dedicated to industrial training for Blacks. He supported and praised Hampton and Tuskegee and spent his last productive years as part of the interlocking directorate of White architects of Black education.

William H. Watkins

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DAVIS, JACKSON (1882–1947)

Jackson Davis was a long-time official with the General Education Board (GEB), a Rockefeller-funded philanthropy mainly remembered for its work with Southern Black schooling. Over his more than thirty years with the GEB, Davis rose to the post of vice president and toiled as an advocate for improved schooling for African American children and youth.

After graduating from college in 1902, he spent the next eight years leading various school and youth organizations. During his Henrico County, Virginia, public schools superintendency (1905–1909), he came to the notice of the GEB and, as well, recruited the first Jeanes Teacher. In 1910, Davis became the initial GEB-funded Director of Negro Education, serving in the Virginia State Department of Education.

Davis's success with Virginia's schools for African Americans and his work in recruiting and training additional directors for other states led to his appointment in 1915 as the GEB's general field agent.

Assuming general guidance of the GEB's Southern Program, Davis began a refashioning of the organization's work with Black schools. Principally, under his leadership, GEB policies turned away from strict allegiance to industrial schooling. Among other efforts, Davis directed the establishment of a regularized system for the accreditation of Black high schools and reinvigorated the Southern state departments of education as official allies to Black schools. These efforts, mainly hidden from general public notice, garnered him much less notice than other contemporary progressive Whites such as Edwin Embree and Will Alexander. He died, still faithfully serving the GEB, in 1947.

Matthew D. Davis

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DE HOSTOS, EUGENIO MARIA (1839–1903)

Eugenio Maria de Hostos, a lifelong Puerto Rican patriot and advocate for democracy throughout Latin America, put together and led the public school system in the Dominican Republic. He was also an advocate of equal education opportunity for women.

Born January 11, 1839, in Rio Canas, Puerto Rico, de Hostos attended the University of Bilbao and the Central University in Spain before studying law at the University of Madrid. He was disappointed that neither Puerto Rico nor Cuba were granted independence when the Spanish monarchy was overthrown in 1868. In 1869, he moved to New York City and became editor of *La Revolution*, the paper of the

Cuban independence movement. He also served as a writer for the newspaper *Puerto Rico*.

The following year, he began a four-year tour of Latin America to gain popular support for Cuban independence. At the same time, he engaged in a variety of educational, philosophical, and political activities. In 1873, while in Chile, de Hostos published *The Scientific Education of Women*, which called for women to receive education on the same level as men. At the same time, he authored a widely respected essay on Hamlet, which included an analysis of the need to fight for freedom. In 1875, he participated in a failed revolutionary attempt to sail to Cuba to fight for independence.

By 1877, de Hostos had moved to Venezuela, where he taught at a college in Caracas and worked as a school principal. The following year, he was asked to lead national education reform in the Dominican Republic. He established the first public elementary schools in that country, helped prepare teachers at the National University, and crafted the Dominican Republic's laws regarding public education. Such was his success that Chile invited him to redesign their national education system, and so he moved to Santiago, Chile, in 1888 to undertake this endeavor.

When the Cuban Revolution began in 1898, de Hostos went to New York and then to Puerto Rico to advocate for independence for that colony. In January 1899, he and other Puerto Rican patriots presented a proposal for independence to President McKinley.

When it became clear that Puerto Rico would become a U.S. territory, de Hostos returned to the Dominican Republic, where he became Inspector General of Education, a post he held until his death. He was a prolific author, writing at least fifty books in his lifetime, many of which were only published posthumously. He is often compared to John Dewey, and his writing is thought to have influenced Paulo Freire, Jean Piaget, and Lev Vygotsky.

John P. Renaud

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DEWEY, JOHN (1859–1952)

John Dewey was a highly influential twentieth-century American philosopher and perhaps the nation's foremost educational theorist. Along with Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914) and William James (1842–1910), he forged an American philosophy known variously as pragmatism, experimentalism, or, as he preferred, instrumentalism. He also helped create an educational theory known as progressivism. In addition to being a prolific author and a philosophy professor, he was socially and politically active in seeking to improve children's schooling, secure professors' academic freedom, outlaw international war, protect workers' rights, extend women's civil liberties, and enact immigrant and minority political freedoms.

Dewey was born into a middle-class evangelical Congregational Church family in Burlington, Vermont, and pursued his undergraduate education in his hometown at the University of Vermont. After earning his bachelor's degree in philosophy and spending several years as a high school teacher in Pennsylvania and Vermont, he pursued his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University and later taught at the universities of Michigan, Minnesota, and Chicago, as well as Columbia.

During his lifetime, he wrote approximately one thousand articles, ninety poems, and forty books. With the exception of his poems, which were edited by Jo Ann Boydston in *The Poems of John Dewey* and his essay "What Psychology Can Do for the Teacher" in Reginald Archambault's *John Dewey on Education*, all of his published writings are in *The Collected Works of John Dewey*. The books for which he is best remembered are *The School and Society* (1899); *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902); *How We Think* (1910); *Democracy and Education* (1916); *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920); *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922); *Experience and Nature* (1925); *The Public and Its Problems* (1927); *The Quest for Certainty* (1929); *Individualism, Old and New* (1930); *Ethics* (1932); *Art as Experience* (1934); *Logic* (1938); *Experience and Education* (1938); and *Freedom and Culture* (1939).

Although his books have made a lasting impression on students of his philosophy, Dewey wrote many significant essays, too, such as “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology” (1896); “Professional Spirit Among Teachers” (1913); “Nationalizing Education” (1916); “The Prospects of the Liberal College” (1924); “Progressive Education and the Science of Education” (1928); “From Absolutism to Experimentalism” (1930); “Why I Am Not a Communist” (1934); “Democracy Is Radical” (1937); “Propositions, Warranted Assertibility, and Truth” (1941); and “Has Philosophy a Future?” (1948). Ironically, both his first major scholarly work—his doctoral dissertation—and his last virtually completed volume—a book-length manuscript that was tentatively titled *Naturalism*—have been lost.

From the titles mentioned, however, it is easy to see that the scope of his scholarly interests was extensive, including, but not limited to, education, psychology, aesthetics, ethics, epistemology, logic, religion, politics, and democracy. These diverse motifs were linked in his thought and may be approached through one of several entry points, such as his social, political, educational, ethical, or aesthetic theory. Conversely, his ideas may be entered via ideas that are associated with his philosophical assumptions and methodology, such as naturalism, pragmatism, experimentalism, or instrumentalism.

In this entry, Dewey’s ideas are woven or melded together to form a cohesive pattern of reflections. That is to say, the flow of his reflections and emphases are commingled in order to highlight his thinking during his post-Christian and postidealism philosophical stages. In particular, the entry examines his naturalistic philosophy rather than his early supernaturalistic philosophy. As a proponent of naturalism, Dewey rejected his earlier ideas of a personal God, a revealed religion, a predetermined self, and a transcendental meaning system. Instead, he argued that everything, including religion and ethics, is better understood from a Darwinian, naturalistic perspective.

The universe, humans, and society are best understood as naturally evolving dynamic entities that interact with and influence meaning making and purposive living. Natural development, however, provides opportunities for intelligent experimentation and

choices. Dewey’s experimentalism, rooted in his broad view of science, led him to stress the connection between thinking, learning, and teaching. His pragmatism influenced him to conclude that thinking, learning, and acting are merely different aspects of a single process or experience.

The nonlinear facets of scientific or reflective thinking that Dewey identified, if his ideas may be overly simplified, occur first as a person encounters a genuine problem or develops personal doubt or uncertainty. The person, in essence, is perturbed, disconcerted, or nonplussed because of some experience she or he has had. If the person is guided to escape this disequilibrium intelligently, she or he may, second, start finding facts, attempting to synthesize them, searching for ways of interpreting them, and identifying the basic problem that stimulated the initial confusion.

Next, the person continues to think, reflect, and learn as she or he seeks a solution to the problem and, perhaps unconsciously, to regain equilibrium. Deweyan thinking and learning, at this juncture, involves developing hypotheses and narrowing them down to one that will be tested. After this hypothesis is chosen, a fourth facet of thinking develops: the actual testing of the selected hypothesis. This need to test or experiment—and so, the term *experimentalism*—includes going through empirical data intellectually, looking for connections among the facts, considering the strengths and weaknesses of the hypothesis, and taking into account the potential or probable results or consequences when evaluating the hypothesis.

Finally, thinking and learning move to testing the hypothesis in a real experiment or situation. If the actual experiment results in the predicted outcomes, then the person solves the problem and has her or his equilibrium restored. If not, the person begins to review his or her prior thinking to search for additional data, other explanations for them, and alternative hypotheses. This approach to thinking and experimenting is, on one level and to varying degrees, a normal part of living and professional life.

When Dewey added his teaching theory to his thinking and learning theories, the responsibilities of the school and teacher emerge; school staff and

individual teachers are responsible for fostering the thinking and learning of students. From his viewpoint, their responsibilities are best accomplished by designing, creating, renewing, and reconstructing school and classroom environments so that they continue to cultivate each child's thinking and learning in ways that eventually lead to adult ways of understanding the multiple forms of inquiry and creativity.

As children enter school, however, the teacher does not begin with the teaching of adult forms of understanding of chemistry, history, mathematics, language, and so forth. Instead, the teacher begins with the learning that students bring with them to school and extends this understanding wider and deeper into the various subjects studied, enabling students to better see the connections and usefulness of what is learned.

In addition, Dewey argued that students are born learners with natural and cultivated impulses that need to be directed and transformed into reflectively developed desires and purposes. Thus, he was very interested in a progressive rather than a traditional approach to education and curriculum. Hence, his views—although frequently distorted by his admirers and detractors—became associated with educational progressivism. For him, progressivism involved focusing on understanding students' interests and impulses; engaging them in well-planned and stimulating learning activities; developing their understanding into adult forms of inquiry and creativity; cultivating their abilities to think and to solve problems for themselves; and nurturing their dispositions to work together democratically toward personal, professional, and social goals.

He was highly critical of progressive educators who allowed students to be directed only or largely by their unreflective impulses and developed individualistic students who had little understanding of their democratic social relationships and responsibilities in schools and society. Thus, he objected to their idea of an individualistically oriented and child-centered school in preference for a democratically oriented and socially centered one that meets the needs of each student.

In the process of learning, Dewey thought that students should come to understand that knowledge claims are, at their best, warranted assertions, conclusions that are the most reliable that can be reached with the available theory and data. Some opinions are

without any support but harmless and, on occasion, even meaningful. Others may be unwarranted and harmful, or at least counterproductive. Still others may have no more warrant than dozens of other opinions or interpretations because the evidence and arguments that support them are inadequate, insufficient, or partial.

A study of history reveals that some opinions are increasingly discredited and others are progressively corroborated by scholars, researchers, and experts. Some opinions are so well supported that they may be acted upon with a very high degree of confidence. As he noted in *The Quest for Certainty*, Dewey believed that a high level of confidence or warrant meant that people can be secure but not certain about many claims that are made in a variety of realms of inquiry, such as chemistry, mathematics, history, and even ethics. Certainty is unwarranted because the universe is a dynamic, changing entity, and personal knowledge of it is both partial and problematic.

In his instrumentalist view of knowing, it was important to note that determining the warrant of a claim is a public, social, and ongoing process, never an individual, private, and completed matter. Consequently, students need to learn that when they make choices and pursue related actions, their commitment to these selections and endeavors should be in proportion to the public warrant that exists. The most highly warranted beliefs ought to be understood as they are in scientific experimentation or as instruments for producing new ideas, theories, hypotheses, and, notably, findings.

Dewey's instrumentalism extends to all realms of understanding. Historical findings, religious experience, aesthetic criticism, chemical studies, moral judgments, and statistical analyses are increasingly warranted or secure when theories regarding them are powerful, data are substantial, and arguments are cogent. But more is involved in claims of knowing. The consequences or outcomes of inquiries are related to his democratic philosophy of valuation. Are the consequences of acting on the knowledge we have for the common good of society, both in the present and in the future?

In summary, then, his view of instrumentalism is not only a way of examining knowledge claims and determining warranted assertions but also a means of providing grounds for learning, thinking, choosing,

behaving, and living, both individually and collectively. So, his theories of learning, thinking, teaching, and knowing are connected for students and teachers in schools as well as for citizens and leaders in communities and societies. He believed that a democratic society should be increasingly a part of every facet of life, including families, schools, communities, social agencies, religious institutions, and private businesses. Democratic values and reflective thinking should permeate the thinking and actions of politicians, communities, businesses, schools, and individuals.

Dewey believed, too, that if schools, communities, and societies are to become educational and democratic entities, they must examine reflectively and shape democratically the experiences that children, youth, and adults have throughout school and life. In *Experience and Education* and other writings, there are probably two major ways of conceptualizing experiences—the paradigmatically different and the developmentally distinct. At least three paradigmatic kinds of experiences drew his attention. Among the various experiences that exist, Dewey argued that they fall into three categories: miseducative, noneducative, and educative. These three paradigms of experience vary from the least desirable (miseducative) to the most desirable (educative). In between these two categories falls a type of experience that may be neither harmful nor helpful, detrimental nor fruitful per se in the life of a person or society. Erasing boards, sharpening pencils, putting paper into a printer, surfing the Internet, changing television channels, answering the telephone, planting a flower, eating an orange, and so on may fall into this category much of the time. On the other hand, any one of these activities might be miseducative or educative when certain other criteria or conditions are in force or met. What are these distinguishing criteria or conditions? How did Dewey distinguish miseducative and educative experiences?

The concepts of personal and societal growth are the main criteria that distinguish miseducative and educative experiences for Dewey. Conspicuously, growth for him involves community, not just individual, development and is the never-ending goal of both formal and informal education. By growth, he suggested several subcriteria, such as an increasing awareness of facts and ideas; a connecting of new learning with prior learning; an understanding of more

sophisticated ideas and experiences; and a refining of the abilities to reflect, solve problems, and make intelligent choices. According to *Democracy and Education*, growth also has liberating qualities in that it enhances and expands a person's and society's understanding and choices. Thus, growth is intrinsically connected to values, particularly democratic and intellectual ones.

So, what does growth suggest for miseducative and educative experiences? Although some experiences may be either at times if circumstances are conducive, others are more likely and more consistently miseducative and others educative. For example, poorly conceived and executed teaching of writing or trigonometry may be quite miseducative. So, too, would be the learning of stereotypes and misinformation. On the other hand, learning about the issues, complexities, and beauties of art, astronomy, and Mexico would ordinarily be educative, expanding, and liberating. Schools—but also families, communities, and societies—are responsible for ensuring that learning is focused primarily on educative activities and experiences.

Designing, fostering, and delivering of relevant environments and experiences become the arts of teaching and living in a democratically oriented school and country. Of course, some room for noneducative activities is important if they do not undermine or overwhelm the importance of educative ones. Miseducative activities and experiences cannot always be avoided for numerous reasons, but they can be diminished, minimized, or neutralized to an extent in reflective schools and societies if Dewey is correct.

The second major way of conceptualizing Dewey's theory overlaps with the idea of educative experiences and entails looking at them as developmentally distinct matters. The development of experience coincides with and accompanies the development of students. From a developmental perspective, experiences fall along a continuum of authentically labeled experiences, extending to embrace his conceptions of (1) "experience," (2) "an experience," and (3) "aesthetic experience." Although not literally a part of this continuum because they are only honorifically described by the word *experience*, two other categories of thought illuminate Dewey's thinking on this broad topic, that is, what may be called the

courteously labeled experiences of (1) the anesthetic and (2) the nonaesthetic. When these five categories are combined, they range from deadening activities (anesthetic) to enlivening experiences (aesthetic).

The courteously labeled experiences are dulling and numbing (anesthetic) or, perhaps, disconnected and aimless (nonaesthetic). The authentically labeled experiences include those activities that involve interactive and connected learning and reflection (experience); enhance experience to make it memorable, fulfilling, and complete (an experience); and enrich an experience by stimulating the enjoyable processes and outcomes of making sense, perceiving holistically, and feeling consummated (aesthetic experience).

In summary, Dewey's ideas about learning, thinking, teaching, knowing, and acting form an intellectual gestalt that is founded on his naturalistic, pragmatic, experimental, or instrumentalist philosophy. To the extent that his ideas are warranted, they offer the educator important considerations for her or his theorizing and practice. To the degree that they are unwarranted, the educator is advised to search for different grounds and support.

Douglas J. Simpson

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DEWEY, MELVIL (1851–1931)

Melvil Dewey devised the Dewey Decimal System, as it came to be called, which is still the primary classification system at most school and public libraries. He also was among the early leaders of the

American Library Association and was the first editor of the *Library Journal*.

Dewey was born in Adams Center, New York. He earned his BA from Amherst College in 1874 and completed his MA there in 1877. During his time at Amherst, he worked in the college library and visited many other libraries to compare their organizational systems and procedures with those in place at Amherst. In 1876, he published a pamphlet titled "A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library."

The system he described is made up of ten main categories that are divided into ten subcategories. Each subcategory then has ten subclasses of its own. This system was almost immediately popularized. Moving to Boston in 1876, Dewey arranged the librarians' conference in October of that year, which led to the formation of the American Library Association (ALA). Dewey became the new association's secretary, and later its president and treasurer. That same year, *Library Journal* began publication, with Dewey as its editor. In 1883, Dewey became the librarian at Columbia College, where he founded the Columbia School of Library Economy in 1887. This was the first library school in the United States. Dewey also advocated use of the metric system and English-language spelling reform.

Although he is credited with opening the library profession to women, his personal views on gender, ethnicity, and race led to professional difficulties in his own time and would be considered sexist and racist today.

John P. Renaud

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DU BOIS, WILLIAM EDGAR BURGHARDT (1868–1963)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois wrote extensively on the subject of education but has been recognized

only recently as a significant contributor to the field of educational thought. Well ahead of other figures in the fields of sociology and education, Du Bois understood that education was a two-edged sword that could be used to either liberate or subjugate specific social and cultural groups. For example, in his 1903 essay, “The Training of Negroes for Social Power,” Du Bois wrote that many of the people who were involved in educating Blacks were interested in making them a subject caste “to be led, but not to lead themselves.”

Du Bois was an elitist who believed that only a selected few, and “not the majority of men,” were capable of “higher training.” He felt this was true for both Blacks and Whites—an idea he outlined in detail for Blacks in Chapter Two (“The Talented Tenth”) of the 1903 book *The Negro Problem*. In this essay, republished the same year in his own book, *The Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois called for the most talented tenth of the Black population to be educated to the largest degree possible so that they could assume leadership of their less-talented brothers and sisters. In doing so, Du Bois was echoing an idea put forward in antiquity by Plato and following the American Revolution by Thomas Jefferson.

For Du Bois, education was not simply limited to schooling. Instead, he felt it also included the training found in one’s home and daily life and in one’s social class. Education was essential to Du Bois because he believed it to be the principal means available for Black empowerment. Along with the ballot, he felt that education would defend the Negro from a “second slavery.”

Du Bois advocated the concept of a meritocracy. Although his views were clearly elitist, they were not undemocratic and provided an important counterpoint to the “Hampton model” of education advocated by Samuel Chapman Armstrong and his protégé, Booker T. Washington. Under the Hampton model, Blacks were taught trade-related skills, which would give them a place in the emerging industrial economy. They were not seen as being sufficiently developed as a people, however, to assume higher levels of education that would have directed them toward positions as lawyers, businessmen, doctors, university professors, and political leaders.

In fact, as pointed out by the historian James Anderson, during its first twenty years, approximately 84 percent of Hampton’s 723 graduates became teachers. Hampton did not offer a trade certificate until 1895. In 1900, only 45 of its 656 students were enrolled in the trade school program, and only 4 students were listed as majoring in agriculture. In reality, Hampton took students who had completed an elementary school program and gave them two years of coursework that provided them with the training to become elementary school teachers.

While training in manual and shop skills was provided to both male and female students at Hampton (initially under the leadership of Armstrong), and later at Tuskegee (founded by Washington), as part of its “industrial” model, its actual purpose was not, according to Anderson, to develop skilled workers in these areas, but instead to inculcate into these future teachers the importance of hard work and the “dignity of labor.” In his 1903 *The Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois published his essay “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others.” Specifically, Du Bois argued that as a result of the Hampton model, and its implementation by Washington, three things had occurred: the disfranchisement of the Negro, the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro, and the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

Du Bois felt that Washington’s actions were essentially contradictory. In the case of education, he argued that while Washington advocated common school and industrial training for Blacks, he discouraged the development of Black higher education. Those opposing Washington and his policies, according to Du Bois, asked for three things: the right to vote, civic equality, and the education of youth according to ability. Du Bois’s criticism of Washington in *The Souls of Black Folks* represented the greatest challenge the “Tuskegee Machine” had faced. By the beginning of World War I, as a result of Du Bois’s efforts and those of other Black leaders, Washington’s model had been overturned.

Du Bois, as a key member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and, more specifically, in his editorship of

The Crisis magazine (1910–1934), wrote regularly about elementary and secondary education, as well as higher education. He argued, for example, that segregating Black and White children from one another in school was to virtually guarantee “their separation through life.” At the same time, Du Bois was enough of a pragmatist to realize that racial prejudice was so strong in many parts of the country that the integration of the schools from a practical point of view was impossible.

In his article “The Tragedy of Jim Crow,” which appeared in the July 1923 issue of *The Crisis*, Du Bois stated that segregation in the schools was “the greatest possible menace to democracy.” At the same time, he believed that even with their lack of resources, Black schools were an infinitely better place for Black children to be in than in White-dominated and -controlled institutions. In the end, although favoring the idea of desegregation in education, Du Bois supported such programs only if they were founded on the basis of true equality for the races.

Du Bois experimented with writing Black-oriented textbooks during the 1930s and continued to comment on educational ideas throughout his life. Although not specifically a philosopher of education, he developed a significant body of educational writings that is increasingly becoming appreciated and valued in the social and cultural foundations of education.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1858–1917)

Émile Durkheim, a Frenchman, was the founder of modern sociology, emphasizing empirical studies of society to develop sociology as a rigorous, modern science. He founded France’s first social science research journal, the *Année Sociologique*, in 1898. Durkheim’s academic success led to his appointment as Professor of the Science of Education at the Sorbonne in 1906. Durkheim’s position at the Sorbonne was changed by the French Ministry of Education in 1913 to Professor of the Science of Education and Sociology, giving sociology a prestigious presence at the highest levels of the French university system.

Durkheim’s major sociological concern was how societies were held together, specifically how different kinds of social organizations and social relationships created what he called “social solidarity.” Durkheim was particularly concerned with the lack of social solidarity in modern society, which led to what Durkheim called *anomie*, or the absence of social norms that leaves individuals isolated from one another.

Durkheim’s efforts to analyze and solve this problem were reflected in his sociology and in his involvement in French educational reforms, which he hoped would create a secular, civic morality for the French republic. Shortly after losing his son André in World War I in 1916, Durkheim suffered a stroke while giving a speech opposing the war and died. His major works were *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (1897), and *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912).

Steven E. Rowe

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EISNER, ELLIOT (1933–)

Elliot Eisner is Emeritus Professor of Art and Education at Stanford University. Trained as a painter, Eisner then earned a Ph.D. in education from the University of Chicago (1962). His scholarship has focused on arts education, curriculum studies, educational evaluation, and qualitative research.

Eisner has been an advocate throughout his career for the inclusion of artistic thinking in academic discourse. In “Ten Lessons the Arts Teach,” he argued that

1. The arts teach children to make good judgments about qualitative relationships.
2. The arts teach children that problems can have more than one solution.
3. The arts celebrate multiple perspectives.
4. The arts teach children that in complex forms of problem solving, purposes are seldom fixed, but change with circumstances.
5. The arts make vivid the fact that words do not exhaust what we can know.
6. The arts teach students that small differences can have large effects.
7. The arts teach students to think through and within a material.
8. The arts help children to say what cannot be said.
9. The arts enable us to have experience we can have from no other source and through such experience to discover the range and variety of what we are capable of feeling.
10. The arts’ important position in the school curriculum symbolizes to the young what adults believe is important.

Eisner believes that art education should be discipline-based and that the arts merely provide an emotional outlet for children. Art education has to be content-oriented if it is going to contribute to a child’s education. His influence can be seen in the fact that during the 1990s, discipline-based art education

became the norm in the United States, with almost every state in the United States using this model.

Eisner has published more than 300 articles and 16 books, including *The Educational Imagination* (1979), *Evaluation: A Personal View* (1985), *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice* (1990), and *The Kind of Schools We Need* (1998).

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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EMERSON, RALPH WALDO (1803–1882)

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a preacher, philosopher, poet, outspoken critic, sage, and the leading advocate of the American Transcendentalist movement, although reducing Emerson to “transcendentalist” would ultimately be a disservice to someone who vehemently opposed categorization, a process that he thought limited scope, influence, and potential. Even though Emerson criticized formal schooling, a tuition that ultimately impeded intuition, his work remains relevant to educators today.

Emerson assailed standardization and conformity, bemoaning a society wedded to the past, still dependent upon Europe for innovation and growth. For Emerson, life was change and required a departure from the comfortable past. “New arts destroy the old,” he wrote in “Circles.” Unlike today’s market-based reformers who rate schools by test scores, Emerson believed schools should be judged by examining society, refusing to see the distinction between the two. He once remarked that “a vicious society cannot have virtuous schools.”

Although Emerson is best known for his essays, collected and published several times during his life (1841, 1844, 1850, 1860), he also produced a number of poems (1847, 1867, 1876) and delivered hundreds of lectures.

Philip Edward Kovacs

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FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1926–1984)

Michel Foucault, French philosopher and intellectual historian, emerged as one of the more controversial thinkers in the Western world during the twentieth century, shaping much of postmodern philosophical thought. Foucault demonstrated the socially constructed and historically contingent nature of both persons and disciplines, including his detailed account of the creation and sexualization of the modern subject. His impact has been palpable in the academy, where his writings are studied in disciplines as diverse as the social sciences, philosophy, psychology, and queer theory.

Foucault's early works focused on psychology and were influenced by Karl Marx, the existential philosophers, and Friedrich Nietzsche. He was most indebted, however, to Martin Heidegger's conceptualization that humans have no pre-given essence. Foucault particularly drew on Heidegger's notion that people self-interpret as they move through the concrete situations of their lives, becoming what they make of themselves.

The more or less standard divisions of Foucault's works follow from his chosen methodologies: *archaeology*, which characterizes his work from 1961–1969; *genealogy*, which forms the basis of his most widely read books and interviews published from 1971–1976; and *ethics*, which characterizes his last two books, both published in 1984, as well as his last interviews.

Foucault developed his archaeological methods from his studies in psychiatry (*History of Madness in the Classical Age*, 1961, his doctoral dissertation),

medicine (*The Birth of the Clinic*, 1963), and the social sciences (*The Order of Things*, 1966). *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) was his reflection on the historical and philosophical importance of the archaeological method.

As developed by Foucault, the *archaeological method* is a critical inquiry directed at disciplines in the human sciences that seeks to elucidate the ways in which discourse and expert opinion come to constitute what is perceived as learned practice and how that practice, in turn, infiltrates and shapes human behavior. Thus, for Foucault, discourse is more than the singular channels of oral and written communication among experts in a particular discipline. He understood discourse as composed not only of words but also of the disciplinary boundaries that limit what is acceptable within that communication. In other words, discourse, as conceptualized by Foucault, is composed not only of what is said, but also of what is left unsaid—that which the accepted boundaries of the discipline prohibit, dismiss, or leave unquestioned.

The starting point for the archaeologist's research, then, is anything within the discipline that is considered natural, obvious, or incontrovertible. The goal is not to assess its "truth" or to offer an alternative theory, but to expose the circumstances within which this "truth" was manufactured through discourse. Attentive to confusion, accidents, aberrations, and insurrections, the archaeologist seeks out discourse that has been disqualified, labeled insufficient, or located low in the hierarchy of knowledge in order to include it in the discipline's history. The archaeological method shows that disciplines are far more randomly constructed and personality-dependent than their practitioners' scientific posturing suggests.

Foucault's genealogical method challenged traditional philosophical methods and assumptions by demonstrating how morals, ideals, and concepts that appear to be predetermined and inevitable are formed through conglomerations of blind forces: accidents, petty malice, suppressed deviations, complete reversals, errors, and false appraisals, all of which take place within relationships of power. His conceptions of truth, knowledge, power relations, and the construction of the subject, widely considered to be his greatest contributions to philosophical thought, are raised most

definitively in *Discipline and Punish* (1975) and *The History of Sexuality, Volume One* (1976).

Discipline and Punish details how lawful punishment has changed from violent, retributive justice to disciplinary techniques that operate through internalization of norms that operate within power relations. Foucault refused concepts of power that posited a binary structure of dominators and the dominated. Rather, he spoke of a web of relations composed of both power and resistance, a force field that is dispersed, heteromorphous, and multivocal. This web of power relations subjects individuals through normalizing power that “disciplines” individuals to become simultaneously more productive and more docile. Because disciplinary techniques work most effectively when the individual is complicit in the process, the individual must perceive the norms as integral to his or her self-image. The modern “soul” emerges: a creation of discourse, thoroughly imprinted by history, the “interiority” of a disciplined and docile body.

In *The History of Sexuality, Volume One*, Foucault examined the role played by norm-based sexuality, which came to be regarded as truth about “natural” sexual natures. Foucault’s premise is that power has operated primarily not by repressing sexuality but by creating a proliferation of expert discourse—religious, medical, psychiatric, and governmental—that determined the modern forms sexuality has taken. By creating the dualities of healthy/ill, normal/perverse, and legal/criminal, the terms themselves become an effective means of social control through marginalizing and medicalizing “deviancy.” Hence, individuals internalize the “truths” about sexuality that have been manufactured through the discourse of these various expert groups, understanding themselves in light of those internalized “truths” and despising in themselves anything that contravenes them. One of the most significant philosophical consequences of his genealogical work is this: If a subject cannot be prediscursive, then truth must be a product of history and the forces that have shaped the ideas that come to be known as truth.

In his last two volumes of *The History of Sexuality* (1984), Foucault shifted his attention from power/knowledge to *ethics*, which, for Foucault, meant how the individual constitutes himself or herself as a moral agent. He was particularly interested in creating one’s

self as a work of art, rather than conforming to moral codes. Exploring Greek and Roman sexuality and ethics suggested to Foucault that contemporary mechanisms that create and instill norms are culturally specific, creating a gap into which differing conceptions of self-constitution might enter in the future.

Foucault’s work has been difficult to appropriate for education, in part because he said little about it explicitly, except in *Discipline and Punish*, where he makes a scathing comparison between schools and penitentiaries. As a result, most of what can be said about Foucault and education must be constructed from related analyses of his work. Feminist theorists took the lead in these analyses by producing insightful critiques that not only furthered feminist thought, but served as exemplars for using Foucauldian critique in education.

Philosophers of education have engaged Foucauldian analytics to interrogate the complex power relations pervading educational institutions, professional discourse on educational reform, and the ways in which teachers and students alike are held in the sway of powerful forces like curriculum, evaluation, and assessment.

Susan Birden

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FREIRE, PAULO (1921–1997)

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator who is one of the twentieth century’s most important educational theorists. His ideas have been globally influential upon a wide variety of social and educational movements, and they have played a central role in founding the contemporary international movement in education known as critical pedagogy.

During his lifetime, he directed literacy programs aimed at empowering the poor and dispossessed, first in Brazil—for which he was jailed as a subversive in 1964 after a military coup took power—and then throughout the developing world during his period of exile from Brazil (lasting until 1980) when he worked for organizations such as UNESCO, the World Council of Churches, and the Institute for Cultural Action. From 1989 until 1991, he served as the city of São Paulo's Secretary of Education, an experience chronicled in his book *Pedagogy of the City* (1993).

Freire's pedagogical approach includes, but is not limited to, a highly innovative and successful adult literacy method, the "culture circle," which he helped develop in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as his critique of authoritarian "banking pedagogy" in conjunction with his demand for an emancipatory, radically dialogical, and problem-posing form of education as outlined in his most famous work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972). Freire continually responded to critics and friends over the course of his lifetime, thereby developing a series of books that sought to update and resituate his pedagogical praxis in order to take account of changing political conditions and progressive advances in theories such as feminism, multiculturalism, and postmodernism.

Certain themes are common across the Freirean oeuvre, such as his critique that schools are never value-neutral or apolitical institutions; his belief that there is a dialectical relationship between practice and thought; his humanistic love and belief in people's creative freedom; his ethical demand that educators work to excoriate and transform the dehumanizing forces at work in the world; and his conclusion that the goal of true education should be critical consciousness as generated through the active, equal learning of teachers and students together as part of their attempt to realize the dream of a truly democratic community.

Many of Freire's books incorporate experiments with style in order to highlight the dialogical and personal nature of his texts. These include books of letters, such as *Pedagogy in Process* (1978), an account of his literacy campaign in service of Amílcar Cabral's independence movement in Guinea-Bissau, and *Letters to Christina* (1996), in which he reflects autobiographically on his career in pedagogy, politics,

and philosophy. He also published a number of conversational "talking books," including *A Pedagogy for Liberation* (1987) with Ira Shor, the first of Freire's books to examine at length the applicability of his ideas to schooling in the developed world; *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World* (1987) with Donaldo Macedo, which critiqued technocratic forms of reading and writing as ways in which dominant interests are always served and socially reproduced; and *We Make the Road by Walking* (1990) with Myles Horton, wherein Freire shares and contrasts his views about social justice education with the legendary cofounder of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

Upon his death, he was at work on a book of eco-pedagogy, parts of which have since been released as *Pedagogy of Indignation* (2004); he hoped it would rearticulate his commitment to the need to educate for planetary sustainability and create societies that embodied a love and respect for all creatures and the experience of nature.

Richard Kahn

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FROEBEL, FRIEDRICH (1782–1852)

Friedrich Froebel is best known for his book *The Education of Man* (1826) and for being the founder of the kindergarten movement. In the book, he described his educational philosophy in which all life was based on an eternal law of unity. Because Froebel believed that God was the "Divine Unity," everything was interconnected because the spirit of God infused all things. The purpose of education was to teach children how to observe and understand the world in which they lived. According to him, children should not have ideas forced on them but should be encouraged to realize their own natural potential.

Froebel opened his first kindergarten in Blankenberg, Germany, in 1837. His curriculum emphasized that children best learn through play. He developed a series of twenty toys and activities called “Gifts” and “Occupations” that were supposed to help the child gain an understanding of the world. The second Gift, in particular, demonstrated the philosophical nature of Froebel’s curriculum. It consisted of a wooden sphere, a cube, and a cylinder. The sphere was rounded on all sides. The cube, its opposite, had carefully defined edges. The roundness of the sphere and the flat edges of the cube were combined in the cylinder, demonstrating, in Hegelian terms, thesis and antithesis combined to result in a synthesis. The most popular of the Gifts, however, were the third through sixth, which were a series of building blocks. The interrelated blocks taught the child to “distinguish, name, and classify,” according to Froebel, as well as providing the child with tools to help him shape and master the world in which he lived.

Although the kindergarten movement died out in Germany because of political opposition, widespread interest in kindergarten education developed in the United States by the time of the Civil War. The first successful public kindergarten was begun by Susan Blow in 1873 at the Des Peres School in St. Louis, Missouri. As the kindergarten movement spread, Froebel’s “Gifts” and “Occupations,” and in particular, his building blocks, came to be considered important tools for children’s play and learning experiences.

Asterie Baker Provenzo and
Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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GARDNER, HOWARD (1943–)

In his groundbreaking 1983 book, *Frames of Mind*, Gardner challenged educators to change how they define and value intelligence. His theory of multiple

intelligences continues to shape curriculum and instruction.

Gardner was born July 11, 1943, in Scranton, PA. He earned a bachelor’s degree at Harvard University, completed his Ph.D. in social psychology there in 1971, and continues to teach and conduct research at that institution.

Frames of Mind begins with Gardner’s discussion of the two intelligences that have classically been thought of as comprising all of intelligence: linguistic intelligence and logical/mathematical intelligence. These first two intelligences involve the ability to communicate through language and the ability to solve problems and understand and use mathematical functions. He goes on to argue for five additional intelligences.

Spatial intelligence, which involves understanding objects in relation to one another, might typically be associated with artistic ability. Bodily/kinesthetic intelligence can be understood as relating to athletic ability. Musical intelligence relates to the ability to understand, distinguish, and recall types of musical sound and notes. Interpersonal intelligence is concerned with knowledge of how others might feel, be motivated, or act. Intrapersonal intelligence is defined as the individual’s ability to understand his or her own thoughts and emotions. In the mid-1990s, Gardner posited an eighth intelligence, naturalistic intelligence. This intelligence is concerned with the ability to understand and distinguish between living things and objects in nature. Discussion of this intelligence appears in his 1999 book, *Intelligences Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century*.

In recent years, Gardner has responded to many criticisms of his theories. Additionally, he continues to try to clarify his theories, which some educators and laypeople alike either confound or misunderstand. Gardner has won numerous prestigious grants and honors and continues to be among the forefront of American educational theorists.

John P. Renaud

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GOODMAN, PAUL (1911–1972)

Paul Goodman was a poet, novelist, psychoanalyst, social critic, and educational innovator whose critique of American schools, *Growing Up Absurd* (1960), was a bible for educational radicals during the 1960s. Goodman condemned American schools for repressing children's creative instincts while leaving them incompetent to do anything worthwhile as adults. Combining a countercultural lifestyle with New Left political ideals, Goodman became a guru to youthful 1960s rebels.

Goodman was a complex man who reconciled seeming contradictions in his personal life and his political ideas that often baffled both critics and followers. He was an anarchist who promoted large-scale government social programs, a socialist who called for market-oriented reforms, and a radical who looked to liberals as natural allies and called himself a "Neolithic conservative." He was an avant-garde artist devoted to the classics, a cultural pluralist who advocated a core cultural canon, and an openly gay man who confronted homophobia while counseling his followers to practice pragmatic politics. Goodman sought to combine utopian ideals with practical proposals, trying to resuscitate old ideas by applying them to new situations, building on the old to make something radically new. He sought ways of making revolutionary change within an evolutionary framework.

Goodman claimed that anarchism—which he described as a program of universal human rights implemented through locally controlled participatory democracies—represents the best ideals of humanity from the stone age to the present day. He portrayed history as the struggles of ordinary people trying to develop ever more sophisticated cultures while retaining the simple political virtues of small-scale, cooperative Neolithic communities. Goodman condemned the neurotic will-to-power of individuals and elites for deforming society and warping history. Citing colonial New England towns as an example of locally controlled, participatory democracy, he argued that anarchism was the underlying premise and promise of the American way of life.

Goodman's educational ideas followed from his political commitments. Citing John Dewey's progressivism as the best twentieth-century version of his ideals, Goodman promoted free expression through dedicated craftsmanship and individual liberation through social cooperation. Goodman was a devotee of the Great Books—he received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago with a dissertation on Aristotle's *Poetics*—but advocated an inclusive, evolving cultural canon for a multicultural American society. He was a proponent of open classes and open, locally controlled schools, combining this view with an apprenticeship model of education based on medieval guilds that encouraged individual innovation within traditional standards of excellence.

Although his writings were well received, Goodman labored for most of his life in relative obscurity and poverty, often complaining that he was "the most widely unknown writer who is so highly esteemed by only a few." Then, from the mid-1960s until his untimely death in 1972, Goodman enjoyed a period of celebrity as the "Father of the New Left." When the New Left declined in the late 1960s, Goodman complained that New Leftists had focused too much on personal liberation and too little on social and intellectual competence—they did not understand that anarchism was not an excuse for selfish individualism but a vehicle for self-disciplined socialism. But he tempered his disappointment with an overriding belief that no democratic revolution is ever lost, only postponed.

Goodman's other best-known works include *Empire City* (1942, 1946, 1959), a five-volume novel satirizing social repression in America; *Communitas* (1947), a manual on decentralized city planning with his brother Percival; *Gestalt Psychology* (1951), a theoretical analysis and practical handbook on liberation psychotherapy with Frederick Perls and Ralph Hefferline; *People or Personnel* (1964), essays in social criticism and participatory democracy; and *The Open Look* (1969), a collection of poetry.

Burton Weltman

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GRAMSCI, ANTONIO (1891–1937)

Antonio Gramsci, one of the most important Marxists, theorized on many aspects of Italian society and culture in the early part of the twentieth century. Among his key ideas were the notions that a system of political and cultural dominance, which he called hegemony, maintained an elite in power and that education was a tool of that elite to control the rest of society.

Gramsci was born into a society that was geographically divided between the rich industrial North and the poorer, rural South. Gramsci did well enough in school to earn himself a scholarship at the University of Turin. It was here, in prewar Italian society, that he developed his communist ideas. He became politically active and worked as a journalist and party member of the Italian Socialist Party. During this time, the Russian Revolution took place in 1917, with the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie. His ideas were becoming more radical and vocal, so much so that Mussolini threw Gramsci into jail. Gramsci spent the last nine years of his life behind bars, ironically writing his most important work in the *Prison Notebooks*, the majority of which was smuggled out of jail and later published in Russia.

Gramsci's key idea was hegemony, a notion that underlined how a dominant system of political and cultural values, beliefs, and morality controlled society and helped maintain those in power. Education helped maintain the ideological hegemony. Gramsci highlighted how education systems were divided between classical and vocational methods of schooling. The classical schools were for the dominant classes and the intellectuals, and the vocational schools for the working classes.

Gramsci saw how schooling and the number of people being educated was growing. He suggested that vocational schools were becoming more specialized to deal with newer, modern methods of industrial activity. This created new forms of indoctrination and exploitation, both in the classroom and the workplace. Gramsci pondered on how this change in education would shape Italy's future. Would this be an opportunity for simple social reform or more radical revolution?

Gramsci was interested in the role and function of the intellectual. If revolution was to take place, then academic intellectuals would have to be won over with ideological arguments. The school and the teacher were agents in this process. Gramsci wrote about the moral development of pupils and the aims that the school set itself. Unfortunately for Gramsci, this was being hegemonically controlled during the 1920s and 1930s by the Italian fascist state.

Gramsci's solution to this education problem was for schools to be organized like a college, along progressive lines, free from state control and discipline. The common school would be built upon the comprehensive principle, reflected in aspects of culture and therefore in Gramsci's belief, ultimately changing society along socialist lines. Whether educational change could lead to revolution is, of course, debatable. One thing that Gramsci considered was why European working classes had failed to develop revolutionary consciousness post-1917. Hegemony controlled that impulse, and education was one means of preserving the powerful elites, he thought.

Gramsci's theories are still important today and can be applied to educational contexts. His theoretical framework offers an argument for how the powerful arrive and stay in power and provides a wider understanding about how the possibility of a hegemonic shift can theoretically change education systems, cultures, and societies.

Richard Race

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GREENE, MAXINE (1917–)

Maxine Greene uses her skills as philosopher, imaginer, and inquirer to explore the meaning of

human existence and the means to engage in epistemology. Through her inquiries into sociology, history, and especially philosophy and literature, she explores living in awareness and “wide-awakeness” in order to advance social justice. To engage in such living, Greene argues, requires active attention to the beautiful spaces of souls and landscapes as well as shadows and darkness. Although it might be easier to withdraw from literal and metaphorical burned-out buildings, doing so disconnects oneself from a significant realm of human experience, she believes.

The full range of human experience is not available to most individuals, but it can be explored, according to Greene, through literature and the arts. The arts represent full expressions of experience and imagination, and fundamentally provide ideal vehicles to learn capacities for living. Her thinking about existence and the power of imagination have been brought to life through her study; her academic appointments, including at Teachers College; her essays and books; and her founding appointment as the philosopher-in-residence of the Lincoln Center Institute for the Arts in Education. This entry summarizes her accomplishments.

Greene received her doctorate in education from New York University in 1955. After teaching at New York University, Montclair State College, and Brooklyn College, she joined the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she is the William F. Russell Professor in the Foundations of Education (emerita). In 1976, Greene became philosopher-in-residence of the Lincoln Center Institute for the Arts in Education. In 2003, she founded the Maxine Greene Foundation for Social Imagination, the Arts, and Education, which supports the creation of and engagement with works of art with the goal of enabling people to actively envision and create humane communities. She is past president of the American Educational Research Association, the Philosophy of Education Society, and the American Educational Studies Association.

Greene found herself perpetually an outsider, as echoed in much of her life and an early book, *Teacher as Stranger: Educational Philosophy for the Modern Age* (1973). As a young woman growing up in New York City, she longed to be a writer rather than assume the traditionally feminine career of teaching;

writing was a foreign occupation to her family and friends. She traveled alone in 1963 to the civil rights march on Washington. Her full-time appointment in 1973 to the faculty of Teachers College established her as a lone female voice among her male philosophy of education colleagues, who found her “too literary.”

Throughout her prolific writing, her distinctive language continues to set her apart from her contemporaries. Her persistent references to art objects, particularly literature, reaffirm her conviction that, through art, the full imagination of the human spirit is manifest. In her teaching, Greene desires to educate rebels who speak, write, and resist in their own voices, rather than mimic her ideas and language.

Known for her lyrical and expansive style, Greene has influenced several generations of social and cultural foundations scholars with her writings and lectures. She views the social foundations of education as a network of social epistemology, spurring her readers and students to live by the social constructions of our world and to do so in full awareness and exploration of such constructions. By living in full awareness, the individual can choose which social constructs to refuse, accept, or disrupt.

Although Greene does not regard herself as a feminist, generations of feminist students and readers have regarded her work and her life as emblematic of pushing past boundaries imposed upon women. Freedom, Greene contends, is locating the limits of one’s existence and then breaking through such limits. It is an identification of the fabric of shared reality, and then actively deciding how one lives in that reality.

For several decades, Greene has conducted a series of salons in her home adjacent to Central Park. At each salon, a wide range of participants discuss a work of literature chosen by Greene. Some participants are former students, others are academic colleagues, and many are socially engaged intellectuals from a range of New York City and international institutions. Through literature, they consider the possibilities of imagination. These salons characterize her ambition to communally investigate the possibilities of social existence.

For Greene, a life of freedom involves identifying limits and then breaking through those limits; freedom without boundaries is incomprehensible. Through her

writing and teaching, she identifies arenas of social control and mechanisms for rebelling against such controls in the service of social justice. Rebellion for rebellion's sake is not the point—all must be done in the service of social justice. All of this from a woman who recognizes that her own position, particularly as an academic, is a comfortable one. By example and by her writing, she teaches people to push themselves into locations of discomfort from where they can stretch beyond their own limits and imaginations, as well as the limits of the world around them.

Mary Bushnell Greiner

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GRUMET, MADELEINE (1940–)

Madeleine Grumet, a curriculum theorist, professor, feminist, and former dean of education at the University of North Carolina, addresses how societal influences and norms influence schooling practices as well as the educational process. In her seminal work, *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*, she reveals that “knowledge evolves in human relationships.” In addition, she makes the influence of gender and sexism hypervisible within teaching and knowledge

construction itself. Building on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological work as well as psychoanalytic and feminist theories, she argues that there is a “body knowledge,” which is developed in the intersubjective realm of the body and the body consciousness, social relations, and negotiations.

Grumet strives to bridge the divide between the public and private worlds as she drives educators and scholars to construct new ways of knowing and being. While focusing on gender in educational experiences, such as teaching and learning, Grumet explores and uses autobiographical narratives to depict the ways that schools (acting as external barriers and obstacles) diminish students and silence the body in the academic discourse.

Elizabeth Hendrix

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HALEY, MARGARET (1861–1939)

Margaret Haley was an early-twentieth-century educator and union leader who was concerned about social reform, particularly with regard to the working conditions of teachers. For three decades, Haley led the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the first teachers' labor union in America. During her tenure, she campaigned for increases in teacher salaries, pensions, and tenure laws.

Haley's notable career in education was launched in a one-room schoolhouse in Illinois when she was sixteen. During the weekends and summers when Haley was not teaching, she attended a normal school in Morris, Illinois. In 1883, Haley and her Irish Catholic immigrant family relocated to Chicago, where she started teaching in the Hendricks School in a poverty-stricken area. She taught there for sixteen years and also studied briefly under the direction of Francis Wayland Parker, a leader in progressive educational practice.

When she was thirty-six, Haley joined the newly founded Chicago Teacher's Federation and became a representative of the organization. Her participation evolved and she became involved in a variety of legal cases, including one that focused on large corporations that escaped paying property taxes that Haley knew the Chicago Treasury could use the money to pay for increases in teacher salaries. Haley became a leader at the state and national levels in the education profession and advocated for a democratic voice of teachers in their professional careers.

Kelly Kolodny

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HALL, G. STANLEY (1844–1924)

G. Stanley Hall founded the American child study movement, shifted the American school curriculum to the developing nature of the child as part of early progressive educational reforms, advanced psychology and human development as integral dimensions in the study of education and its professional practice, supported the beginnings of the educational testing movement, and furthered the study of education and higher education as academic multidisciplinary fields of study. During his lifetime, his theories and practices were known as Hallianism, as his biographer Dorothy Ross describes.

Born on February 1, 1844, Hall grew up in rural western Massachusetts. After preparatory studies, he completed his bachelor of arts at Williams College in 1867. Seeking to become a Congregational minister, his academic career led him to divinity studies at Union Theological Seminary. Yet Hall's growing

intellectual appetite pushed him toward more philosophical interests, especially positivism and evolution. Upon the advice of American theologian Henry Ward Beecher and others there, he went to study philosophy at the University of Berlin.

With the Franco-Prussian War, he returned to Union and finished his bachelor's in divinity in 1871. As pastoral duties did not suit him, he took a faculty position at Antioch College the next year until 1876. He further embraced there the philosophical ideas of Hegel, the evolutionism of Spencer, and the psychology of Wundt. This mix of academic "fads" of that day led him next to study psychology under William James at Harvard, where he earned the first American Ph.D. in the developing discipline in 1878.

Eventually, Hall gained lecturer positions in pedagogy at Harvard in 1881 and in psychology at Johns Hopkins University in 1882 through offering public lecture series on education to enthusiastic teachers in Boston and Baltimore. This emergent study of psychology, of which Hall became one of the first major proponents, thus was derived from philosophical, historical, scientific, and educational studies and literatures. His successes resulted in being appointed professor of psychology and pedagogics at Johns Hopkins in 1884.

As one of the first professors of education in the country, he launched the evolutionist branch of what became early educational progressivism, complementing Hegelianism and Herbartianism. In 1888, he became president of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and held its professorship of psychology and education. In these positions, his critiques of educational practice, critical studies of education, a major journal, degree programs in education and higher education, master's and doctoral graduates, and the central place of psychology in the early study of education secured his founding role in launching the multidisciplinary field of education as one of the modern social sciences.

Hall became the founder of the American child study movement at Johns Hopkins. His assessment of educational practices in a series of articles led him to proclaim a new "natural" method of education, following his idea of the child's evolutionary nature rather than the old cram method of content study in 1882. In bringing psychological development to education,

Hall championed the slogan “the child’s nature as it actually is” for the movement, which focused on the study of children’s behaviors in an article for the *North American Review* in 1883. His first empirical studies centered on children’s knowledge and their learning through an observation questionnaire method.

The force of his lectures and studies also played a major role in developing the study of education. His major book, *Bibliography of Education*, offered one of the first taxonomies of the field in 1886. At Clark University, he furthered child study through beginning the first modern educational research journal, *The Pedagogical Seminary: An International Record of Educational Literature, Institutions, and Progress* (currently *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*) in 1891. Two years later, he began an annual education summer school and then graduate degree programs in education and higher education.

His fundamental two-volume works on *Adolescence* in 1904 and *Educational Problems* in 1911, as well as three other books for teachers, shifted pedagogical focus to child development and learning in schools. Hall called his natural method “a slow Copernican revolution” in his 1923 autobiography, yet “its effects” were “legion” in creating the “*pedocentric* school,” according to educational historian Lawrence Cremin in his 1958 classic book, *The Transformation of the School*. Unfortunately, he argued against coeducation and women’s higher education generally, because of his pervasive “evolutionism” and fear of race suicide. Nonetheless, child study led to pedagogical reform and was one force along with the significant influence of his Johns Hopkins student, John Dewey, and others in the later social progressive changes to public schooling.

Not only did Hall influence schooling, he greatly furthered the academic study of education by beginning the first graduate program in education at Clark University, leading to it becoming a multidisciplinary field of study in the social sciences at other universities. In his courses and lectures, he argued for a more theoretical approach to education and teacher education, grounding it in psychology and human development. His doctoral graduates as faculty championed the role of psychology in teaching education at major research and state universities.

Hall’s study of children’s psychology also led his doctoral students, Henry Herbert Goddard and Lewis Terman, to develop American intelligence testing. Concerning the study of higher education, he launched the first program and spoke often of its condition and problems as president. Finally, Hall retired from the presidency in 1920, and died on April 24, 1924.

Lester F. Goodchild

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HARRIS, WILLIAM TORREY (1835–1909)

William Torrey Harris, educator, philosopher, and policy maker, influenced the foundation for the American public school system that exists today. As Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906, Harris advocated for equal education, the grade-school system, and free universities. He was also instrumental in establishing the first permanent kindergartens in the United States.

Under Harris, the curriculum was broadened to include the arts and modern history in addition to basic literature, science, and mathematics. Although

he believed that all children should be allowed to realize their full potential, his philosophy left no room for questioning. Students learned in an environment governed by rules of silence, punctuality, and rote learning. The teacher was the fundamental authority, and Harris set the stage for teacher credentialing.

Harris was an ardent follower of German philosopher George W. F. Hegel. Inherent in Hegelianism is an ideal, the idea that the perfect is knowable, if not attainable. The educational system fashioned by Harris is based in Hegelianism.

Additionally, Harris was president and life director of the National Educational Association from 1875 until his death; a member of its select Committee of Ten, then the Committee of Fifteen, which determined educational policy for the nation's schools; and president of the National Association of School Superintendents. Founder and editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Harris wrote *Logic: A Book on the Genesis of the Categories of the Mind* (1890), *Psychologic Foundations of Education* (1898), *Elementary Education* (1900 and 1904), and *The School City* (1906).

John-Michael Bodi

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HERBART, JOHANN FRIEDRICH (1776–1841)

Johann Friedrich Herbart is best known for the educational movement known as Herbartianism that took hold after 1865 when Tuiskon Ziller, a professor at Leipzig, published *Grundlegung zur Lehre vom erziehenden Unterricht (Basics of the Doctrine of Instruction as a Moral Force)*, but he also wrote purely philosophical and psychological works, and he was an influence on Wilhelm Max Wundt, Fechner, and Helmhotz. He is of importance to the theoreticians of education because he was, as John Dewey noted in *Democracy and Education*, the first to observe that education was an activity that could be studied directly.

When he began his university studies at Jena, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and Johann Gottlieb Fichte were there. His initial interest was jurisprudence, but he soon abandoned it in favor of philosophy. He did not become a disciple of Fichte. Rather, Herbart was a realist when the fashion was idealism, but, like Fichte, he was impressed by Pestalozzi's educational work. He left Jena in 1796 to serve as tutor to the three sons of Herr von Steiger, Interlaken's governor. He visited Pestalozzi at Burgdorf in 1799. The five letters he wrote to Herr von Steiger, the works he subsequently published on Pestalozzi, and his subsequent work demonstrate that his long-standing attention to education, including the school he established in Königsberg, was an integral part of his philosophical agenda.

He received his doctorate from Göttingen in 1802 and taught there until 1809, when he was called to Königsberg to succeed Immanuel Kant. After his unsuccessful application to succeed Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel at Berlin, he returned to Göttingen in 1833, where he remained until his death.

Although he did receive some modest attention in William Torrey Harris's *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Herbart received considerable attention as a theoretician of education at the end of the nineteenth century when Americans, notably Charles DeGarmo and Charles and Frank McMurry, returned from their study in Germany where they were introduced to Herbartian teachings from Ziller, Wilhelm Rein, and Stoy. Subsequently, educators were applying the five formal steps of instruction and the culture epoch theory to the rapidly expanding public schools in the United States.

Erwin V. Johanningmeier

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HILL, PATTY SMITH (1868–1946)

Patty Smith Hill was a leader in the kindergarten movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hill was an outspoken advocate for progressive education within the International Kindergarten Union (IKU), was influential in professionalizing teacher training, and was the first woman to head a department at Teachers College Columbia (TCC). At TCC, she established laboratory classrooms, conducted research on children at play, and developed degree programs for early childhood educators. Hill published articles on instruction; composed stories and songs for children, including “Happy Birthday to You”; and designed developmentally appropriate classroom furniture and equipment. The “Patty Hill Blocks” were a fixture in many kindergarten classrooms throughout the twentieth century.

Patty Smith Hill was born in Anchorage, Kentucky, and completed her kindergarten training at the Louisville Collegiate Institute. She became head teacher of the Holcombe Mission Kindergarten in Louisville in 1888. Following summer institutes with Colonel Francis Parker and G. Stanley Hall, she began to depart from the Froebelian orthodoxy of the traditional kindergarten. In 1893, she demonstrated her teaching methods at the World Columbian Exposition and attended John Dewey’s classes at the University of Chicago.

By the end of the century, she had become a leading figure in debates within the kindergarten movement. In 1903, she and the Froebelian Susan Blow were invited to offer a joint series of lectures at TCC. The progressive views of Hill, “that young radical from the South,” prevailed. She was appointed to the TCC faculty in 1905, elected president of the IKU in 1908, and became head of TCC’s Department of Kindergarten Education in 1910. Her edited collections, *Experimental Studies in Kindergarten Education* and *A Conduct Curriculum for the Kindergarten and First Grade*, became foundational texts within the field of early childhood education.

Susan Douglas Franzosa

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HOOKS, BELL (1952–)

bell hooks is the pen name of Gloria Jean Watkins, who is recognized nationally and internationally as an African American intellectual, feminist, social activist, and educator. Her work focuses on how race, class, and gender play a role in social, economic, and political systems.

hooks was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Prior to completing her doctorate at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 1983, she worked as an English professor and senior lecturer in the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Southern California. During her three years there, she released her first published work, a collection of poems titled *And There We Wept* (1978), written under her pen name, bell hooks.

In 1981, she published her first major work *Ain’t I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, which discusses how issues of racism and sexism affect Black women, the education system, and the media. More specifically, the work addresses how these systems among others marginalize Black women and disregard issues of class, race, and gender within feminism.

Since *Ain’t I a Woman*, she has published more than thirty books, written scholarly and mainstream articles, and appeared in several documentary films. Some of hooks’s other works include *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life* (1991) (with Cornel West), *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994), and *Witness* (2006). In addition to her scholarly publications, hooks has written four children’s books. In 2004, she joined

the faculty of Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, as a Distinguished Professor in Residence.

Lisa J. Scott

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HU SHIH (1891–1962)

Hu Shih (known in Mandarin Chinese as Hu Shi) was among the main liberal thinkers in the Chinese Revolution in the decades of the 1920s and 1930s. A philosopher and educator, Hu Shih played a critical role in introducing Western philosophical ideas into Chinese culture, in particular the pragmatist theories of the American philosopher John Dewey.

In July 1910, Hu Shih passed the American-sponsored Boxer Indemnity scholarship examinations. Late in 1910, he sailed to the United States, where he remained to study until 1917. In September 1910, he enrolled in the College of Agriculture at Cornell University following the then-prevalent Chinese belief that literature and philosophy were not of any practical use. Abandoning his work in the sciences, he transferred in 1912 to the College of Arts and Sciences, where he majored in philosophy. Completing his bachelor's degree in early 1914, he moved on the following fall to the Sage School at Cornell to graduate studies in philosophy.

Discovering John Dewey's work in 1915, Hu Shih decided to move to Columbia University to continue his studies under Dewey's guidance, thus beginning his lifelong interest in pragmatic evolutionary change. His dissertation, titled "The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China," was clearly influenced by Dewey.

In June 1917, Hu Shih returned to China. There he accepted a professorship in philosophy at the prestigious Peking National University (now known as

Beijing University)—the leading center for China's intellectual revolutionaries. Hu Shih was interested in the search for a "practical philosophy." Beginning in 1917, he wrote for *New Youth*, the most influential, avant-garde review of the period. He campaigned for a "literary revolution," calling public attention to supplementing the obscurely styled classical literature with spoken language.

Hu Shih's work contributed significantly to the New Culture Movement, which started in the early republican period (1911). The movement had as its purpose introducing to China Western concepts such as democracy, equality, and liberty. In addition, it also introduced a modern system of writing and the latest scientific and technological discoveries of the period. The period from 1917 to 1923, which saw the New Culture Movement at its height, has been called by some "The Chinese Renaissance." For many, it represents one of the most intellectually revolutionary periods in Chinese history since the time of Confucius.

The New Culture thinkers like Hu Shih were prolific, publishing their theories of government, education, culture, economics, and Western science in books and journals. Never before in Chinese history had political and social issues been discussed so openly and so publicly. Soon, Chinese students were publishing their own journals and attacking all the traditions of China: Confucianism, *hsiao* (filial piety), the Chinese classics, and Neo-Confucian science. In the journals of the New Culture Movement and their student followers, few sectors of Chinese culture were free from ridicule or criticism.

Although Hu Shih continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s to participate actively in culture and politics, his influence went into gradual decline as his ideas lost relevance in the escalating fever of revolution. However, his contribution to scholarship regarding China's literature and history continued to play an important role, particularly in the inspiration of other writers.

Dewey thought highly of the literary reforms initiated by Hu Shih and others, praising the resolution by the Federation of Educational Associations in 1919 to use spoken language for textbooks in elementary schools. He and his followers in China felt that the school should be the basic unit in the reconstruction of China. Modern education in China needed to begin

from the child's interests and emphasize individual development through the child-centered curriculum. Socialization in the school would select appropriate elements of the present society for incorporation into school life to promote social progress. These characteristics of progressive education were aimed at preparing the child for participation in and helping to build a democratic society.

The educational ideas of Dewey and Hu Shih had a lasting influence on Chinese education for thirty years, and their social philosophy and general philosophy also influenced part of the Chinese people. However, in 1951, the People's Education Press in Shanghai published "The Introduction to the Criticism of Dewey," which not only deplored Dewey's influence but also attacked Hu Shih as Dewey's spokesman. In 1954 and 1955, more than 3 million words were published by the Communists for purging both Hu Shih's and Dewey's ideas.

Li Ma

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HUEBNER, DWAYNE (1923–)

Dwayne Huebner is a philosopher and curriculum theorist who helped shepherd the reconceptualist movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. Through Huebner's work, curriculum scholars began to consider language, environment, politics, and history as critical elements within their theorizing.

Language was a significant element within Huebner's curriculum theorizing. He rejected the scientific and empirical basis of curriculum theorizing, including such basic traditional curriculum concepts as learning and purpose. He argued that such technical terms limited the curriculum process to things that

were finite and measurable. Instead, Huebner argued for a new language that was influenced by phenomenology and existential philosophy.

Huebner also argued that although the language of politics could provide educators a means through which they could address problems of power, educators have no strong ideology through which to use a political language to make a difference in education. Instead, educators typically search for empirical truths and scientific generalizations, and this pursuit prevents them from using their collective power for good.

Huebner's work, in many ways, focused on the complex and moral nature of the environment. He posited that curriculum workers create environments, and these spaces should be designed so that students and teachers can engage in mutual and loving relationships.

Huebner left curriculum studies in 1982 to pursue Christian education at Yale Divinity School. Nevertheless, his influence continued to be felt through the work of his immediate students such as William Pinar and Michael Apple and through the ideas he introduced regarding the reconceptualization of curriculum.

Donna Adair Breault

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ILICH, IVAN (1926–2002)

Ivan Illich was a historian, theologian, and social critic who dedicated his life to understanding people and the joys and hardships that all humans share. He called for the disestablishment of compulsory

education, arguing that it should be replaced with student-driven learning webs. This entry summarizes his life and contributions.

Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1926, Illich moved frequently in his youth. His mother was Jewish, so in order to avoid the increasing Nazi persecution in the late 1930s, he and his younger brothers sought refuge in Italy. It was at this time that Illich became a priest, choosing to devote himself to Christ and the Catholic Church. He studied theology and philosophy at Rome's Gregorian University and later earned his doctorate in the philosophy of history at the University of Salzburg.

In 1951, Illich left Europe and came to the United States to serve as assistant pastor at Incarnation Parish in Washington Heights and later at an Irish-Puerto Rican parish in New York City. There, working with the immigrant Puerto Rican community, he became acutely aware of social justice issues and honed his talents as an activist. Working his way up the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, he was appointed as the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico at Ponce in 1955. During his tenure at the Catholic University, Illich's primary responsibility was to introduce American priests to Latin American and Puerto Rican culture. This led to the creation of the Institute of Intercultural Communications. At this point in his career, Illich became increasingly critical of what he believed was cultural colonialism on the part of industrialized countries in North America and Western Europe.

After leaving Puerto Rico, Illich founded the Center of Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico, in 1961. At the Center, Illich undertook his first systematic critiques of the export to Latin America of materialistic, consumer-oriented capitalism by industrialized countries such as the United States. Although Illich's faith never wavered, he became very critical of the Catholic Church as an institution. He saw the Church operating with very clear political, social, and economic agendas. He found this aspect of the institution to be contradictory to his vision of the true aim of the Church: to care for and love mankind. Because of his criticism of the Church, Illich was reprimanded by Catholic leaders. He was eventually granted a formal leave from the

Church. As a result of Illich's departure from the traditional priesthood, the Church ended its formal relationship with the Center as a place for training clergy.

However, the Center remained a force in the social justice movement and became an increasingly important center for community development and educational reform. Based upon seminars and workshops with Paul Goodman, Paulo Freire, Joel Spring, and others, Illich published his most influential work in the social foundations of education: *Deschooling Society*.

Illich's two most influential works with respect to the social foundations of education are *Deschooling Society* and *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon*. In *Deschooling Society*, Illich argued for the disestablishment of compulsory schooling. Just as he felt that the Church as an institution was perverting grace and salvation, he felt that compulsory schooling was perverting learning and education. Illich was critical of what he believed were the hidden agendas associated with compulsory schooling, including social and economic stratification, intellectual dependence, and homogeneous modes of thinking.

According to Illich, school had replaced academic notions of lifelong learning with notions of control, accreditation, and uniformity. He believed in student-guided education. He thought that what he called *learning webs* should be the foundation of one's educational experience. Illich's ideas about webs of collective knowledge were particularly prescient because he was suggesting something like the Worldwide Web and similar types of networked information sources.

Illich's *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* contributes to the social foundations of education with its historical analysis of technology and how it has affected literacy. Illich discusses the revolution of typographic literacy in the fifteenth century and the evolution from typographic literacy to posttypographic literacy. Illich's talent for critical thought and analysis, coupled with his determination as an activist to make the world a better place, allowed him the means by which to deconstruct compulsory schooling and literacy. His impact as a theorist and activist continues to be felt.

Benjamin T. Lester

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ISAACS, SUSAN B.
(1885–1948)

An influential educational theorist, teacher, and psychologist, Susan B. Isaacs was born in Lancashire, England. She studied philosophy and psychology at Manchester University. She earned a first-class degree from Manchester University in 1912 and went on to a research position at the Psychology Laboratory at the University of Cambridge. From 1913–1914, she taught at Darlington Training College, a preparation program for early childhood educators. From 1914–1915, she returned to teach at Manchester University.

Influenced by Froebel, John Dewey, and Sigmund Freud, Isaacs believed that early childhood experiences were very important educational experiences. In 1921, Isaacs completed the first of many books, titled *An Introduction to Psychology*. In 1922, Isaacs completed the qualification process to see patients as a psychoanalyst and began her practice, which she would continue until her death. In 1924, she and her husband founded Malting House. A progressive school, the curriculum was centered on experience rather than instruction. In 1927, Isaacs left the school to focus on research, writing, and her patients in her psychoanalytic practice. In 1929, she began writing an advice column under the name Ursula Wise. She continued this column until 1940. In 1933, she was offered the chance to direct the Department of Child Development at the University of London, and she held this post until 1944. During the evacuation of London during World War II, Isaacs studied the psychological problems of children who were relocated as a result. Susan Isaacs died in 1948 after a long battle with cancer.

John P. Renaud

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JACKSON, PHILIP W.
(1928–)

Philip W. Jackson is best known for instigating the study of the “hidden curriculum” in schools. His best known work is *Life in Classrooms*, although he has written and edited numerous books, essays, and articles throughout his career.

Jackson was born in Vineland, New Jersey. He studied at Glassboro State College and went on to earn his M.Ed. at Temple University. In 1954, he completed his Ph.D. at Teacher’s College, Columbia University. He went on to teach educational psychology at Wayne State University and the University of Chicago. At Chicago, he led the laboratory nursery school and became director of laboratory schools. He served as chair of the Department of Education and Human Development and Dean of the Graduate School of Education.

Since 1973, he has been the David Lee Shillinglaw Distinguished Service Professor in the Departments of Education and Psychology. Jackson has also taught as a visiting faculty member at Teachers College, Harvard University, Queens College, and New York University. His work continues to interest scholars and has served as the focus of books, articles, and dissertations.

John P. Renaud

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JEFFERSON, THOMAS (1743–1826)

With historic accomplishments ranging from Founding Father and third president of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence, architect of the Louisiana Purchase, and visionary of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Thomas Jefferson also made great contributions to education in America.

Jefferson was born in 1743 in Albemarle County, Virginia, to a wealthy and prominent family. He attended the College of William and Mary from 1760–1762, then studied law. He was admitted to practice law in Virginia in 1767 and the following year was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses, which began his political career. He was propelled onto the national scene in 1774 with the publication of *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* and in 1775 was elected to the Continental Congress.

Jefferson believed that a stable democracy was possible only with an educated citizenry and was a lifetime advocate of free public education. He had a uniquely American conception of education as a tool for democracy, from the elementary schools through the university level. In 1778, as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, he wrote *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*. Although his plan was not adopted, it provided for free basic universal education, free education at an advanced level for selected students, and free tuition to William and Mary College for a more limited number of students.

Jefferson's Enlightenment-era philosophy did not apply to everyone, however. Jefferson was a plantation owner and held slaves. He also did not include women in his proposals for universal education.

After his second term as president ended in 1809, Jefferson concentrated on a variety of other projects. An intellectual and scholar of history, philosophy, architecture, languages, and the natural sciences, Jefferson amassed the largest private library collection in the United States, totaling more than 6,400 volumes. In 1815, Jefferson sold his library to the United States in order to replace the books destroyed when the British burned the Library of Congress.

In 1816, construction on the University of Virginia began. Jefferson worked tirelessly, personally designing the original campus and working to raise funds. Jefferson saw this vision completed in 1825. He died on July 4, 1826. In creating his own epitaph, Jefferson closed with the line “Father of the University of Virginia.”

John P. Renaud

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JOHNSON, MARIETTA PIERCE (1864–1938)

Founder of the School of Organic Education in Fairhope, Alabama, Marietta Johnson built an international reputation as a progressive educator. Johnson viewed the Organic School as an ongoing experiment, an original demonstration of her idea that students should be educated as complete organisms with balanced attention to body, mind, and spirit. As director of the most child-centered school in the United States, she spoke throughout the nation, lectured abroad, and took her place in the front ranks of founders of progressive schools.

Under Johnson's guidance, the Organic School opened in 1907 as an experimental school in an experimental community. The small town of Fairhope was a single-tax colony dedicated to the principles of collective land ownership advocated by Henry George in *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Johnson and her husband, who were socialists, moved to the Gulf Coast from Minnesota in 1902 and felt immediately at home in the utopian community of idealists, artists, and freethinkers.

Johnson arrived in her late thirties as a seasoned teacher and normal school instructor who was undergoing an educational conversion. She embarked on a

self-directed reading program that led her to the thought of Rousseau, Froebel, Dewey, and developmental psychologists. Soon, she rejected traditional teaching methods in favor of a new pedagogy, one keyed to the needs and interests of students. For the rest of her career, she would downplay external standards—along with grades, report cards, and other competitive measures—and emphasize instead the internal standard of doing one's best.

Directing the Organic School gave Johnson the chance to put her ideas into practice. Everyday, students at the school spent an hour folk dancing and another hour working in the shop. She postponed formal reading instruction until students reached age eight or nine. Much teaching and learning took place out of doors. This extremely child-centered pedagogy, infused with left-of-center politics, perfectly suited its community. Financial support from the single-tax colony and several philanthropists allowed local children to attend the Organic School tuition free, while well-to-do boarding students enrolled from throughout the country.

The success of the school during the 1910s and 1920s was so encouraging that Johnson set the goal of developing a model for reforming public education nationwide. A group of socially prominent women in the New York City area organized a foundation to sponsor her work, booking as many lectures and other engagements as she could handle. A full-page interview in the *New York Times* in 1913 brought her tremendous public exposure and set the stage for a visit by John Dewey, who gave Johnson and her school a rave review in *Schools of To-Morrow* (1915).

In 1919, she cofounded the Progressive Education Association, an organization of university teacher educators and leaders of progressive schools, hoping that it would become another avenue for promoting organic education. Her lectures and workshops for parents and teachers, which kept her on the road and numbered in the hundreds over the course of her career, stimulated the establishment of several other schools on the organic model.

The Great Depression of the 1930s, however, wreaked financial havoc on the Organic School, and Johnson lost status within the progressive education movement. Despite her long-standing commitment to

social reform, her version of child-centered education came across as out of touch with the times. In addition, Fairhope's commitment to experimentation and reform weakened as the town grew and the founding generation passed. In the years following Johnson's death in 1938, the Organic School lost the support of the community and drifted away from her genuinely radical pedagogy. Now a full century old, the school is struggling to reclaim its heritage.

Joseph W. Newman

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Web Sites

- Marietta Johnson Museum: <http://www.mariettajohnson.org>
- Marietta Johnson School of Organic Education: <http://www.fairhopeorganicschool.com>

JOHNSTON, FRANCES BENJAMIN (1864–1952)

Frances Benjamin Johnston, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, became one of the first and most prominent American female photographers in the United States. Her 1899 photographs of children and youth at work in the Washington, D.C., schools were her most significant work that related to American schooling and were honored at an international showing in Paris. They are probably the most extensive portrayals of turn-of-the-century American education that exist.

Initially interested in drawing and painting, she studied at the Academie Julien in Paris. Upon her

return to the United States, she settled in Washington, D.C., and transferred her artistic talents to photography. By 1895, she opened a studio in Washington, D.C., and quickly attracted clients from among the city's social and governmental elite on the basis of the quality of her portraiture. Indeed, she gained a reputation as the "photographer of the American court." She soon added to her status by becoming a documentary photographer and author of articles, illustrated with her photographs, in popular magazines of the day. During the latter part of her life, she focused her attention on architecture, particularly historic homes and gardens in the southern states.

Johnston's photographs of D.C. schooling were part of the U.S. exhibit of American education at the 1900 International Exhibition in Paris. They portrayed students and teachers at work in most curriculum areas, academic and vocational, at all school levels from kindergarten to normal school, and in schools in all parts of the city. Photographs showed children studying with ubiquitous schoolroom objects such as chalkboards, maps, and notebooks as well as class groups in ordinarily uncommon settings such as field trips to a creek, a nearby store, and federal buildings. Also, many of these photographs included details of school architecture. Inasmuch as D.C. was racially segregated with separate schools for Blacks and Whites, these photographs illuminate distinctions in the schooling provided for these two groups. For this collection of photographs, exhibition judges awarded Johnston a Gold Medal.

She also gained substantial notice for her photographs of students at Hampton Institute, Carlisle Indian School, and Tuskegee Institute. The Hampton photos were included in a separate and popular Paris Exposition display about American Negroes. Included in this collection were images of students engaged in several types of "industrial" activities (e.g., carpentry) as well as in academic courses. These exceptional photographs won Johnston a special Grand Prix.

Although Johnston's photographs of American education gained recognition in Europe, they were ignored for many years in the United States. After she donated her papers and extant negatives and photographs to the Library of Congress, her work was

discovered by historians of photography and of the history of American education.

O. L. Davis, Jr.

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KALLEN, HORACE MEYER (1882–1974)

Horace Meyer Kallen crafted a political vision in which valuing the culture of others could coexist with a commitment to democratic principles. Kallen's form of pluralism is the progenitor of the multicultural movements of the 1970s.

As an early- to mid-twentieth-century social and political philosopher, Kallen's scholarship was greatly informed by the American milieu of the time. Within the context of the turbulent social upheavals wrought by the massive influx of new immigrants at the turn of the nineteenth century, he defended the notion of equality among various kinds of cultural forms of life. Kallen's definition of cultural pluralism is the seminal account, rejecting the simplistic homogeneity implied by America as a melting pot.

The dilemma of cultural pluralism in a democracy is reconciling tolerance of cultural diversity with privileging liberty, freedom, and respect for others. Kallen saw no *prima facie* contradiction in wholeheartedly embracing both. In his conception of the American ideal, groups are self-contained, able to both fully realize their cultural uniqueness and happily coexist with other groups. Kallen argued that given the major significance that cultural identity holds for individual meaning, it is an implicit demand of democracy that cultural identity be allowed expression. Furthermore, the definition of an American is not based on a singular identity but rather on the amalgamation that a hyphenated nationality represents.

Sharon Andrea Fraser-Burgess

Further Readings

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KILPATRICK, WILLIAM HEARD (1871–1965)

William Heard Kilpatrick was a progressive educator and influential interpreter of John Dewey's educational philosophy. A native of Georgia, Kilpatrick began his career teaching in the public schools and at Mercer University (GA). In 1908, he became a doctoral student at Teachers College, Columbia University. John Dewey, his major professor, said of him, "He was the best student I ever had." In 1911, Kilpatrick attained a full-time faculty appointment in philosophy of education at Teachers College.

Kilpatrick's rise in educational circles began with the 1918 publication of his article "The Project Method" in the *Teachers College Record*. Kilpatrick's progressive education message maintained that schools must be child-centered, democratic, and socially oriented. His popularity was such that the New York City press called him "Columbia's Million-Dollar Professor" because of the tuition his 35,000 students (1911–1937) generated for Columbia University. In his retirement, Kilpatrick was the first president of the John Dewey Society.

Kilpatrick's major works include *Foundations of Method* (1925), *Selfhood and Civilization: A Study of the Self-Other Process* (1941), and *Philosophy of Education* (1951). Lasting innovations derived from his work include classroom projects, activity-based learning, cooperative learning, and the experiential elements of the middle school movement. These student-centered practices, along with Kilpatrick's unswerving commitment to democratic principles in the schools, form the bedrock of his legacy.

John Beineke

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KINCHELOE, JOE (1950–)

Joe Kincheloe is the Canada Research Chair in Critical Pedagogy at McGill University, where he has founded with his partner, Shirley Steinberg, the Paulo and Nita Freire International Project for Critical Pedagogy. Kincheloe is regarded as having been a formative influence upon the development of critical pedagogy over the past two decades, during which time he has used critical complexity theory to explore the manner in which pedagogical acts are constructed out of the social, cultural, political, economic, and cognitive dimensions of experience.

An eclectic scholar with a diverse array of interests and a prodigious outpouring of books and essays on a wide variety of topics broadly related to the generation of emancipatory educational research, Kincheloe is a leading expert who has helped to shape fields such as critical qualitative research methods and epistemology, critical multiculturalism, subjugated and indigenous knowledge studies, curriculum theory, media pedagogy, and cultural studies.

A major focus for Kincheloe has been the creation of what he terms "postformal" thinking and inquiry. Kincheloe's postformalism mounts a bricolage of multiple research methods and transformative critiques of the conditions that have given rise to a Newtonian/Cartesian paradigm of scientific objectivity and positivism, on one hand, while also politicizing naturalistic accounts of cognitive development that he feels create reductive and hegemonic psychological structures in education, on the other hand. Some of his recent book-length work includes *Critical Constructivism Primer* (2005), *Critical Pedagogy Primer* (2004), *Teachers as Researchers: Qualitative Inquiry as a Path to Empowerment* (2nd ed., 2002) and *The Post-Formal Reader* (with Steinberg and Hinchey, eds., 1999).

Richard Kahn

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KOHLBERG, LAWRENCE (1927–1987)

Remembered by students of education for his theory which posits six stages of moral development, Lawrence Kohlberg was born October 25, 1927, in Bronxville, New York. He earned a BA at the University of Chicago and in 1958 completed his Ph.D. at that institution as well. After teaching at Yale and the University of Chicago, Kohlberg moved to Harvard in 1968 as professor of education and social psychology. The following year, he published an article titled “Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization.” This article, which appeared in the *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, is considered a seminal work in the field of developmental psychology.

Influenced by Jean Piaget, Kohlberg offers six stages of moral development to explain the evolution of the development of “principled conscience.” The first stage, when a child understands only punishment and reward, gives way to higher levels of moral development as the individual matures. The early stages of development are labeled “re-conventional” under this theory. The next grouping of stages are labeled “conventional,” and the highest levels of moral reasoning are labeled “postconventional” and include understanding of universal principles.

John P. Renaud

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KOZOL, JONATHAN (1936–)

Jonathan Kozol's first book, *Death at an Early Age*, was published in 1967. It was a damning

indictment of American education and its treatment of minority children. In it, Kozol, a Harvard graduate, describes his experience teaching in, and being fired from, an economically poor and segregated Boston public school. Functioning largely outside of the academic establishment, Kozol has spent the forty years since the publication of *Death at an Early Age* as a critical observer of public education—primarily concerned with issues of racial and social inequality.

In works such as *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (1991) and *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (2005), Kozol addresses the consistently unequal funding provided to urban versus suburban schools. The research for his books has been based primarily on careful observation and interviews. Through the information he collects, he creates powerful narratives about the lives of the children and the conditions of the schools in which they learn.

Kozol has been criticized for a lack of objectivity in his research and for not having academic and research credentials. Although a polemical writer, he is, in fact, a powerful and thoughtful voice who has focused carefully and systematically on structural inequalities in American culture and its schools. He may be criticized for occasional inconsistencies in his arguments, but he has documented and examined throughout his work the unequal treatment of the poor in our schools, and has tried through reason and moral suasion to point out the need for the United States to develop a more just and equitable educational system.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

Further Readings

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LADSON-BILLINGS, GLORIA (1947–)

Gloria Ladson-Billings serves as the Kellner Family Chair in Urban Education and Professor of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. She is also affiliated with the African Studies Program. Her research interests center on educational anthropology, cultural studies, and critical race theory applications to education. Noted for her concept of “culturally relevant pedagogy,” she continues to study the successful teaching of African American students. She helped to develop Teaching for Diversity, the university’s teacher education program focused on teaching racially, culturally, and socioeconomically diverse students.

Ladson-Billings is the author of several books and numerous scholarly journal articles. Some prominent book titles include *Educational Research in the Public Interest: Social Justice, Action and Policy* (co-authored with William F. Tate, 2006); *Beyond the Big House: African American Educators on Teacher Education* (2005); *Crossing Over to Canaan: The Journey of New Teachers in Diverse Classrooms* (2001); and *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children* (1994). In 1997, she coedited the *Dictionary of Multicultural Education* with Carl A. Grant.

The winner of many awards for scholarship and service, she is past president of the American Educational Research Association (2005–2006). She received the George and Louise Spindler Award from the Council on Anthropology and Education in 2004. She was inducted into the National Academy of Education in 2005 and received the University of Wisconsin’s Woman of Color Award in 2006. Also, she received an honorary doctoral degree from Umea University, Sweden.

Melinda Moore Davis

Further Readings

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LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704)

John Locke is considered the father of the empirical tradition in philosophy, and his ideas about democracy are at the heart of the founding documents of America. His ideas about education are focused around the widely known metaphor of tabula rasa, or blank slate. He thought that knowledge or learning was impressed upon youngsters and that teachers and parents thus played a crucial role in their moral education. The ideas in his seventeenth-century works are still pertinent today.

Locke was born in Somerset, England, in 1632. He was educated at the Westminster School and then at Christ Church College, Oxford. At Oxford, he studied natural philosophy and earned both his bachelor’s and master’s degrees. He went on to earn his medical degree and became a private physician and advisor for the Earl of Shaftesbury and his family.

In 1683, Shaftesbury, who was active in politics, fell on the wrong side of the controversy surrounding the ascension to the throne of the Catholic James II. Shaftesbury was forced into exile in the Netherlands and brought Locke with him. Shaftesbury died soon after he arrived in the Lowlands. Locke remained there until James II was deposed and William and Mary of Orange came to the throne in 1689. On returning to England, Locke was able to secure a government post and publish his key contributions to philosophy, including “Some Thoughts Concerning Education.” He died in 1704.

To fully appreciate Locke’s ideas on education, one must first understand the broader agenda that his work represents. Locke is remembered for two great contributions to philosophy. First, he is the father of the empirical tradition in Anglo-American philosophy. The empiricist beliefs that are accessible through the senses—that there is no essential disconnect between the mind and the body, and that truths must be learned rather than innately delivered—have dominated the philosophic quest since Locke’s time.

His second widely known contribution is in the field of political philosophy, where he sought to show,

in a quasi-historical sense, how civil society came to be founded, and within this context explained which rights belong naturally to the governed and which rights must necessarily be retained by the sovereign. In doing so, he formulated the conception of democracy that lies at the heart of modern liberal democratic institutions. Indeed, the claim in the U.S. Declaration of Independence that all men are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was borrowed from Locke.

The marriage of the core ideals of empiricism and self-governance are seen in Locke's key work in educational philosophy, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education." Originally published in 1693, this work is not a guide for democratic education, but rather education for democracy. Although he was typical of his time in concentrating on education for the privileged classes, Locke was ahead of his time in that he was concerned with the whole child as a physical, moral, and intellectual being. What Locke describes is the way in which children should be raised, not merely educated, to have the physical, moral, and intellectual stamina necessary for the world as envisioned in his other philosophical works.

Locke's view of the necessity and role of education is captured in his use of the term *tabula rasa*—literally, blank slate or tablet—which he introduces in his 1694 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. According to him, the individual is a medium on which knowledge and learning are inscribed or impressed. This conception is also present in "Some Thoughts Concerning Education." Here, Locke talks about what children are, and what they need from their parents, teachers, and other role models.

He compares children to travelers in a strange country, and it is the role of the educator to guide them and illuminate their world. This description, echoed in the conception of the *tabula rasa*, does come with one vital caveat that sets Locke apart from many of his contemporaries' thoughts on the topic. Locke argues passionately that children should be respected and treated as rational beings. Locke's nearest philosophical rival, Thomas Hobbes, is noted for succinctly expressing the more common view of the time, in that he included the mentally disabled, the mentally ill, and children in a singular category of intellect.

Locke begins by giving much detailed advice on the physical care of the young in "Some Thoughts Concerning Education." He offers recommendations on the topics of nutrition, clothing, and general health. However, it is his second major topic, moral education, or education for virtue, to which this concern, and his subsequent concern for academic or professional education, are subsumed. On the topic of virtue, Locke goes to lengths to explain what will lead a young man to become virtuous. For parents and educators, he offers admonitions against hypocrisy and corporal punishment. This places modeling at the center of Locke's conception of education for virtue and sets the bar very high for those charged with this task.

The topic of learning in an academic setting is reserved for last. Locke chooses to make no apologies for this and offers a charged and colorful critique of existing educational practices with reference to the use of punishments, rewards, and misplaced efforts at curriculum design. While his remarks on many academic practices are scathing, to qualify Locke as an anti-academic would, of course, be an error. What Locke is concerned with is the methods and priorities by which education takes place.

Locke does have specific advice for what children should know and how they should be taught. He stresses, for example, that children should be taught to read as early as possible in their lives. The role of the parent or teacher in this situation is to not only teach the child to read, but also structure the instruction in such a way that the child will one day enjoy reading, rather than view it as a chore. This idea permeates the multiple examples offered on the topic of educational methodology.

Locke goes on to detail ways in which learning can be structured to appeal to children. He also offers a sequence of what topics should be covered, from initial reading instruction through abstract reasoning, philosophy, and accounting. Locke's practical streak, which is sometimes more hidden in his political philosophy, is evident in recommending this last topic in education.

Locke's overall contribution to educational thought in modern times is great. The themes of his work underlie much of the current debates in the field. In "Some Thoughts Concerning Education," he initiates

dialogues about developmental stages of children, intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation, appropriate curriculum and instructional methodologies, and meeting the needs of individual learners.

John P. Renaud

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MACDONALD, JAMES (1924–1982)

James Macdonald was a curriculum theorist who helped to shape the reconceptualist movement of curriculum studies throughout his work in the 1960s and 1970s. For Macdonald, curriculum was like a microcosm of life itself and posed similar social, moral, and spiritual challenges. He believed curriculum theorizing was a creative act stemming from the critical question, “How shall we live together?”

Macdonald spoke out against the discipline-based curriculum work of the 1960s that identified phenomena and people as objects within categories within systems and argued instead for an aesthetic rationality where curriculum workers addressed issues at an intuitive level and allowed individuals to transcend existing systems and categories. Macdonald further argued that curriculum workers needed to move beyond the discipline-based structure of their work in order to create a more person-oriented curriculum that could respond to issues of social injustice.

In 1971, Macdonald mapped out a curriculum theory in which he identified three categories of theorists: one category in which theorists used theory as a guide for curriculum development and research as a tool for evaluating curriculum; a second in which theorists used scientific theory to identify and define variables within curriculum development; and a third category in which theorists used theory to think more

creatively about curriculum. He associated himself with the third group.

Macdonald’s challenges to current practices in curriculum work of the 1960s and early 1970s helped to usher in the new movement of curriculum studies where scholars would look at work in schools through phenomenological, autobiographic, and theological lenses.

Donna Adair Breault

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MANN, HORACE (1796–1859)

Horace Mann is justly remembered as the father of the public school system. Committed to a progressive religious vision of the American republic, he devoted his life to shaping institutions that would shape the nation.

Born into a modest farming family in Franklin, Massachusetts, Mann received little formal schooling. The most significant influence on his developing mind was the town’s orthodox minister, Nathaniel Emmons. Breaking with Calvinism during adolescence, Mann embraced liberal Christianity and a passion for personal betterment. With the help of tutors, he quickly mastered sufficient Latin and Greek to enter Brown University; three years later, he graduated class valedictorian.

After two unsuccessful years teaching the classics, Mann entered Litchfield Law School. Passing the bar in 1823, he set up office in Dedham. He soon made a name for himself, and in 1827 was elected to the state legislature. Strongly supportive of scientifically grounded moral reform, Mann was the moving force behind the establishment of the state’s first public asylum for the insane. Based upon the principles of moral treatment perfected in America by the physicians of the Hartford Retreat, this experience introduced Mann

to physiological and pedagogic theories that would inform his future ideas on education.

Mann's political success—he eventually became president of the Massachusetts Senate—was accompanied by private sufferings. The death of his first wife in 1832 took an enormous emotional toll; his hair is said to have turned gray overnight. At the same time, Mann inherited crippling debts that forced him to live out of his law office for three years. Although he received support from Elizabeth and Mary Peabody and the famed Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing, Mann's rise from despair seems to have been secured through his missionary-like commitment to the cause of education.

After a ten-year campaign highlighting the deplorable condition of Massachusetts schools, James Carter, an important champion of public schooling, persuaded the legislature to establish a state board of education. But if Carter expected to be appointed secretary, powerful friends of education realized that the board's limited charge (collecting facts and diffusing information) necessitated a leader with Mann's moral force and legal knowledge.

Why did Mann abandon his political career for such a poorly paid and nebulous appointment? In his diary, he speaks of a religious awakening brought on by reading George Combe's *Constitution of Man*. Grounded in principles governing the innate structure and development of the brain, Combe's phrenological text drew moral imperatives from physiological laws. Knowledge of God's workmanship was the key to Christian duty and human happiness. By revealing practical ways to regulate the passions and strengthen reason, it promised the possibility of educating the population for rational and virtuous citizenship in the new urban industrial world. To this end, Combe and his co-worker James Simpson had formulated a comprehensive plan for a national system of public schooling in Great Britain. Embracing child-centered pedagogy, a scientific curriculum, standardized systems of administration, and teacher training, the scheme eventually fell foul of religious opposition to nondenominational instruction.

However, as Mann's crusade demonstrated, the phrenologists' plan was perfectly suited for Protestant New England. Resonating with nativist ideals, it provided a compelling political script fusing Christian

duty, personal improvement, and social progress. On his appointment as secretary in 1837, the first book Mann turned to was Simpson's *Necessity of Education*. The following year, Combe visited Boston and the two men developed a lifelong bond. A true disciple, all of Mann's subsequent writings bear the stamp of Combe's philosophy.

To promote his cause, Mann toured the state collecting information, establishing a network of local support groups, and delivering lectures on the importance of education to the future of the republic. As a panacea for social ills, he promised a system of tax-supported common schools to meet the needs of all children, irrespective of class or creed. Eschewing privilege, distinctions were to be founded solely on merit. Mann did recognize significant moral and intellectual differences between the sexes, but demanded a full, if distinct, education for women in order that they could fulfill their unique sphere of influence in society.

In the *Common School Journal*, Mann promoted scientifically informed instruction; in his annual reports, he presented statistics designed to pressure local action and government legislation. His first major initiatives included founding normal schools, establishing school libraries, and improving facilities. Although such sweeping changes inevitably stirred political and religious opposition, he was able to marshal the broad support necessary to cement the authority of the board and the basic elements of his statewide plan.

But Mann had his sights on more far-reaching reforms. After touring Europe, he publicized the Prussian system, making a powerful case for the superiority of child-centered practices over the hard-line methods of traditional teachers. This caused a good deal of controversy among a group of Boston masters, but Mann's subsequent exposé of their questionable successes and harsh discipline only added to his case. By the end of his twelve-year tenure, he could boast a standardized curriculum, teacher training, and a statewide system of administration—all of which he codified in legal statutes that would serve a template for the advancement of public schooling across America.

In 1848, Mann was elected to the House of Representatives, where he fought a bitter six-year battle against the expansion of slavery. Tiring of Washington, he mounted an unsuccessful bid for the

Massachusetts governorship before accepting the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio. Ever the phrenologist, he spent the last five years of his life cultivating the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities of the West's future leaders. He banned alcohol, tobacco, and coffee; offered instruction in the laws of physiology, political economy, and moral philosophy; and ensured that only the virtuous received diplomas. Secure in the achievement of his life's work, he famously used his final baccalaureate address to implore students not to "die until they have won some victory for humanity."

Stephen Tomlinson

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MARTIN, JANE ROLAND (1929–)

Jane Roland Martin challenged the presumed gender neutrality of the late-twentieth-century analytic philosophy of education with her 1981 critique of R. S. Peters's ideal of the educated person. She proposed the democratic necessity of constructing a "gender-sensitive" educational ideal, meaning that philosophers and educators should take gender into account when it is of educational consequence and ignore it when it is of no educational consequence.

Citing epistemological inequality that excludes, distorts, and marginalizes women as subjects and objects of educational thought, she analyzed the ideal of the educated woman as formulated by Plato, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Mary Wollstonecraft, Catharine Beecher, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman and concluded that education itself requires radical redefinition. Focused upon "productive processes of society," Martin argued, education reflects preoccupation with matters of cultural, political, and economic significance, but also should reflect the significance for both men *and* women of "reproductive processes of society" that historically philosophers have designated as women's characteristic social functions alone: bearing

and rearing children; managing households; and offering various sorts of care, concern, and connection in daily life.

Martin's subsequent prolific writings have reformulated this normative claim by critically investigating its conceptual significance for transformation of *both* sexes' schooling, higher education, and general cultural transmission through "multiple educational agency," as well as for "culture-crossing" individuals' educational metamorphoses.

Also influential, Martin's contributions to the analytic philosophy of education before 1981 formulated conceptual foundations for interdisciplinary curriculum theory: hidden curriculum, basics, disciplines, subjects, choice and chance, knowing how and knowing that.

Susan Laird

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McGUFFEY, WILLIAM HOLMES (1800–1873)

William Holmes McGuffey was the author of the *McGuffey Readers* (their unofficial title), which epitomized the transformation of school reading texts

over the first third of the nineteenth century. Designed to replace spelling books as the child's introduction to reading, they were child-friendly, featuring large type, numerous illustrations, and short tales about children in familiar settings. Over time, they have sold some 135 million individual copies.

Born in Washington, Pennsylvania, McGuffey attended Washington College and then went on to teach Latin and Greek at Miami University, Ohio, from 1826 to 1836, becoming active in midwestern educational circles that included such reformers as the textbook writer Albert Pickett and Alexander Kinmont.

In 1836, Truman and Smith published McGuffey's *First Eclectic Reader* and *Second Eclectic Reader*, soon issuing four additional graded readers. Their comprehensibility to children, McGuffey's midwestern location, and the publishers' excellent marketing contributed to their great success. Although McGuffey's association with the series had ceased by 1843, the readers dominated the market in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were constantly revised by their publishers and are still in print.

McGuffey's early books borrowed heavily from competitors: McGuffey and his publisher had to settle out of court a suit brought by the textbook author Samuel Worcester and his publisher. McGuffey finished his career at the University of Virginia (1845–1873), where he was a professor of moral philosophy.

Charles Monaghan

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McLAREN, PETER (1948–)

Peter McLaren, Professor of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles, is a leading educational theorist who, since the 1980s, has played a central role in the development of critical pedagogy

worldwide and the organization of what he terms the "educational left." Tremendously prolific as an author, and known for his virtuosic rhetoric and conceptual imagination, McLaren has made wide-ranging contributions over the course of his career to myriad educational discourses including critical ethnography and qualitative research, educational policy debates, ritual and performance studies, literacy theory, multiculturalism and the development of postcolonial pedagogy, cultural studies, critical media pedagogy, and curriculum studies, as well as work on globalization in education.

McLaren spent much of his early career in founding what he terms critical, or resistance, postmodernism in education through the deployment of novel syntheses of Frankfurt and Birmingham School critical theory, French poststructuralism, the Freirean and Deweyan philosophic traditions, and other radical ideas. Since 1994, he has turned toward a more specifically Marxist humanist analysis that seeks to illuminate the crucial function played by political economy and the relations of production in blocking truly democratic forms of schooling, culture, and general politics across society.

Although his work since the later 1990s should be understood as an evolution, and not rejection, of his earlier work, McLaren has become an outspoken critic of scholars' wide reliance upon faddish forms of postmodernism, which he believes often result in an inattention to the underlying reality of economic exploitation or unwittingly play into Rightist political agendas through the postmodern desire to deconstruct and de-universalize all forms of macro social analysis and struggle.

Consequently, beginning with books such as *Revolutionary Multiculturalism* (1997) and *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire and the Pedagogy of Revolution* (2000), up to the more recent *Capitalists and Conquerors* (2005) and *Life in Schools* (5th ed., 2006), McLaren has sought to delineate a "revolutionary critical pedagogy" that challenges the domestication of critical work in education under capitalism, works internationally to organize resistance to imperialist and neoliberal policies, and attempts to resituate the necessity for sustained Marxist critique both popularly and within educational research proper.

Despite his radical goals, McLaren's theories appear to be finding wide audiences. In 2005, La Fundacion McLaren de Pedagogía Critica was inaugurated to more widely establish knowledge of his work throughout Mexico as a basis for political action, and in 2006, the Venezuelan Ministry of Higher Education created the Peter McLaren Chair for the Study of Critical Pedagogy at the Universidad Bolivariana de Venezuela.

Richard Kahn

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MEIER, DEBORAH (1931–)

A former kindergarten teacher, Deborah Meier has worked for more than forty years as a teacher, principal, and activist. Educated at Antioch College and the University of Chicago, Meier spent most of her career working to understand and remedy schooling through educational reforms.

Meier began her career as an elementary and Head Start teacher in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. In 1974, the superintendent of New York City's schools, Tony Alvarado, asked her to implement her theories in a Harlem school that was known for having extremely low test scores. In response to this request, Meier founded Central Park East, which emphasized active learning. Her school also fostered democratic community, increased teacher autonomy, and encouraged parents' feedback and participation in their children's schooling. As a result of her efforts, overall student test scores increased considerably. She documented her efforts and the success of the school in her well-known book, *The Power of Their Ideas*.

Following this success, she opened two more elementary schools and one secondary school in cooperation with the Coalition of Essential Schools, an organization based on the principles that every child can learn, schools should foster democracy and equity, and school practices should meet the needs of individual

students. Her schools have been lauded as models of urban reform and boast high standards, nurturing adults, and high college-going rates for their graduates.

Meier has written extensively on school reform and educational policies from the perspective that all children can learn and be successful. She affirms the importance of democratic community, active student learning, teacher autonomy, and hope in public schooling.

Beth Powers-Costello

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MERLEAU-PONTY, MAURICE (1908–1961)

Maurice Merleau-Ponty was an existential philosopher (influenced by Husserl) along with his contemporaries Sartre and de Beauvoir; however, Merleau-Ponty's work defied traditional conventions and even challenged Sartre's anguish, conflicting relations, and uncompromising Marxism and Cartesian ontology. Merleau-Ponty emphasized the embodied experience, especially the perception, and he argued that phenomena could not be comprehended fully with philosophical traditions and norms because of the leakiness and complexity of what he referred to as equally disappointing alternatives, empiricism and intellectualism. His ideas about knowledge have influenced educators.

Along with Saussure, Merleau-Ponty was one of the philosophical innovators who brought structuralism and linguistics into an interdependent relationship with phenomenology, and his work refuted Western

idealism and sought to (re)articulate the various relationships of subject and object in the intersubjective state, self, and world, as well as many other dualisms through an account of the lived and existential body within *The Phenomenology of Perception*.

For contemporary educational scholars, such as Madeleine Grumet, Merleau-Ponty's emphasis on the body—or the body-subject, as he refers to it—and theory of the body are too often underestimated by educators who tend to view the body as simply an “object” that a transcendent mind orders to perform various activities, so that students may get back to their “mental” work. Merleau-Ponty's philosophies ground knowledge within the body's experiences in conjunction with the world.

With philosophical analyses of perceptions, embodied experiences, difficulties of human existence, and the body and intersubjectivity, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological works are gaining more attention within contemporary educational research and scholarship because he challenges dualisms and offers a more holistic approach to educational philosophy and curriculum. Educators who embrace Merleau-Ponty's philosophy challenge the mind/body split and incorporate the body into the curriculum and classroom in a multitude of ways—from discussing the misogynistic body philosophy from Plato and the early Greeks (which has guided educational “norms” and practices)—to discussing the pregnant body; able and disabled bodies; and how the body is “disruptive” and “leaky” in schools with regard to race, class, gender, ability, ethnicity, and sexuality, to actually using and integrating the body in the learning process with individual and collaborative hands-on experiences—such as dancing to learn mathematical patterns, building muscles and using the muscles on the body itself, and/or performing a play.

Elizabeth Hendrix

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MILL, JOHN STUART (1806–1873)

Although it was not his professional career, John Stuart Mill wrote widely and influentially on philosophy, supporting the rights of the individual against the rights of society. Today, he is considered an important thinker in the utilitarian school.

Mill was born in London, England. He was taught by his father, who in turn had been much influenced by the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham. Mill was given a classical education, focusing on Greek, Latin, and mathematics. From an early age, Mill also learned philosophy. He was influenced by the Romantic philosophy of Wordsworth as well as the French philosopher Auguste Comte.

Mill worked until his retirement as an administrator for the East India Company, writing philosophy and lecturing in his spare time. In retirement, he ran successfully for Parliament. His best known treatise is *On Liberty*. Here he addresses the balance between the rights of societies and the rights of individuals and asserts that only in cases of necessity should the rights of the individual be curtailed. In his writing and lectures, Mill also examined logic and mathematics as well as social issues such as women's suffrage, political reform, and economics.

Mill never wrote a unified treatise on education, but in his 1867 inaugural address at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, Mill outlined his views on education in liberal societies. Although his definition of education encompasses everything that might have an impact on human development, his focus is on society working to positively affect those factors. In Mill's view, parents are largely responsible for structuring the education of their children. Mill asserted an obligation of societies to educate their children, but was not specific as to particular ways this might be achieved.

John P. Renaud

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MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE (1533–1592)

Referred to as the French Socrates, Renaissance humanist thinker Michel de Montaigne ranks among the more influential philosophers in the Western world. His writings, called *essays*, are central contributions to philosophy and education.

Born February 28, 1533, he was given a classical education and then studied law. He became a city counselor in Bordeaux, a post he held until he took over the running of his family's estate in 1571. In 1572, he began his essays, a series of discussions on many topics that were published in 1580, 1588, and 1595. He broke with Western philosophical tradition in that he wrote in French rather than in Latin.

Although his writings have been considered discursive and sometimes rambling, the central message that the reader should take from Montaigne is one of skepticism and questioning. In his essay on education, titled "Of the Education of Children: That It Is Folly to Measure Truth and Error by Our Own Capacity," Montaigne stresses the importance of the teacher and at the same time insists that the teacher, however competent, must be sure to move at the same pace as the student.

Montaigne does not prescribe what is to be taught, as other philosophers of education have done, but rather is concerned with the pace and methodology. He reiterates the importance of skepticism, but with useful limits. In other works, he also argued that religious beliefs must be accepted on faith alone, which contrasted sharply with the efforts of other intellectuals of his time to ground religious teachings in logic and reason. Montaigne is often studied in contrast with René Descartes, although Montaigne's writings did indeed influence this other great philosopher.

John P. Renaud

MONTESSORI, MARIA (1870–1952)

Maria Montessori was a physician, an educational reformer, and an advocate for children and peace. She

is best known for designing the educational system known as the Montessori Method, which flourishes today in more than 8,000 schools on five continents.

The first Montessori School, known as the Casa dei Bambini, was opened in 1907 as part of an urban renewal project located in the poor district of San Lorenzo in Rome. The well-publicized success of her experiments in the Casa marked a decisive turning point in her life. In 1907, she left the practice of medicine and devoted the remainder of her life to education. From this point, until her death in 1952, Montessori traveled the world establishing Montessori schools; training centers for teachers; and the professional society charged with perpetuating the integrity of the method, The Association Montessori Internationale.

Having spent the better part of her life as a war refugee, Montessori was inspired by the belief that education based on the developmental needs of children could create a new generation of adults who, through proper formation, would be able to forge a new vision for peace. She called this "the science of peace," and it infused all aspects of her method of education.

Jacqueline Cossentino

Further Readings

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NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY (1801–1890)

John Henry Newman was a priest, a theologian, and an educator. First an Anglican priest and eventually a Roman Catholic cardinal, Newman wrote on the relationship between faith and reason, and his *The Idea of a University* continues to be an important work on higher education.

Newman was born in London on February 21, 1801, to John Newman and Jemima Fourdrinier Newman and baptized into the Anglican Church on April 9 of the same year. In 1808, he was sent to the private school at Ealing to begin his education. In 1817, he entered Trinity College, Oxford, and was eventually elected a

fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1822. Ordained a priest in the Anglican Church, Newman was eventually called in 1828 to serve as the vicar of St. Mary's Church, the university church for Oxford.

Newman was initially characterized as a young man of equally deep commitment to the learned life and the religious life. However, the early to mid-1800s were times of great theological transition. As a result, some of Newman's earliest writings reflect how his historically orthodox understanding of Anglicanism called him to question the currents of liberalism he believed were beginning to infiltrate the Church.

Newman's concern with liberalism led to his involvement in what became known as the Oxford or Tractarian Movement. This movement, and the individuals who helped to guide it, believed the Church was called to pass from one generation to the next the essential components of doctrine that allowed the Church to be of service to the world. They believed that doctrine was not simply an exercise of intellect but one that also led to religious devotion. Initially, these concerns propelled Newman to argue that the Anglican Church was the rightful bearer of Church doctrine. However, his views began to change and he eventually became convinced that the rightful bearer of Church doctrine was actually the Catholic Church.

In 1845, he was received into the Catholic Church and eventually ordained a priest in 1847. Newman's reputation as an educator led to his appointment in 1851 as the founding rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, a post in which Newman found both success and failure. In addition to his efforts in education, he helped to establish an oratory in Birmingham, England, and was named a cardinal in 1879. He died in 1890 and was declared venerable in 1991. Movements are also underway to recognize Newman as a saint.

Newman continued to write prolifically over the course of his career. Regardless of the particular concern of any given writing, the questions that inspired the Oxford or Tractarian Movement were never far from his mind.

These questions even found their way into Newman's writings about education. Defenders of the tradition of Western civilization often include Newman's efforts among their canon of great books. However, a closer reading of *Fifteen Sermons*, *The Idea of a University*, and *My Campaign in Ireland*

demonstrates that the relationship shared by doctrine and religious devotion defines Newman's thinking. Published two years prior to his conversion to Catholicism, Newman's *Fifteen Sermons* details his beliefs concerning the rightful relationship shared by faith and reason. Although *The Idea of a University* was not published under a single cover until 1873, the lectures that led to this volume include an argument for the need for Christian higher education in Ireland. *My Campaign in Ireland* is essentially a record of the successes and the failures Newman encountered as he sought to establish a place in Ireland for an institution of Christian higher education.

Todd C. Ream

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NIETO, SONIA (1943–)

Sonia Nieto's research has focused on the education of culturally and linguistically diverse students, multicultural education, bilingual education, teacher education, educational equity, and curriculum reform.

A graduate of the New York City public schools, she began her career as a fourth-grade teacher in the Northeast's first completely bilingual school. In addition to numerous articles, her books include *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education* (1992), *The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities* (1999), and *What Keeps Teachers Going?* (2003). She also edited the books, *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools* (2000) and *Why We Teach* (2005).

Nieto has worked tirelessly toward educational equity for all students by serving on national and international boards and commissions, including the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, Facing History and Ourselves, and Educators for Social Responsibility. Nieto's work has been particularly important in the areas of teacher training and multicultural education.

Through her twenty-six years as a professor in language, literacy, and multicultural education at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, she has advocated for children and families. She has firmly espoused the ideas that all children can learn, that the role of families is paramount in children's learning, that all people have culture, that a student's language and culture should be honored, that multicultural education benefits all children and all people, and that education can be a force for positive social change.

Beth Powers-Costello

Web Sites

Sonia Nieto's Home Page:
<http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/~snieto>

NODDINGS, NEL (1929–)

Nel Noddings is among the leading philosophers of education in the United States. At a practical level, and in books such as *The Challenge to Care in Schools*, she argues that schools need to become more caring places.

Noddings began her career as a sixth-grade teacher and then took a position in secondary mathematics. After completing a master's degree in mathematics

at Rutgers University, she earned a doctorate of education from Stanford University.

Noddings has made many contributions to mathematics education and the philosophy of education. She is best known for her work on the ethics of care. Rejecting more traditional philosophical models, Noddings posited an alternative approach to ethics based on a feminist model of care—that is, the care a mother might have for a child. Her approach, which has been described as *relational ethics* because of its emphasis on relationships, maintains that caring involves three principles: receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness. Through a process of what she describes as “engrossment,” the teacher receives what the cared-for (i.e., the student) is feeling and wants to express. Drawing on the work of John Dewey, Noddings argues that the teacher and students should be involved in a process of interaction in which each affects the other through a process of moral interdependence. According to her, students are more likely to trust teachers whom they perceive not as trying to interfere or impose their beliefs on them, but as concerned with nurturing and guiding them. Through dialogue with their students, teachers develop an understanding of them as individuals and how best to work with them to help them achieve their educational needs. During this process of caring and guiding, teachers work at becoming more skilled and competent in what they do.

For Noddings, caring relationships provide the most appropriate basis for moral education. Students learn to care for others and their needs as they are cared for. Her general approach clearly resonates with many of Dewey's progressive models and provides a challenging alternative to the current standards movement and the extreme regulation and control of the curriculum. Ultimately, in her system, teachers achieve agency and the ability to grow and develop as they nurture, guide, and help sustain the students under their charge.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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OGBU, JOHN UZO (1939–2003)

John Uzo Ogbu was an anthropology professor known for his theories on race and intelligence and their relationship to academic and economic achievement. Born in the village of Umudomi in the Onicha Government Area of Nigeria, he taught at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1970 until his death in 2003.

Ogbu's pivotal work was regarding "voluntary and involuntary minority" groups. Ogbu observed that minority groups who are academically successful in spite of discrimination are characterized as "voluntary minorities" (immigrants who chose to come to the United States) versus "involuntary" or "caste-like" minorities (born in the United States). He believed that "involuntary minorities" often adopt an "oppositional identity" to the mainstream culture, which inhibits their ability to navigate through dominant economic and academic systems. He also examined the historical treatment of these minorities in society at large in both social and economic domains as well as in education.

In 1996, Ogbu played a role in the debate about the use of African American vernacular English. At the time, he was a member of a task force on African American education in Oakland. He observed that the "standard" or "proper" English required in the classroom differed from Black vernacular English spoken at home and outside school and encouraged the teaching of Ebonics as a way to help African American students transition to traditional English.

Some of his works include "Black-American Students and the Academic Racial Stratification in the United States: Why Inequality Persists" (2002), and "Understanding the School Performance of Urban Blacks: Some Essential Background Knowledge" (1997).

Lisa J. Scott

See also Black English Vernacular

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ORTEGA Y GASSET, JOSÉ (1883–1955)

José Ortega y Gasset was a Spanish professor, philosopher, publisher, editor, essayist, and political leader. A passionate, uncompromising, and complex thinker, he was the most significant person to come from Spain in the first half of the twentieth century. Ortega y Gasset was a prolific writer; his work took the form not only of books, but also of essays, journal articles, and even articles for the newspapers.

Ortega y Gasset was educated in Spain, obtaining his Ph.D. from the University of Madrid in 1904. He went on to postdoctoral studies in Germany, returning in 1910 to a professorship in Madrid, where he served until he left Spain at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. From that point on, his life moved between posts in South America, North America, and Europe until his death in 1955.

Ortega y Gasset's incisive critique of higher education matured throughout his lifetime and remains relevant to contemporary discourse on the nature and proper function of colleges and universities. Over the course of his life, he moved from an early Neo-Kantian idealism to a vitalistic middle period that placed much greater emphasis on the emerging life of the average individual in a culture. His mature educational conceptions were his most pungent: A university existed to *teach the essentials* (abstract "research" and advanced science did not qualify) and to *teach those essentials to the average person* so that the main body of a society might learn the contours of its own culture in its own historical setting. Only then would these students be able to critique that culture and forge creative new possibilities within their own circumstances.

The mission of higher education, then, ought to be to provoke a creative crisis or turmoil in individuals so

that they might find their own way in their own generation. And much of what was to be found in the modern university by 1930 was, in Ortega y Gasset's estimation, an enormous roadblock to this larger end.

Ortega y Gasset's prolific writings include *Mission of the University* (1944), *History as a System: Essays Toward a Philosophy of History* (1941), and *The Dehumanization of Art; and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature* (1956).

David W. Robinson

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OWEN, ROBERT (1771–1858)

Robert Owen, a wealthy cotton manufacturer turned Utopian visionary, had an important influence on schooling in early nineteenth-century Britain. Convinced that character was determined by the social environment, he instituted disciplinary practices designed to regulate habits and improve industrial efficiency. His success in shaping behavior convinced him that education could be used to engineer a more moral world.

At New Lanark, a Scottish village dominated by the local cotton mill, Owen attempted to regulate almost every aspect of his workers' lives. Central to his scheme was the village infant school, where he sought to shape character during the impressionable early years of childhood. In an atmosphere of reason and kindness, boys and girls learned an ethic of cooperation and the basic lessons of science. Owen's pedagogy, if not his religious and political views, caught the attention of leading reformers. During the 1820s and 1830s, infant education swept Britain, promising a cure for the social ills of urban-industrial life by instructing working-class children in the rudiments of reason and morality.

By this time, Owen's thought had taken a radical turn. Disgusted by the economic and social effects of

capitalism, he promoted the construction of self-supporting socialist villages. Again, education was the key. Eschewing self-interest, members of the community would be taught to embrace reason, cooperation, and the well-being of all. However, as witnessed in the ill-fated society at New Harmony, Indiana, Owen's dream inevitably fell foul of human nature.

Stephen Tomlinson

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PEABODY, ELIZABETH PALMER (1804–1894)

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody was an American transcendentalist, lecturer in the Concord School of Philosophy, and the leader of the campaign to establish kindergartens in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. Committed to reform and highly erudite, Peabody wrote essays on social and educational reform, translated classic and European philosophic texts, served as the editor of the transcendentalist journal *The Dial*, founded and edited *The Kindergarten Messenger*, and was the president of the American Froebel Union.

Peabody was born in Billerica, Massachusetts, and grew up in Salem, Massachusetts. She attended her mother's academy for girls and later studied with Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Ellery Channing. In 1825, Peabody founded the Beacon Hill School in Boston with her sister, Mary, who later became the wife of Horace Mann. Peabody's work at the school attracted the attention of Bronson Alcott, and in 1830, she agreed to join his experimental Temple School in Concord.

Alcott's classroom discussions of sex and the gospels caused a public controversy, but Peabody defended him in her *Record of a School* published in 1835. Their collaboration ended in 1837 when Peabody returned to Boston to open a transcendentalist bookstore; organize philosophic discussion groups;

and become active in abolitionist, suffragist, and common school causes.

In 1860, in Boston, Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Peabody Mann opened the first English-speaking kindergarten in the United States. In 1863, they published *Guide to the Kindergarten and Moral Culture of Infancy*, which was widely considered the most authoritative work in English on the theory and practice of the kindergarten during the 1860s and 1870s. In the late 1860s, Peabody visited German kindergartens and recruited Froebel's students to train kindergarten teachers in Boston, New York City, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. Peabody organized a demonstration kindergarten class for the American Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, formed a national network for kindergarten teachers, and remained active in the cause well into her eighties.

Susan Douglas Franzosa

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PESTALOZZI, JOHANN HEINRICH (1746–1827)

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi was a Christian humanist concerned about the debilitating effects of the Industrial Revolution on the traditional family. He attempted to use the school as a tool for self-fulfillment but, politically astute, sought to balance freedom with the role of the citizen. His work was influenced by the Enlightenment and romanticism.

Politically and romantically, Pestalozzi championed the rights of the poor and their children, clearly a theme in his most noted work *Leonard and Gertrude*

(1781). In this work, he emphasized the importance of creating an environment of safety and emotional security. Pestalozzi put Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) into practice. He accepted Rousseau's principle of the innate goodness of children and his idea that education could serve as the foundation for social reform. Like Comenius and Rousseau, Pestalozzi grounded learning in the senses and was attentive to the culture and local environment of the children. This formed the basis for his object lessons, characterized by his attention to form, number, and name.

Pestalozzi's pedagogical approach attracted many, including common school reformers Henry Barnard and Horace Mann, who were intrigued by his moral yet compassionate nurturing school. Pestalozzi's early work in the United States was planted by William Maclure and Joseph Neef, later influencing Edward Sheldon at Oswego, New York. Pestalozzi's interest in occupations as educational is clearly evident in the work of progressive educators, including John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick.

Sam F. Stack, Jr.

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PIAGET, JEAN (1896–1980)

Jean Piaget was a Swiss-born biologist, psychologist, and philosopher who developed the theory of cognitive development for children. Piaget was the codirector of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva, Switzerland; director of the International Office of Education; and on staff at the Universities of Paris and Geneva.

Piaget's academic work led him to the conclusion that life consisted of *totalities* affecting the thinking processes. Turning to the discipline of psychology, Piaget studied under Carl Jung and worked with Alfred Binet's colleague Theodore Simon to understand intelligence testing. Professor Piaget worked with and studied both children and the teaching

process. His writings ultimately influenced a variety of academic disciplines, such as developmental psychology, education, primatology, philosophy, artificial intelligence, and cognitive and human intelligence.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development identified four stages: infancy, preschool, childhood, and adolescence. At each stage, a child's understanding is affected by the world in which the child resides. Knowledge is derived from both within and outside the child. The child tests the accumulated knowledge at each stage to reject, modify, or reconstruct the information by assimilation and accommodation processing before advancing to the next stage. The knowledge is organized into schemes for future use.

Piaget was a prolific writer. His major writings include *The Origins of Intelligence in Children* (1936), *Intelligence and Affectivity* (1954), *The Psychology of Intelligence* (1963), *Genetic Epistemology* (1970), and *Memory and Intelligence* (1973).

William A. Paquette

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PIERCE, JOHN DAVIS (1792–1882)

The first Superintendent of Public Instruction in the state of Michigan, the Reverend John Davis Pierce was among the vanguard of educationalists in nineteenth-century America. Pierce combined his unique educational vision with Victor Cousin's writings on the Prussian system of public education to create a comprehensive system of schooling. Michigan's system of education and the policies developed by Pierce became the model for many states in the Midwest and West.

What is most remarkable about Pierce's accomplishments is that, unlike his contemporaries in the field of education, who established their systems of public instruction in the more established states of the East Coast, Pierce carved a public school system, a state university, an agricultural college, and a state teacher's college out of the wilderness of the Michigan Territory.

Convinced that the organization of schools should unite all levels of schooling in a system provided at public expense and under state control, Pierce was able to convince the authors of Michigan's constitution to create a special department of public education controlled by the state and governed by a state officer—the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Appointed to this new post, Pierce became the first in the United States to hold such an office under a state constitution (1836) and oversee a constitutionally distinct department of education.

In addition, rather than having the sixteenth-section lands created by the Northwest Ordinance to fund schools allocated to the townships, Michigan's ordinance of admissions was worded so that these school lands were conveyed to the state. Consequently, a state school system rather than a local system of schooling was developed. To ensure that these would be "public" schools, Pierce saw to it that Michigan's constitution became the first to include a specific prohibition against appropriating funds for the use of sectarian or religious institutions.

Pierce was also determined to create a system of public instruction capped by a single state university. Rather than creating a pool of money from the lands granted to the territory by the U.S. Congress that would be available to any and all who would seek to establish a college, Pierce structured higher education funding into a specific trust to be used only by a single college—the University of Michigan. In addition, Pierce would see to it that the University of Michigan was the only institution able to grant degrees in the state until 1850. He believed that this would make Michigan's state university a stronger institution, avoiding the competition from various interests that would otherwise dilute the state's resources. Like the primary schools, the university was to be open to all citizens. As a result, the University of Michigan

became the first Western state university founded and constitutionally maintained on nonsectarian principles.

To create an intermediate level of schooling and provide access to all citizens, Pierce formed university branches with the dual purpose of preparing teachers for the common schools and more advanced students for admission to the university. These intermediate academies became the first public institutions in the United States engaged in the training of teachers. Established in 1837, these schools were opened prior to the first public normal school in the United States, which opened in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839. These schools would be the forerunners of public high schools that would emerge in Michigan and across the country in the 1860s and 1870s.

Recognizing the need for a method of communicating with his far-flung school system, Pierce established the *Monthly Journal of Education* in 1838. This publication was the first educational journal west of the Appalachians and the first in the United States to circulate to a whole school system. It preceded by almost a year the publication of the *Common School Journal* by Horace Mann in Massachusetts.

Leaving his post in 1841, Pierce continued to influence the development of public education until his death in 1882. He led the way in founding the first normal school west of the Alleghenies in 1849 (today Eastern Michigan University) and the first state-supported agricultural school in 1855 (today Michigan State University). He also played an influential role in the founding and development of the Michigan Schoolmasters Club, a predecessor of today's North Central Association.

Ronald D. Flowers

PINAR, WILLIAM F. (1948–)

William F. Pinar has been the key scholar to transform much of the scholarship in curriculum studies from issues of design and development to a field focused on understanding through the use of phenomenology and existentialism. Since the publication of his seminal work, *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* in 1975, Pinar has ushered in a powerful movement in

curriculum studies that has resulted in a significant shift in the philosophical composition of curriculum scholars, numerous publications devoted to reconceptualized curriculum theorizing, and multiple curriculum associations.

Two primary ideological forces have characterized much of Pinar's work: curriculum as *currere* and the significance of autobiographical inquiry. Pinar worked with Madeline Grumet to articulate the concept of curriculum as *currere*—the course to be run. *Currere* involves an existential experience allowing individuals to see themselves more clearly and thus to be able to run the course more fully aware. Pinar identified four steps within *currere*: regressive, progressive, analytical, and synthetical. These steps involve autobiographical inquiry in order to understand the educational experience. In doing this, teachers and their students can imagine possible futures.

Pinar has a long history of publications, including 22 authored or edited books such as *The Synoptic Text Today and Other Essays: Curriculum Development After the Reconceptualization* (2006), *What Is Curriculum Theory?* (2004), and *Autobiography, Politics, and Sexuality: Essays in Curriculum Theory* (1994). In addition to his numerous publications, Pinar's work is evident through the publications and critical work of the many students he has mentored.

Donna Adair Breault

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PLATO (c. 427–347 BCE)

Plato was a thinker in ancient Greece who often wrote in a dialogue format that featured his own teacher, the philosopher Socrates. Plato's legacy, which includes ideas about education and knowledge, has influenced Western thought from his lifetime to the present.

Plato was born into a patrician, Athenian family, and he likely had a future in politics, but instead he became enthralled with philosophy as a student of Socrates. After Socrates' execution in 399 BCE, Plato traveled around the Mediterranean. Upon returning to Athens, he opened the Academy as a center of learning. Except for two trips to Sicily, he remained in Athens teaching until his death.

Plato's writing primarily used the dialogue format. Several of the most significant dialogues from each era follow. The early works (*Crito*, *Ion*, *Meno*, and *Gorgias*) are considered the best repository of the philosophy of Socrates. These works demonstrated a distinct interest in ethics. The middle works (*Phaedo*, *Republic*, and *Phaedrus*) begin to display Plato's own philosophical thinking. The focus of this period moved to issues of truth and justice. The final period of works (*Sophist*, *Philebus*, and *Timaeus*) sees Plato taking a look back at issues that he had previously confronted in a more logical manner.

For scholars of education, the *Republic* is likely the most familiar dialogue as it speaks directly to how a population should educate its citizens. A key tenet of Plato's thinking on education was that training on character needed to come before training of the intellect. In modern times, Plato's views have been regarded as elitist and undemocratic because he thought certain types of education should be restricted to people with the best capacities for knowledge.

Aaron Cooley

See also Philosophy of Education

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POSTMAN, NEIL (1931–2003)

Neil Postman was a teacher, a scholar, a journal editor, a general semanticist, a social and cultural critic, a time-binder, a media ecologist, and a public intellectual. Time-binding, which Postman both studied and practiced, refers to humanity's ability to connect to the

past, present, and future via language, something Postman accomplished with 18 books and more than 200 articles. His accessible style helped him reach multiple audiences, and in addition to scholarly work, he published in periodicals such as *The New York Times Magazine*, *Harper's*, *Time*, *The Washington Post*, and *Le Monde*.

Although Postman developed and taught in New York University's Media Ecology Program, focusing his attention on America's evolving media landscape, he also devoted significant time to the education of children. "Children," explained Postman in *The Disappearance of Childhood* (1982), "are the living messages we send to a time we will not see." Over time, Postman grew increasingly concerned about the condition of that message, as he believed television, "the first curriculum," and other forms of media were affecting humanity's ability to think critically and independently. Postman feared that technology was replacing culture (*Technopoly*, 1993), but he never wrote as if it were a forgone conclusion, and he believed that schools could engender a critical consciousness while preserving America's cultural heritage (*The End of Education*, 1995).

His significant works include *Television and the Teaching of English* (1961); *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), coauthored with Charles Weingartner; *Teaching as a Conserving Activity* (1979); *Conscientious Objections* (1988); and *Building a Bridge to the 18th Century* (1999).

Philip Edward Kovacs

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PRATT, CAROLINE (1867–1954)

Caroline Pratt built an educational philosophy on observations of children and is remembered as a visionary in the education of young children and the inventor of unit blocks.

Born and raised in Fayetteville, New York, Pratt began her career in education at seventeen, teaching in a one-room rural school. Her formal education consisted of two years at Teachers College in New York City. She rejected the then-popular method of kindergarten education advocated by Friedrich Froebel as inappropriate for young children and instead graduated with a certificate in manual training. While teaching at a normal school in Philadelphia, Pratt met Helen Marot, a liberal librarian who became her life-long companion.

Pratt and Marot moved to Greenwich Village, New York, in 1901, where Pratt taught manual training. In 1914, Pratt began the Play School with six 5-year-olds from working-class families. Although she resisted being labeled with any specific educational ideology, her school was considered to be the quintessential example of progressive education. The curriculum was centered on children recreating their experiences through play, primarily with unit blocks. These blocks remain a staple in many early childhood classrooms.

Pratt was an early advocate of field trips, which provided direct experience in learning. The school was a democratic environment in which students held grade-specific jobs. Teachers facilitated a child-centered environment. As grade levels were added, the school grew to pre-kindergarten through eighth grade.

In 1939, she was recognized for her work in bringing her educational practices to public schools in the New York area. She retired as principal emerita in 1945. Many private progressive schools came and went during the early part of the twentieth century, but her school, renamed the City and Country School, still thrives in Greenwich Village.

Mary E. Hauser

See also Progressive Education

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Semel, S., & Sadovnik, A. (Eds.). (1999). *"Schools of tomorrow," schools of today: What happened to progressive education?* New York: Peter Lang.

RAVITCH, DIANE (1938–)

Diane Ravitch is a historian of education and educational reformer who has written extensively on all aspects of American culture that relate to education.

She was born the third of eight children in Houston, Texas, where she attended public elementary and secondary school. She completed her BA degree at Wellesley College in 1960. After having children and spending time at home as a mother, she completed her Ph.D. degree in history at Columbia University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1975. Her mentor was educational historian Lawrence Cremin, who later became president of Columbia's Teachers College.

In 1974, while completing the requirements for her degree, Ravitch published her first book, *The Great School Wars: A History of the New York City Public Schools*. The book was accepted in 1975 as her dissertation, the first published work to be accepted as a doctoral dissertation at Teachers College.

Ravitch served as adjunct professor of history and education at Teachers College from 1975 to 1991. She published her second major book, *The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools*, in 1978. In this work, she criticized 1960s-era historians for their depiction of schools as oppressive institutions that merely reproduced class distinctions. In contrast to this negative interpretation, Ravitch described how schools can and have served as liberating institutions that provide opportunities for students to rise out of their impoverished situations. The book inspired much heated conversation, which helped to raise Ravitch's name to a nationwide audience.

In 1983, Ravitch published a third book on the history of education, but this time she expanded her topic to cover the entire United States. The result was *The Troubled Crusade: American Education*,

1945–1980. During the mid-1980s, Ravitch began to direct her research more toward policy makers and less toward an audience of strictly scholars and historians. Major changes were taking place in American education and politics during this time.

The highly influential *A Nation at Risk* report was released in 1983, and Ravitch became deeply involved in many of the reform movements that grew out of it. The policy-minded turn in her work is evident in her next book, *The Schools We Deserve: Reflections on the Educational Crisis of Our Time*, which appeared in 1985. As the subtitle of the book indicates, Ravitch's ideal was no longer the publication of straightforward history; rather, her goal was to influence education in practical ways by producing scholarship that spoke directly to policy makers and others who have an impact everyday on the teaching of children and youth in America's schools.

In 1988, Ravitch was the lead writer of the California Framework for History–Social Science Education. As part of this work, she became an outspoken advocate for the revival of history in the school curriculum and was a founder of the National Council for History Education. This work coincided with the publication of *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?*, which she coauthored with Chester Finn, Jr.

Ravitch's work on educational policy continued to gain national attention, which culminated in her appointment as Assistant Secretary of Education by President George H. W. Bush in 1991. At this point, Ravitch left Teachers College to serve as Assistant Secretary from 1991 to 1993. During this time, she helped to create the Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement. As Assistant Secretary, she also spearheaded the federal government's effort to promote the creation of state and national academic standards.

After the completion of two years as Assistant Secretary, Ravitch accepted an invitation to become a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., where she wrote *National Standards in American Education: A Citizen's Guide*. In 1994, she returned to New York City, where she joined the faculty at New York University as a Research Professor of Education, a position she continues to hold

today. Ravitch remains affiliated with the Brookings Institution as holder of the Brown Chair on Education Studies and a nonresident Visiting Fellow.

During the late 1990s, Ravitch returned her attention to writing on the history of education. In 2000, she published *Left Back: A Century of Battles Over School Reform*, which continues to be discussed widely in both history and education policy circles. She also recently published *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn*, which describes the distorted world of textbook creation and provides suggestions on how it may be improved. In addition to these and other single-authored works, Ravitch has edited fourteen books.

Ravitch has received numerous awards, including membership in societies such as the National Academy of Education (1979), the Society of American Historians (1984), and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1985). In 2005, she received the John Dewey Award for Excellence in Education from the United Federation of Teachers. She also has received honorary degrees from eight institutions, including Williams College, Amherst College, and the State University of New York.

J. Wesley Null

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RICE, JOSEPH MAYER (1857–1934)

Joseph Mayer Rice, born in Philadelphia, was a pediatrician and school reformer of the 1890s who wrote a series of articles on teaching methods used in urban school systems. Educational historians describe him as a pioneer of educational measurement and the progressive movement in education. Others have argued that he is the first modern education reporter.

Rice's interest in physical fitness programs in New York City public schools led to an interest in the schools as educational institutions. In 1888, he embarked on a career-altering journey to study psychology and pedagogy in Germany, a place known at the time as the center for such study. After his return to the United States, Rice examined the state of American education in a series of articles in the *Forum* in 1892 and 1893, criticizing U.S. education as unscientific and comparing it to instruction in the Middle Ages.

During a six-month trip from Boston to Minneapolis, Rice visited schools in thirty-six cities to document instructional methods, note general conditions of the schools, and investigate how schools were managed. Rice's criteria for evaluating a school included the appearance of the room, attitude of the teachers toward children, manner of recitation, the busy-work given, the teacher's pedagogical knowledge, attendance at school meetings, and efforts at intellectual self-improvement. Despite citing these complex variables, Rice made judgments about schools based mostly on how they used "new education" methods in place of antiquated mechanical methods, which amounted to the memorization of facts. "New education" focused on the learner, and whether interest, meaning, and understanding were being developed.

Rice's report was highly critical, citing only four school systems, located in the Midwest, as approaching the educational ideal based on the German schools he had visited. This investigation, although rudimentary by today's standards of educational measurement, is often considered a seminal part of the progressive or reform movement of the early 1900s because it brought the idea of reform to public consciousness, eventually leading to organization and action for this

cause. Additionally, the prevailing educational theories and classroom methods of the 1800s that came under Rice's scrutiny did little to enlighten an educational system dealing with increasing numbers of students enrolling in public schools, including many immigrants in urban settings.

Rice's findings were published in what is often cited as the first widely read series of articles on American education. Although European educational pioneers such as Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel had written about progressive education decades earlier, Rice's work was essential to American society during a time of change in the schools' role that emphasized the importance of education for a successful future. Educational historian Lawrence Cremin, in *The Transformation of the School* (1961), cites Rice as one of the fathers of progressive education.

Rice is also recognized as an originator of comparative methodology in educational research. His spelling investigation of thousands of children that began in 1895 is often considered the first full-scale comparative "experiment" ever done in schools and published. This research, described in Rice's "The Futility of the Spelling Grind" (1897), is less memorable for its results than for its lasting impact in the world of educational measurement. The most commonly established conclusion from Rice's data seems to be a lack of relationship between minutes per day devoted to drill in spelling and achievement in spelling.

Although Rice's work has raised concerns with reliability, validity, and variability, his efforts to conduct widespread testing were pioneering in an era before modern statistical methodologies were available. Rice's intuitive comments on the challenges of experimentation using school groups rather than random assignment and other insights on educational measurement came at a time when such an exercise was considered unnecessary or irrelevant. Even though Rice's study laid the groundwork for research by Thorndike and Terman, it is clear from Rice's later writings that he believed his mark on educational reform and measurement did not receive the recognition he felt it deserved in academic circles.

Lina Lopez Chiappone

See also Educational Research, History of;
Intelligence Testing

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RICHMAN, JULIA **(1855–1912)**

Julia Richman was a nationally recognized nineteenth-century educator and reformer in the New York City school system, the first female and first Jew to be appointed a district superintendent in the city's schools. Richman's reform efforts focused on the Americanization of immigrant children, as she believed strongly in the school's ability to socialize immigrants for a successful life in the United States. Working with the schools of New York City's Lower East Side immigrant communities, she enacted such progressive practices as English-language immersion classes and continuous, rather than yearly or social, promotion.

Eschewing the expectations of her traditional Jewish middle-class upbringing, Richman chose to pursue a lifelong career in education. She graduated from normal school at age 17, entering the New York City public schools as a grammar school teacher; Richman was later appointed to the position of grammar school principal, which preceded her appointment to district superintendent.

Throughout her career, Richman advocated the socializing capacity of the public school and worked to refashion immigrant children into American citizens. To that end, Richman's reforms were both educational and social, from teaching particular aspects of hygiene and American culture to immigrant children to training immigrant students in specific vocational skills.

Melanie Shoffner

See also Americanization Movement; Immigrant Education: History

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ROGERS, CARL R. **(1902–1987)**

Carl R. Rogers was an American psychologist, psychotherapist, and the acknowledged father of humanist psychology, which he named both client-centered and later person-centered psychotherapy. Rogers developed his theories of psychotherapy as a professor at a series of universities that included Ohio State, the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin before joining the staff at the Western Behavioral Studies Institute and later founding his Center for Studies of the Person in La Jolla, California.

Professor Rogers's ideas centered on the client or person and developed from his travels and experiences in China, the seminary, and the study of children at Columbia Teachers College. In *On Becoming a Person* (1961), Rogers detailed how he abandoned preconceived categories to interpret human behaviors in favor of listening to the client by establishing an accepting, empathetic relationship to gain insight that would enable the person to reshape his or her life and reduce the deployment of defense mechanisms, particularly distortion and denial. Rogers was frequently criticized for his failure to analyze and diagnose. Rogers's ideas were built on the earlier theories of Abraham Maslow in encouraging individuals to seek a positive direction, achieve self-actualization, gain maturity, and become more socialized.

Rogers was the founder of the American Association for Applied Psychology and the American Academy of Psychotherapists, and also the president of the American Psychological Association. His writings include *Client-Centered Therapy* (1951), *Person to Person: The Problem of Being Human* (1967), *Freedom to Learn* (1969), and *Carl Rogers on Personal Power* (1977).

William A. Paquette

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ROGERS, WILLIAM BARTON (1804–1882)

William Barton Rogers is best known as the conceptual founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). A common thread that runs through his writings is the social dislocation of laboring classes affected by industrialization. His educational reform efforts were directed at addressing this dislocation by way of formal instruction in the practical and theoretical branches of science.

Born in Philadelphia to a family of scientists (his father and three brothers all were professors of science), his early studies were largely scientific at home under his father's instruction. At age fifteen, he enrolled at the College of William and Mary; later taught at his alma mater; and, in 1835, became professor of natural philosophy at the University of Virginia until 1853. While in the South, he directed the first geological survey of Virginia, published widely on geological and natural philosophical topics, and drafted two major proposals for schools of science or "polytechnic institutes."

Rogers's ideas about developments in antebellum education and society informed the founding of MIT in 1861. The specific plan he advocated for MIT included three major components: a society of arts, a museum of technology, and a school of science. Of the three branches, the school of science attracted the most attention and became the primary focus of the public's response to the idea of the Institute. Rogers became the Institute's first president as well as professor of physics and geology. He died in the midst of delivering a commencement speech at the Institute in 1882.

A. J. Angulo

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ROSENBLATT, LOUISE (1904–2004)

Louise Rosenblatt holds a unique position in the fields of education and literary studies. This legendary authority engaged in teaching teachers of literature and in researching the teaching of literature. In 1992, her peers elected her to membership in the Reading Hall of Fame.

Her 1938 publication *Literature as Exploration* is still in print and is one of the most widely cited works of its type. In this and dozens of other publications such as *The Reader, the Text, the Poem: The Transactional Theory of the Literary Work* (1978), she outlines a theory of reading as a transactional process. According to her, the reader brings to the text his or her past experience and present personality. This revolutionary idea—based in an anthropological and social perspective—challenged the authority of the author and emphasized the importance of the reader and his or her experience in the interpretation of a text.

Rosenblatt began her career teaching courses in introductory literature and composition. It was out of this context that she developed her particular approach to reading that proposed that efferent and aesthetic purposes for reading influence the meaning and comprehension of a text. She wanted to be remembered for "teaching for democracy."

Rosenblatt attended Barnard College, the women's college at Columbia University in New York City. Her roommate in college was Margaret Mead, the world-renowned anthropologist. She completed her doctoral studies in comparative literature at the Sorbonne (University of Paris) in 1931. She taught at Barnard College (from 1927 to 1938), Brooklyn College (from 1938 to 1948), and New York University's School of Education (from 1948 to 1972). Upon retirement, she taught doctoral candidates at Rutgers University, Michigan State

University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Miami.

Philomena Marinaccio-Eckel

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ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778)

Best known as a philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wanted to be a composer and moved from his home in Geneva to Paris, where he spent most of his life, to pursue this career. He had some success, but he became more interested in political debates through his association with Diderot.

Rousseau began writing, and his first major work was *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. His most widely known work is the *Social Contract*, published in 1762. In it, Rousseau contends that sovereignty should be extended over the citizenry and that the general will is communicated through legislative objectives. This general will supports liberty, equality, and fraternity among the populace. One can see how these ideas would be exploited during the excesses of the French Revolution.

Throughout his work, Rousseau maintained that people were good-natured, though often led astray and corrupted by society. He acknowledged that corruption came from within people, but it was sustained and enlarged by societal pressures such as competition. However, Rousseau was not pessimistic on the prospect for improvement in humankind. Quite the contrary, he thought that individual people had the potential to contribute to a new and different basis for society that would engender a better future for all people. For Rousseau, a main avenue for this revolution in thought and action would come from education, which he detailed in his *Émile*, also published in 1762.

Aaron Cooley

See also Philosophy of Education

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RUGG, HAROLD (1886–1960)

Harold Rugg was a professor at the University of Chicago and Columbia University, and his work as a curriculum writer was linked with several educational ideologies from the twentieth century. These included not only scientific curriculum-making and child-centered education, but especially social reconstructionism. His greatest contribution was the articulation of a fused social studies curriculum conceived out of several individual disciplines.

Into this kind of reconstructionist, interdisciplinary approach to curriculum, begun in the 1920s and extending into the 1940s, Rugg injected a new vision of America. His six-volume textbook series, *Man in a Changing Society* (1929–1937) for junior high school students, represented the apex of his achievements as a curriculum reformer. Cutting across these textbooks and his other curriculum writings was the thinking of a social progressive. Eschewing the dry memorization of isolated and meaningless facts in school knowledge, Rugg sought a means to challenge students to think about drawing interconnections between the great economic, social, and political ideas of the age. With a reformist zeal, Rugg drew together a series of generalizations from history and the social sciences that he felt represented the “glue” for higher-thinking process.

Unlike most other curriculum writers in the social studies, Rugg placed special emphasis on the importance of understanding the dynamics of propaganda and the manipulation of public opinion under both democracy and dictatorship. The tone of social protest that laced much of his curriculum material encouraged a growing conservative opposition to his work during the late 1930s.

Although receding into the background with the advent of World War II, Rugg's curriculum ideals re-emerged once again during the tumultuous 1960s.

Gregory Paul Wegner

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SALMON, LUCY MAYNARD (1853–1927)

Lucy Maynard Salmon was a highly accomplished academic leader during the Progressive Era, at a time when opportunities for women were extremely limited. During her forty-year Vassar College career, she earned a reputation as a nationally prominent historian, suffrage advocate, author, and teacher.

Having earned bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Michigan in 1876 and 1883, respectively, Salmon took advanced graduate studies from Bryn Mawr professor, and future U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson. Before she began an academic career, Salmon worked in K–12 education. She taught high school in McGregor, Iowa; later, she became the principal of the high school. She also taught at the State Normal School in Terre Haute, Indiana. A pioneer educator, Salmon continued her career in education by teaching history at Vassar College from 1887–1927.

In her work, Salmon clearly dismissed the notion that memory by itself was a primary value of history learning. She insisted that historical studies should cover a broad range of topics and that critical thinking skills and independent research should be encouraged for both mature and young students. Salmon's beliefs about the nature of history and her pedagogical practices constitute an important aspect of her legacy.

A leader in many fields, Salmon helped found the American Association of University Women, the American Association of University Professors, and the Middle States Council for the Social Studies. Clearly a

prominent academic leader, Salmon was the only woman to serve on the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven and the first woman to be elected to its Executive Council. An advocate of the new social history, Salmon's teaching methods were novel at the time and continue to be relevant today.

Chara Haeussler Bohan

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- Brown, L. F. (1943). *Apostle of democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

SANCHEZ, GEORGE I. (1906–1972)

George I. Sanchez was a leader and mentor to leaders in the Mexican American community who came after him, but his contributions to equity issues for Mexican Americans remain little known to the general public. Sanchez's contributions were recognized by a retrospective at the University of California School of Law at Berkeley in 1984, which recognized him as the single most influential person in the area of law in the pursuit of equity for Hispanics.

Sanchez was born in New Mexico Territory and was educated in Albuquerque and Jerome, Arizona. He received his bachelor's degree in Spanish from the University of New Mexico, his master's in educational psychology from the University of Texas, and his doctorate in educational administration from the University of California, Berkeley. His master's thesis concerned the use of intelligence testing with Spanish-speaking students. His master's and doctorate were funded by grants from the General Education Board (GEB), a Rockefeller foundation.

After Sanchez completed his doctorate in 1934, he returned to New Mexico, where he served as Director of Information and Statistics for the New Mexico Education Agency, a position funded by the GEB. As the president of the New Mexico Teachers Association, he was a leader in an early fight for equity in school funding for rural and urban districts. During the latter part of the 1930s, he served as a research

associate for the Julius Rosenwald Fund, a fund that was noted for building more than 6,000 schools for African Americans in the South. His field research for the Rosenwald Fund led to his book *Mexico: A Revolution by Education*. From 1937–1938, he served as director of the Instituto Pedagógica Nacional, a normal school for secondary teachers in Venezuela.

In 1940, his book *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans*, which resulted from his work for the Carnegie Foundation, was published; he became president-elect of the League of Latin American Citizens; and he accepted a position at the University of Texas in Austin as a full professor with tenure. During the 1940s, he wrote Spanish textbooks, taught, wrote *The People: A Study of the Navajo*, served for a time as a part-time consultant for the U.S. Office of Civil Defense on Latin America, and began his interest in attaining equity through the courts.

After World War II, he became interested in a California equity case, *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946). This inspired him to walk several school districts with a young lawyer, James De Anda, within the Colorado Common School District near Austin, Texas, and note the discrepancies between schools built for “Latinos” and those built for “Anglos.” The information he gathered resulted in a lawsuit that ended in an agreed judgment. The judge ruled that the Texas State Board of Education must adopt a formal policy against the discrimination of Spanish-surname children on the basis of the surname. This policy was cited in future discrimination cases.

In the early 1950s, Sanchez worked with Carlos Cadena and Gustavo Garcia on developing the brief for the first case to go before the U.S. Supreme Court concerning discrimination against Hispanics, *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), which was decided unanimously in favor of the plaintiff two weeks before *Brown v. Board of Education*. These two cases gave legal precedents to attorneys fighting against discrimination.

Until he died in 1972, Sanchez was called as an expert witness in equity cases concerning Mexican Americans, especially schoolchildren. His master’s thesis, “A Study of Scores of Spanish-Speaking Children on Repeated Tests,” was the first study of its kind for many years and served as the landmark case in that area. As a result of this thesis, he often was called as an expert witness.

In 1995, the University of Texas at Austin named the College of Education the George I. Sanchez College of Education. Schools in Texas and California also have been named for him. During his lifetime, he served as a member of the editorial board of *The Nation’s Schools*; as a consultant to the U.S. Office of the Interior, the U.S. Office of Education on migrants, and the Navajo Tribal Council; as a member of John F. Kennedy’s Committee of Fifty on New Frontier Policy in the Americas; as a board member of the Migrant Children’s Fund; and as a member of the National Advisory Committee for the Peace Corps.

Martha May Tevis

See also Mexican Americans and Access to Equal Educational Opportunities

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SARASON, SEYMOUR B. (1919–)

Considered the founder of community psychology and a leader in the practice of clinical psychology, Seymour Sarason was born in Brooklyn, New York, and earned his BA from the University of Newark. He earned an MA and Ph.D. from Clark University, completing the latter degree in 1942. From 1942–1946,

he served as chief psychologist at the Southbury Training School in Connecticut. He then taught at Yale University from 1946 until his retirement in 1989.

In the area of education, he studied anxiety and children as well as the problems of the mentally challenged in schools. His interests included the preparation of teachers and the culture of schools. He was an advocate of the application of psychological principles to the problems of schooling. The best known of his more than thirty books are his 1971 work, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* and *Schooling in America: Scapegoat and Salvation*, which was published in 1983. In the first of these, he took up the complex relationships between students and teachers and teachers and administrators. In 1996, the American Educational Research Association held a symposium celebrating the 25th anniversary of the initial publication of *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*. That same year, a third edition of the book, under the title *Revisiting the Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, was published. During his long career, he has been honored by the American Psychological Association four times, including the Gold Medal Award for Life Contribution by a Psychologist in the Public Interest. Sarason also received two awards from the American Association on Mental Deficiency.

John P. Renaud

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SCHEFFLER, ISRAEL (1923–)

Israel Scheffler has been a key figure in philosophy of education in the United States and, indeed, along with R. S. Peters in Great Britain, is the preeminent philosopher of education in the English-speaking world in the second half of the twentieth century.

Scheffler has made four major contributions to philosophy of education. First is his introduction of methods of logical analysis—attention to language, clarity, objectivity of method, and careful and rigorous argumentation. Second is his utilization of these methods to pursue issues of value in an effort to develop our most defensible conceptions of education, teaching, and so on, so as to have the best possible understanding of education, and of educational aims and ideals, which in turn most adequately serve educational practice. Third is his development of specific accounts of key educational concepts: (1) *education*, namely, the conception of education aimed at the fostering of rationality; and (2) *teaching*, namely, as an activity restricted by manner such that the teacher must submit his or her teaching and the substance of what is taught to the independent judgment of the student, respect the student's sense of reason and reasonableness, and treat students with respect, and as a concept with a deeply moral component that cannot be understood or analyzed behavioristically. Fourth is his demonstration of the benefits to be gained by bringing philosophy of education into close contact with general philosophy, and the mistake of removing philosophy of education from contact with its parent discipline.

As with any broad philosophical position, there is room for critical reaction, and philosophers have criticized various aspects of Scheffler's views. In particular, some have questioned whether philosophy of education should be viewed as solely a matter of rigorous logical analysis; whether philosophy of education need be as intimately connected with general philosophy as Scheffler suggests; whether teaching is rightly analyzed in moral rather than behavioral or other terms; and whether the fostering of rationality really is as basic to education as Scheffler argues.

Whatever the case, Scheffler has set a standard for serious work in philosophy of education that, in its way, is his most important contribution of all.

Harvey Siegel

Note: This entry is adapted from a chapter in *Fifty Modern Thinkers on Education*, ed. J. Palmer (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 142–148, and is used with the permission of Cengage Learning Services Limited, on behalf of Taylor & Francis Books (UK).

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SCHÖN, DONALD ALAN (1930–1997)

Donald Alan Schön, skilled first as a philosopher, is most known for his work with the development of reflective practice and learning systems within communities. His innovative ideas of a learning society and reflection-in-action have become important, well-known terms in education. Schön's work is grounded in John Dewey's theory of inquiry. Starting with Dewey's concept of thinking in problematic situations, he moved beyond this by clarifying the process of practical inquiry. His life's work was devoted to encouraging individuals to be constantly effective in practice.

Schön was born in Boston and raised in Brookline and Worcester. He graduated from Brookline High School in 1947 and Phi Beta Kappa from Yale in 1951. He studied philosophy at Yale and at the Sorbonne. He received a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship and continued his education at Harvard, where he earned his master's and doctorate in philosophy. The focus of his doctoral dissertation was John Dewey's theory of inquiry.

Schön taught philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles, briefly before serving two years in the U.S. Army. He also lectured periodically during this time as an assistant professor of Philosophy at the University of Kansas City. In 1963, he joined the Department of Commerce in the Kennedy administration and directed a new Institute for Applied Technology in the Bureau of Standards. In 1966, he left government service and returned to Cambridge, where he cofounded and directed the Organization for Social and Technological Innovation (OSTI), a nonprofit social research and development firm.

Schön believed that change was a fundamental feature in life and that change was necessary in order to develop social systems that could learn and adapt. He argued for the need to learn, understand, guide, influence, and manage these transformations. Schön wanted people to become adept at learning, a theme he wrote about in *Beyond the Stable State*.

In 1972, Schön was appointed Ford Professor of Urban Planning and Education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), a position he maintained until his retirement in 1992.

He was committed to developing alternatives in which actual practices acquired from experience (rather than science) constituted the core of professional knowledge. It was this thinking, conceptualized in his 1983 book *The Reflective Practitioner*, that created a new model for higher education. In 1987, Schön published *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* in which he created a model for reflection-in-action and examined implications for improving professional education.

From 1990–1992, Schön served as the Chair of MIT's Department of Urban Studies and Planning. He died from leukemia at age 66. At the time of his death, he was Ford Professor Emeritus and senior lecturer in MIT's School of Architecture and Planning.

Jodi C. Marshall

Further Readings

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- Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. London: Temple Smith.
- Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

SCHUBERT, WILLIAM H. (1944–)

William H. Schubert is professor of Education, University Scholar, coordinator of the Ph.D. in

Curriculum Studies, and formerly the chair of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where he has worked since 1975.

Schubert grew up on a farm within a family of educators in Butler, Indiana; received his bachelor's degree from Manchester College (1966); received his master's degree from Indiana University (1967); taught in Downers Grove, Illinois; and received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1975).

Schubert's scholarship, teaching, and service focus on curriculum theory, history, and development, especially on the place of teachers, learners, and nonschool educators in progressive endeavors. He has authored more than 150 articles and book chapters; presented 200 papers at scholarly conferences; and (with colleagues) has written and edited 14 books, including *Curriculum Books: The First Eighty Years* (1980); *Conceptions of Curriculum Knowledge: Focus on Teachers and Students* (1982); *Toward Excellence in Curriculum Inquiry* (1985); *Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility* (1986/1997); *Reflections From the Heart of Curriculum Inquiry* (1991); *Teacher Lore: Learning From Our Own Experience* (1992); *The American Curriculum* (1993); *Turning Points in Curriculum* (2000/2007); and *Curriculum Books: The First Hundred Years* (2002).

Schubert has chaired more than 40 doctoral dissertations (and served on more than 100 others). His award-winning teaching uses original role-playing he commonly calls "guest speakers" to portray diverse curriculum orientations, a style he also uses in consulting and writing. Five of his frequently used fictionalized personae include a social behaviorist, an experientialist, an intellectual traditionalist, a critical reconstructionist, and a postmodernist.

Schubert's recognitions and awards include president of The Society for the Study of Curriculum History, president of the John Dewey Society, president of the Society of Professors of Education, factotum of Professors of Curriculum, chair of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Special Interest Group on Critical Issues in Curriculum, secretary and program chair of the AERA Curriculum Studies Division, and vice president of AERA. He is associate editor of *Educational Theory* and currently serves or has served on the editorial boards of

Educational Studies, Phenomenology and Pedagogy, Teaching Education, Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Curriculum and Teaching, Taboo, and Educational Horizons, as well as being a member of the ASCD Publications Committee. Schubert is an elected member of Professors of Curriculum and The International Academy of Education. He received the AERA Lifetime Achievement Award in 2004 and the Mary Anne Raywid Award from the Society of Professors of Education in 2007.

Schubert works to keep alive basic curriculum questions: What's worthwhile? What is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, and contributing? Why, how, when, where, and with what consequences? Who decides these matters, and who should decide them? Who benefits? Who should benefit more fully? Schubert strongly believes that we need to embody such questions in all of the educational situations of our lives—past, present, and possible.

Brian D. Schultz

Further Readings

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SCHWAB, JOSEPH J. (1909–1988)

Joseph J. Schwab developed the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study, which proposed changes to the way biology was taught at most high schools by centering the curriculum on key biological concepts.

Schwab was born in Columbus, Mississippi; studied at the University of Chicago as an undergraduate; and went on to earn his Ph.D. in biology there in 1938. He taught at the University of Chicago from 1938–1974, where he was professor of both biology and education. His articles on the philosophy and teaching of science appeared in the 1962 book *The Teaching of Science*. His primary work on educational theory appeared in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal*

Education, which was published in 1978. He is also noted for his 1969 book *College Curriculum and Student Protest*, his analysis of the campus protests of the 1960s. During his long retirement, he held fellowships at Harvard University and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

John P. Renaud

Further Readings

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- Schwab, J. J. (1978). *Science, curriculum, and liberal education: Selected essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT (1875–1965)

Nobel Peace Laureate Albert Schweitzer helped readers think intelligently and imaginatively about the values and purposes of education. Schweitzer's decision to dedicate his life to medical service in equatorial Africa came after years of study and reflection in other disciplines.

As a young man, Schweitzer was a noted Biblical scholar, minister, organist, and author of a number of philosophical and theological works before choosing to study medicine in 1905 at the age of 30. He encouraged others to “find their own Lambaréné” in their lives and communities, where they could construct and enact their own moral narratives. Schweitzer's legacy for current educational practice is in three particular areas: education for service, education for environmental awareness, and education for hospitality and community.

First, Schweitzer's philosophy of life and his actions demonstrate that education should teach people how to serve others and their world rather than to be mere consumers. Second, through an interpretation of his principle “Reverence for Life,” Schweitzer offers an understanding of the environment as more than home and neighborhood, as nature itself, an

organic, living source of all that has value. Finally, education in learning the arts of hospitality helps people to form meaningful, respectful, fulfilling communities of learning.

Anthony G. Rud

See also Eco-Justice and Social Justice; Holistic Education; Values Education

Further Readings

- Schweitzer, A. (1998). *Out of my life and thought* (A. B. Lemke, Trans.). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

SIZER, THEODORE R. (1932–)

Theodore R. Sizer is the founder and Chair Emeritus of the Coalition of Essential Schools (CES), a national network of schools and centers engaged in restructuring and redesigning schools to promote better learning. Sizer and his school-based colleagues have rejected top-down models of educational reform for reform that is shaped by the local school community and conforms to a set of ten common principles that emphasizes equity, personalization, and intellectual vibrancy for all children.

After receiving his BA from Yale in 1953, Sizer spent two years in active military duty and taught at the high school level before completing his Ph.D. in education and American history at Harvard University in 1963. He became Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1964 and, subsequently, Headmaster of Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1972. In 1981, he became a director of the project, “A Study of High Schools,” a five-year investigation of teaching, learning, and school history and design. This work led to his publishing of *Horace's Compromise* (1984), the story of Horace, a fictitious high school English teacher who is deeply committed to teaching well, but is overwhelmed by the demands of a job that has curtailed his time with students.

In 1984, a group of twelve schools in seven states agreed to redesign themselves on the basis ofSizer’s ideas and formed the Coalition of Essential Schools. Sizer, who had relocated to Brown University the year before, formed a team of colleagues to support these schools in their efforts. Within a decade, more than 100 public and private schools had affiliated with CES, and the movement began to influence basic-level educational reform strongly, and to a lesser degree, university partnerships and state educational policies. In 1992, Sizer published *Horace’s School*, which described the vision and general plan for the redesign of American high schools to become smaller, safer, more personalized learning environments.

In the third book of the series, *Horace’s Hope* (1997), Sizer reflects on his visits to several CES schools and on their progress in the adoption of common principles over a decade of reform. A national CES office, funded by the Annenberg Foundation, was established in the mid-1990s to develop regional CES centers throughout the country. By 2003, nineteen regional centers were offering direct support to schools in the areas of school design, classroom practice, leadership, and community connections.

Sizer, a founding director of the Annenberg Institute for School Reform, has continued his reform efforts by partnering with his wife, Nancy Faust Sizer, in coleading a CES charter school and publishing *The Students Are Watching: Schools and the Moral Contract* (1999). In his memoir, *The Red Pencil* (2004), Sizer draws upon his fifty years in schooling to alert policy makers to heed the differences between learning and teaching, question who has authentic authority over the child, and challenge the prevailing fetish for order in schooling.

Cheryl Taylor Desmond

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Web Sites

Coalition of Essential Schools:
<http://www.essentialschools.org>

SKINNER, BURRHUS FREDERIC (1904–1990)

Burrhus Frederic (B. F.) Skinner is known as the leading proponent of behaviorism. First introduced in 1913 by John B. Watson, the theory of behaviorism focuses on observable events as the basis for understanding human thought and learning. Behaviorism rejects the ideas of internal mental states or the subconscious as legitimate means of psychological knowledge. Skinner expanded on these ideas, inventing the “Skinner Box” to test his theories on animals. The Skinner Box allowed animals to choose between a series of levers, with the correct choice leading to a reward, usually food. Skinner also created and tested the educational theory of programmed learning. Programmed learning is designed to let students proceed at their own pace and rewards them for correct answers. Skinner wrote about this application of his theories in *The Analysis of Behavior: A Program for Self-Instruction* (1961) and *The Technology of Teaching* (1968).

Skinner was born in Susquehanna, Pennsylvania. He earned his Ph.D. in psychology at Harvard in 1931 and taught and did research at that institution for most of his career, retiring as Professor Emeritus at Harvard in 1974.

Although he wrote extensively in his field, Skinner was made famous outside the world of academic psychology by the 1948 publication of his controversial book *Walden Two*. Here, Skinner posited a utopian world based on his behaviorist theories. His other widely read and equally controversial work, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, was published in 1971.

John P. Renaud

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SOCRATES (469–399 BCE)

Socrates, one of the most significant thinkers and teachers of the ancient Western world, lived in Athens during the time of its greatness under Pericles, as well as the greatly troubled years of conflict and decline that followed Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian War. Most of what is known about Socrates comes to us through the memory and pen of Plato, his most notable student, since Socrates apparently wrote no works himself. His name, however, has been attached to the style of teaching he apparently developed: the Socratic method.

Living a simple life, Socrates embodied the spirit of the inquiring mind and the natural teacher. He sought to engage his hearers in dialogues about topics that would take them beyond the mundane issues of life and lead them to true self-knowledge, fearlessly probing the nature of truth, beauty, virtue, and even the gods themselves. His practice of using searching questions, often laced with irony, to provoke listeners to first state the obvious, and then lead them via further questioning and conversation to a more profound understanding of the matter under consideration, is still known as the Socratic method.

It stood in stark contrast to the more formal instruction of the sophists (“wise ones”) of Athens, who apparently claimed to offer—at a price—an education that would provide the young men of Athens with final answers to all the questions of life. Socrates rejected the label of sophist, preferring the more humble title of philosopher (“the brotherly love of a friend for wisdom”). He also rejected the sophists’ formalization and commodification of learning, believing that their instruction brought any possibility of true learning to an end. Learning and discourse ought to be never-ending, he said, telling the Athenians that “the life which is unexamined is not worth living.”

In time, Socrates’ teaching and method brought him into conflict not only with the sophists, but also with the rulers of Athens. His willingness to question all things, including the nature of civic virtue and even the religion of Athens, was viewed by his opponents and enemies with consternation and alarm; his

undeniable influence over many of the young men of Athens, whom he instructed at little or no charge, led to envy and wrath. He was formally charged with corrupting the youth of Athens by making them question the traditional knowledge of the Athenians, and with impiety for daring to ask questions about the gods.

Socrates defended himself calmly and with fearless wisdom, yet was found guilty. Already 70 years of age, he resolutely refused lesser penalties and chose death by drinking hemlock. True to his calling to the very end, he engaged his friends, students, and even his jailer in his final discourses, ceasing only when his life did.

David W. Robinson

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SPENCER, HERBERT (1820–1903)

Herbert Spencer was an English philosopher, political theorist, and contributor to the disciplines of ethics, metaphysics, religion, politics, rhetoric, biology, and psychology. He was known as the Father of Social Darwinism because he coined the phrase *survival of the fittest*. Spencer argued that the impact of social policy on man must be studied; he promoted the rights of both women and children and believed that science and philosophy contributed to the development of individualism and progress.

Spencer’s *Principles of Psychology* (1855) established a theory of the mind that stressed that human intelligence developed as a response to the individual’s physical environment. With the support of Thomas Huxley, Spencer was able to publish his theories of evolution and the laws of progress, which in turn influenced Charles Darwin. According to Spencer, evolution is lifelong as matter is refined into increasingly complex and coherent forms. His views on social justice advocated individual responsibility for actions and behavior and the right of each person to do as he or she wished as long as it did not harm the rights of others.

Some of Spencer's beliefs were manipulated by conservative politicians, libertarians, and social theorists. For example, he meant the phrase *survival of the fittest* to reflect man against a changing environment, not against his own kind. The frequency and variety of his writings would later influence a number of prominent authors, including George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, Leo Tolstoy, D. H. Lawrence, Jack London, and H. G. Wells. Herbert Spencer's *System of Synthetic Philosophy* includes *First Principles* and volumes on the principles of biology, psychology, sociology, and ethics. Published posthumously was his *Autobiography* (1904).

William A. Paquette

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STEINER, RUDOLF (1861–1925)

Austrian Rudolf Steiner was a poet, philosopher, educator, literary scholar, activist, and social innovator. He founded the Anthroposophical movement, meaning wisdom (sophia) of humankind (anthro), which was based on the idea that the spiritual world is accessible through a path of spiritual self-development. Practical applications of this movement included biodynamic farming, anthroposophical medicine, eurythmy (an artistic movement form), Bothmer gymnastics, and Waldorf education.

In 1907, Steiner wrote an essay, "Education in the Light of Spiritual Science," in which he described phases of child development from an anthroposophical perspective and outlined how these could be the basis for a holistic approach to schooling. In 1919, the first Steiner school was founded to serve the workers' children in the Waldorf Astoria cigarette factory in Stuttgart, Germany. Over the past century, the Waldorf School Movement has established itself as the largest independent school movement with more than 1,000

Waldorf schools worldwide, including schools in the townships of South Africa; the slums of São Paulo, Brazil; and a shared school between Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East.

Although Steiner's views on multiculturalism are controversial, he was early in raising issues of the challenges of a multicultural society and asserted the need for a spirituality that could unite all people regardless of their culture or religious background. A progressive social theorist, Steiner's threefold social order has served as the basis for a number of economic and philanthropic institutions, including the Rudolf Steiner Foundation for innovations in finance that is aimed at supporting the environment, financing social growth, and enriching human life.

Beth Powers-Costello

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TERMAN, LEWIS MADISON (1877–1957)

Lewis Madison Terman, Stanford University professor of Cognitive Psychology, is best known for publication of the *Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale* (1916), known commonly as the Stanford-Binet Test, which established the intelligence quotient (IQ) as a measure of one's intellectual aptitude.

Hailing from a large farming family—the twelfth of fourteen children—Terman's early life was characterized by his intellectual desire despite his rural setting and family background. Terman strongly believed that one's IQ was inherited and was the strongest predictor of success in life.

Until Terman's work, intelligence testing concentrated on identifying those in lower strata. In the 1920s, Terman began a longitudinal study—the first of its kind—on gifted children (referred to as "Terman's termites"); this study continues today as the longest-running study in American education. Its early results

established that gifted children were not weak and sickly social misfits, as previously believed, but were generally taller, in better health, better developed physically, and better adapted socially than other children.

Terman later joined in the eugenics movement, and his published writings argued for measures to reverse society's perceived deterioration, primarily through controlling reproduction. Terman stated it was more important for man to "control his biological evolution" than to capture the energy of the atom. This agenda promoted the enforcement of compulsory sterilization for those with low IQ scores in many U.S. states, and the absence of a public recanting of his position continues to taint Terman's legacy and work.

Roxanne Greitz Miller and Tracy Schandler

See also Gifted Education, History of

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THOREAU, HENRY DAVID (1817–1862)

Henry David Thoreau is best known for his writing as an American transcendentalist. However, Thoreau's contribution to society reaches beyond this label. In addition to his life as an author, Henry David Thoreau was a naturalist, abolitionist, pacifist, poet, philosopher, individualist, educator, and scholar. Thoreau is also considered by many as an influential force behind movements such as environmentalism, ecology, and anarchism.

Born David Henry Thoreau in 1817, Thoreau rearranged his name upon graduation in 1837 from

Harvard College, where he studied science, philosophy, and mathematics. While on a break from his undergraduate work in 1835, Thoreau took his first job as a teacher in Canton, Massachusetts. After graduating, Thoreau accepted his first faculty position at the Concord Academy in his hometown of Concord, Massachusetts. Upon his dismissal for failure to comply with the school's corporal punishment policy, Thoreau opened and operated a grammar school in Concord with his brother John from 1838–1841. When his school closed because of his brother's death, Thoreau continued to work as a tutor for the extended family of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Thoreau met Emerson and joined his circle of friends in the late 1830s. With Emerson's motivation, Thoreau's first essay was published in 1842. Emerson's tutelage and Thoreau's writing continued throughout the years between Thoreau's graduation from Harvard until 1845, when Thoreau moved into the forest at Walden Pond to write what would later become his most notable work—*Walden, or A Life in the Woods*—written from 1845–1847 and published in 1854. Throughout his remaining years, Thoreau would continue to read and write on topics ranging from nature to politics. His most famous essay, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (1849), was written in response to the night he spent in jail for refusal to pay delinquent taxes as a way to show his opposition to slavery and the Mexican-American War.

Overall, Thoreau made significant contributions to many fields, including education. His life and work have influenced many future generations of writers, scholars, philosophers, educators, and leaders. His most well-known quote and critique of traditional education comes from his own journal: "What does education often do?—It makes a straight-cut ditch of a free meandering brook." Until his death in 1862, Thoreau continued to philosophize and write about alternatives to what he saw as flawed and unjust systems.

Carri Anne Schneider

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Web Sites

Walden Woods Project Thoreau Institute, Writings:
<http://www.walden.org/institute/thoreau/writings/Writings.htm>

**THORNDIKE, EDWARD LEE
(1874–1949)**

Edward Lee Thorndike was an American author, educational psychologist, and researcher of animal and human intelligence. While a student at Wesleyan and Harvard Universities, he developed theories about the relationship of responses to intelligence in fish, young chickens, and primates. Thorndike's study on how cats escape from puzzle boxes led him to conclude that animal responses are more likely to recur based on satisfaction than on innate animal insight. His conclusions led Thorndike to the study of human intelligence in children.

Believing that progress in education could be measured and that repetition and reward contribute to learning, Thorndike developed intelligence testing in reading, English composition, writing, and drawing, and also at grade levels. During World War I, he developed measurements to test both abilities and achievements for U.S. Army personnel, which led to the creation of intelligence tests based on completions, arithmetic, vocabulary, and directions (the CAVD). Professor Thorndike's Law of Effect stated that responses receiving satisfaction are increased and responses associated with discomfort are weakened. The result was psychological connectionism, which concluded that the increased frequency of stimulus/response systems were indicative of higher intellect. Thorndike rejected the notion that intelligence could be independent of cultural background.

Thorndike's *Educational Psychology* (1913) was instrumental in creating a discipline that had not previously existed. Other important works by Thorndike include *Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements* (1904); *The Elements of Psychology* (1905); *Animal Intelligence* (1911); *The Measurement of Intelligence* (1927); *The Fundamentals of Learning* (1932); *The Psychology of*

Wants, Interests, and Attitudes (1935); and *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1940).

William A. Paquette

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**TORRANCE, ELLIS PAUL
(1915–2003)**

Ellis Paul Torrance, known as the "Father of Creativity," was an American psychologist whose primary contribution to the field of education was establishing a quantitative measure of creativity that could be used to identify students for special educational programs, such as those for the gifted and talented. The Torrance Test of Creative Thinking (TTCT) firmly established the attitude that intelligence quotient (IQ) score is not the sole means by which to measure intelligence.

Upon completion of his doctoral degree from the University of Michigan, Torrance began a teaching career that spanned from 1957 to 1984; the majority of his career was spent at the University of Georgia, where the Torrance Center for Creativity and Talent Development is now located.

The TTCT involves a set of simple measures of divergent thinking and other problem-solving skills scored on (1) *fluency*, or the total number of interpretable, meaningful, and relevant ideas generated in response to the stimulus; (2) *flexibility*, or the number of different categories of relevant responses; (3) *originality*, or the statistical rarity of the responses among the test subjects; and (4) *elaboration*, or the amount of detail in the responses.

The use of the TTCT in identifying students for gifted and talented programs has become widespread because of the response of many district and state

programs toward using a variety of methods to identify students, particularly those from underrepresented populations whose true aptitude may not be accurately represented by IQ score alone.

Roxanne Greitz Miller and Tracy Schandler

See also Gifted Education, Policy Issues

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Web Sites

Torrance Center for Creativity and Talent Development:
<http://www.coe.uga.edu/torrance/index.html>

TYLER, RALPH WINIFRED (1902–1994)

Ralph Winifred Tyler developed a theory about curricular reform, called the Tyler Rationale, that is credited with creating the field of educational evaluation and still stands as a model for planning a curriculum.

Born in Chicago, Tyler grew up in Nebraska and was a high school science teacher in Pierre, South Dakota, before earning his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1927. While working at the Bureau of Educational Research and Service at Ohio State University (1929–1938), Tyler became director of the legendary Eight-Year Study (1934–1942). Tyler then returned to the University of Chicago's Department of Education (1938–1948) and also served as Dean of the Division of Social Sciences (1948–1953). In 1953, he became the first Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, a position he held until 1966.

In 1949, Tyler published his *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, which went through thirty-eight printings. His theories about curriculum

reform outlined in the work became known as the "Tyler Rationale," which consisted of four basic parts:

1. Defining appropriate learning objectives
2. Introducing useful learning experiences
3. Organizing learning experiences to maximize their effect
4. Evaluating the process and revising the aspects that did not prove effective

Tyler chaired the committee that eventually developed the National Assessment of Educational Progress. He also influenced the underlying structure and guidelines for expenditures for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Tyler was the first president of the National Academy of Education, an organization he helped found.

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

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VYGOTSKY, LEV (1896–1934)

Lev Vygotsky was a groundbreaking Russian psychologist who studied child development, language acquisition, learning, and conceptual thought while working at the Institute of Psychology in Moscow from 1924–1934. His best-known work, *Thought and Language* (1934), was published shortly after he died of tuberculosis, but it was quickly suppressed by Stalin's regime in 1936.

Vygotsky analyzed language by using what he called a developmental approach, arguing that thought and language became fused in human child development at a relatively early age, resulting in the development of more complex thought processes. Vygotsky's analysis was built around a critique of Jean Piaget's analysis of child development, and Vygotsky specifically argued that children internalized social speech to form the scaffolding for conceptual thought. This

led Vygotsky to emphasize the importance of social interaction for learning and development, creating his theory of the “zone of proximal development.” This theory argued that mental development should be measured by accounting for what problems children could solve with the assistance of adults, in addition to what children could do by themselves.

Although Vygotsky’s students continued to build on his work after his death, he remained relatively unknown outside of the Soviet Union until 1962, when *Thought and Language* was translated into English. Interest in Vygotsky’s studies expanded further with the compilation and publication of a series of his essays on mental development and education, titled *Mind in Society* (1978).

Steven E. Rowe

WASHINGTON, BOOKER TALIAFERRO (1856–1915)

Booker Taliaferro Washington was the founder and head of the then-Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, and he was a proponent of the trades-oriented education that that school provided for African Americans. Indeed, although Washington acknowledged the benefits of a more classical liberal education, he found liberal education to be of limited usefulness and denounced it as learning without the dignity of labor. He faced criticism for this educational approach and for being an accommodationist on race relations, but his achievements are nevertheless extraordinary.

Washington was born a slave on a farm in Franklin County, Virginia, in 1856. His birth parents were an enslaved Black mother and a White father about whom Washington knew almost nothing. He spent the first several years of his life in slavery on the Virginia farm until the Emancipation Proclamation declared his and his family’s freedom in 1865.

A large part of Washington’s colorful life is recounted by him in his 1901 autobiography, *Up From Slavery*. Although Washington published other autobiographical works, this one is his best known. In it,

he details the most notable events of his life, from the relatively brief time he spent in slavery as a youth, to his educational exploits during his adolescence, and well into his career. Washington gives an account of his experiences at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) and the extraordinary influence that the lessons he learned and the people he met there had on his philosophy of life. Moreover, he describes the numerous occasions when he undertook the tasks of spreading the seeds of success for his institution and offering his advice on improving race relations in America.

Washington’s value system and outlook were shaped in his youth, especially during his years at Hampton. One person during this time who had a significant effect on Washington’s life was Viola Ruffner, a White woman for whom he worked as a live-in servant. He claims to have learned valuable lessons from her that helped him to succeed at Hampton and in life. The person who left the greatest impression on Washington, though, was General Samuel Armstrong. As principal of Hampton, Armstrong’s educational and moral leadership seem to have affected Washington’s personal philosophy the most. Washington believed that Armstrong was noble and unselfish; showed eternal devotion to his students and all of his undertakings; and, even though he was White, never displayed any indecorous feelings toward people of any race.

So profound were Armstrong’s and Hampton’s overall influence on Washington that the ideals of Hampton under Armstrong later formed the foundation of Washington’s Tuskegee Institute and his precepts of self-help and racial uplift. At Tuskegee, Washington developed a normal school that espoused a program of industrial education patterned primarily after the “Hampton idea” or “model.” He believed that Blacks should obtain needed industrial skills to ensure their economic prosperity and, ultimately, the future of the race by rendering themselves indispensable to the development of the country.

Washington’s Tuskegee was particularly tailored toward the needs (as he perceived them) of southern Blacks both because this population would primarily supply the institute’s student body and because he thought the rural South was where Blacks would be most successful. What he prescribed was that the education of the “hand, head, and heart” must go together.

Although Armstrong's Hampton model provided the most immediate source of inspiration for Tuskegee, the vision for Washington's institute was shaped by other sources as well. For example, Washington's demand that industrial learning be correlated with academic instruction was a manifestation of his adaptation of Johann Pestalozzi's philosophy and of Friedrich Froebel's "object studies." He seemed to believe that their ideas could be applied to the context in which southern Blacks lived. It is also noteworthy that there are some philosophical parallels between Washington's doctrine and some major components of John Dewey's body of work, although the Tuskegee model reached its apex long before Dewey's impact was widely felt.

Washington's prescriptions were not restricted to the realm of education. He believed that political involvement on the part of masses of Blacks distracted them from the more crucial task of improving their industrial skills. He spoke derisively of the political agitation by Blacks during Reconstruction, and he lamented what he saw as Black people's childlike dependence on the federal government even though he felt that the government had failed to adequately provide for Blacks in the educational arena. Furthermore, Washington urged Blacks to cooperate with Whites instead of fighting them. At the same time, he told Whites that it was important for them to avoid passing quick or harsh judgments upon African Americans because of the unparalleled obstacles faced by members of the race.

He also used his unusually powerful position to exert a great deal of political influence. Most of it was directed toward negotiating for institutional support, political placements, and favorable press coverage, exercised both publicly and especially behind the scenes. Washington advised Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft, expended an enormous amount of effort securing federal positions for his favored sons and daughters, blessed the ascendancy of his like-minded peers and tried to block the progress of those who threatened his power and belief system, and exerted pressure on many of the organs of the Black community in an attempt to gain their favor. More constructively, he was also involved overtly and covertly in efforts to overcome racial injustice.

Washington's ultimate goal was to assist the citizens of the United States in attaining human equality. In an attempt to reach this goal, every aspect of his life was guided by one basic tenet: work to be the best at what you do, and human nature will recognize and reward your meritorious efforts regardless of your race. Despite his espousal of such a noble ideal, his life's work is not without significant criticism. Washington has been widely dismissed as being too obliging to his White contemporaries, accused of failing to examine the plight of Black people from a broad intellectual perspective, and criticized for discouraging Blacks from exercising their political rights.

These characterizations of Washington's ideas and practices have led many observers to describe him as an accommodationist. Washington's leadership of Tuskegee helped to earn him the accommodationist label, in that the educational program served as a compromise between the desires of White philanthropists and industrialists, many northern White citizens, and most southern Whites. Industrial education was also appealing—at least initially—to a great many Blacks as an indirect means of attaining prosperity and racial progress.

Washington's contributions to the uplift of African Americans and to the betterment of American society are extraordinary; he worked consistently and tirelessly to pursue his agenda until just before his death in 1915. Nevertheless, his great influence on society seems to have had conflicting outcomes: His strategies brought substantial success to Blacks and to poor Whites, but his insistence on the primacy of his method and on the unconditional approval of it apparently stifled the emergence of new ideas.

Furthermore, his undying faith in human kindness and, more importantly, his uncritical acceptance of the notion of achieving enfranchisement through the channel of American capitalism were limiting assumptions. Although his plan for racial uplift had a narrow base of application, he was motivated by a vision of hope and liberation that made it possible for him to struggle against the force of racism in the first place.

Ronald E. Chennault

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**WEBSTER, NOAH
(1758–1843)**

Noah Webster, the American lexicographer, was the first to write a dictionary of American English. He was also famous among his contemporaries for his schoolbooks, particularly his spelling books.

At a time when children learned to read, write, and spell through the oral spelling of the “alphabet method,” Webster’s *American Spelling Book* of 1787 (a revision of his first effort of 1783) became for forty years the text most used for teaching children to read. Webster sold its copyright in 1818 to devote himself to his two-volume *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1828.

Aware that his old speller was losing ground to its competitors, Webster collaborated with a teacher named Aaron Ely to compose a radically new speller in 1829. Titled *The Elementary Spelling Book* and known as the “blue-back speller” from its colored covers, it became the country’s most popular book for teaching spelling in schools and at spelling bees until about 1900. Webster’s other schoolbooks, which included history, geography, and biology, were too innovative to be successful.

Webster also attempted to improve English spelling. His re-spellings of classes of words—exemplified by *center* (for the British *centre*), *honor* (*honour*), and *music* (*musick*)—were widely accepted because they appeared in his spellers and the popular *McGuffey*

Readers. They distinguish American from British spelling to this day.

E. Jennifer Monaghan

See also Literacy in the Colonial Era

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**WEIL, SIMONE
(1909–1943)**

Simone Weil is best known as a preeminent French philosopher and author who was also a factory and field laborer; a political activist and theorist; a revolutionary; and, in the last years of her life, a mystic. Weil’s compendium of work has significance for several fields; for education, her premises on the connection of thought and action and on the value of work for the development of the mind and spirit are particularly relevant.

Born in Paris to a well-to-do, professional family, Weil was a brilliant student who received her baccalaureate in philosophy in 1925. She advanced successfully through the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and began her teaching career as a professor of philosophy in 1931.

From the time of her first published writing in 1929 until her death, Weil examined the relationship of thought and action and sought the direct experiences of the material world through manual labor and political activism to understand better the world of ideas and value. From 1933–1935, Weil left teaching to work in factories and became an outspoken advocate for workers and trade unions. During this period, she also immersed herself in the political and economic structures of Europe, and in particular, the increasing militarism of Germany. In 1936, she joined a militia in Spain’s civil war; however, burns incurred in a camp accident forced Weil to return to Paris in late 1936.

Unable to return to teaching because of her deteriorating health, Weil concentrated her writing during this period on war and oppression.

By the close of the 1930s, however, Weil had turned her focus to spiritual values, and she began to include in her writing specific Christian assumptions gleaned from her discussions with a priest and a farmer in 1941. Forced to flee France in 1942, Weil ultimately resettled in London, where she wrote for the Free French Committee. She developed her mystical theology, as revealed in two of her best known texts, *Waiting for God* and *The Need for Roots*. In August 1943, Weil was hospitalized and died of tuberculosis and malnutrition in London.

Cheryl Taylor Desmond

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Web Sites

The American Weil Society: <http://www.nd.edu/~weilaws>

WHEELOCK, LUCY (1857–1946)

Lucy Wheelock was an early-childhood educator, member of the late-nineteenth-century Kindergarten Movement, and founder of Wheelock College. Wheelock developed an innovative model kindergarten, wrote stories for children and articles on classroom pedagogy, and was appointed to the Education Committee of the League of Nations. During turn-of-the-century debates on the future of early childhood education, Wheelock played the role of mediator between the old guard Froebelians and the progressives.

Wheelock was born in Cambridge, Vermont. Her mother was a teacher and her father was a Congregationalist minister and superintendent of schools. She attended Underhill Academy in Vermont, Reading High School in Massachusetts, and Chauncey-Hall School in Boston. She completed her kindergarten training with Ella S. Hatch, a protégé of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. In 1879, Wheelock became the kindergarten teacher at Chauncey-Hall and developed an innovative approach to the curriculum that attracted national attention. In 1888, she was asked to establish a training school, later Wheelock College, designed to prepare young women for kindergarten teaching.

As president of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU) from 1895–1899, Wheelock attempted to unite emerging factions within the Kindergarten Movement. Wheelock believed that a true Frobelianism was open to experimentation and methodological evolution and could accommodate modern advances in child study and psychology. Although she was able to hold the IKU together for a time, orthodox Froebelians were ultimately unwilling to accept Wheelock's revisionism and left the organization. In her later years, Wheelock wrote articles on parent education and home-school relations and became active in the National Congress of Mothers, later the Parent Teacher Association. After her retirement in 1939, Wheelock's school was incorporated as Wheelock College.

Susan Douglas Franzosa

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WHITEHEAD, ALFRED NORTH (1861–1947)

Alfred North Whitehead, an educator throughout his life, is best known for the three-volume work

Principia Mathematica (1910–13), which he wrote with his one-time student, Bertrand Russell.

Born in East Kent, England, Whitehead earned his BA from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1884 and his doctorate from the same institution in 1905. While his interest in mathematics dominated his early career, Whitehead became interested in education and the philosophy of education. In 1916, he delivered a lecture titled “The Aims of Education: A Plea for Reform” that was sharply critical of the educational practices of the time. He asserted that understanding must be the goal of education, and how this is achieved will necessarily be affected by the individual. A book by the same title, which is a collection of essays written between 1912 and 1922, was published in 1929.

Because of his technical use of language, dense writing style, and absence of a single treatise that encapsulates his entire philosophy of education, many find it difficult to access Whitehead’s ideas. In addition to his written work and lectures, Whitehead advised the British government on several educational initiatives and, from 1919 to 1924, served as chair of the Governing Board of the University of London’s teachers’ college.

In 1924, Whitehead went to teach at Harvard University, where his work focused on metaphysics and the nature of knowledge. His cosmological philosophy was developed during this time. He retired from Harvard as Professor Emeritus in 1937.

John P. Renaud

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WIGGIN, KATE DOUGLAS (1855–1923)

Kate Douglas Wiggin was an activist in the nineteenth-century Kindergarten Movement and the author of the children’s classic *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*. Wiggin became the head teacher of the first free

kindergarten in San Francisco and founded the California Teacher Training School. She wrote songs and stories for children, lectured on children’s rights and welfare, and published articles on curriculum and pedagogy. Wiggin spoke before the National Education Association on the rights of children in 1892 and participated in the kindergarten demonstrations at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Her essays and novels depicting the natural goodness and intelligence of children influenced generations of early childhood teachers and educational reformers.

Kate Douglas Wiggin was born in Philadelphia as Katharine D. Smith. She spent most of her childhood in Maine and drew on her experience in small-town New England to create the characters and nurturing communities presented in her novels. Wiggin and her family moved to California in 1873, where she completed kindergarten training with Emma Marwedel, a leading disciple of Friedrich Froebel and a protégé of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. In 1878, Wiggin became head teacher of the Silver Street Kindergarten in the impoverished Tar Flats district of San Francisco. Under her direction, Silver Street expanded to provide evening classes, social services, and teacher training. In 1881, she married Samuel Bradley Wiggin and gave up classroom teaching but continued to lecture and direct the school until 1893.

In the 1880s, Wiggin began to write stories about children to support her work at Silver Street. *The Birds’ Christmas Carol*, her first novel, was published in 1888. After the sudden death of Samuel Wiggin in 1889, she supported herself through her writing, lectures, and public readings. On the lecture circuit, she was often paired with notable authors like Mark Twain and William Dean Howells, who became mentors and lifelong friends.

Wiggin married for a second time in 1895, retired from active involvement in the Kindergarten Movement, and devoted herself to her writing. The publication of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* in 1903 made Wiggin an international celebrity. However, long before *Rebecca*, she was well-known to early-childhood educators and reformers as a “kindergarten pioneer” and the author of *Timothy’s Quest* (1890), depicting the experiences of homeless children; *The Story of Patsy* (1891), about a child with special

needs; and *The Rights of Children: A Book of Nursery Logic* (1892).

Susan Douglas Franzosa

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WILLIS, PAUL (1945–)

Paul Willis is a British cultural theorist and critical ethnographer whose landmark book, *Learning to Labour* (1977), is credited with transforming critical studies of education through its use of ethnography to theorize how social class is reproduced through the “lived culture” of youth.

Through an exploration of counter school culture among working class “lads” in an industrialized English town in the 1970s, Willis demonstrated that, in contrast to deterministic Marxist analyses prominent at the time, social class status was not reproduced *passively* through schooling; rather, structural forces were mediated through the cultural milieu of social agents who could see through the conditions of their existence. In the lads’ case, their critique of meritocracy, individualism, and credentialism manifested in an opposition to school authority that was expressed through stylized resistant practices aimed at both teachers and conformist students. The limitations of their critique, along with their virulent racism and sexism and an embrace of the masculinity they attributed to manual labor, ultimately consigned the youth, ironically through their own complicity, to working-class futures.

Learning to Labour was critiqued for its lack of theorization of the lads’ brutal sexism and for being too beholden to neo-Marxism despite protests otherwise. Willis responded to these criticisms in his extensive body of ethnographic and theoretical work focused

on the creativity and radical potential of cultural production within powerful structural constraints. His books include *Profane Culture* (1978), *Common Culture* (1990), and *The Ethnographic Imagination* (2001). Willis, of working-class origins himself, was among the first generation of scholars at the legendary Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (as a student and later a research fellow). He has subsequently worked in public policy and in academia in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Tricia Niesz

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WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY (1759–1797)

Author of the first known argument in English for universal, secular, government-financed coeducation of rich and poor together, Mary Wollstonecraft is more famous as a philosophical “mother” of feminism who castigates both conservative Edmund Burke’s and liberal Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s misogyny as illogical and immoral. A prolific early modern cultural critic and theorist of education, she critiques both sexes’ monarchist miseducation in *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* and *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*; narrates moral teaching in response to the property system’s hidden curriculum in *Original Stories From Real Life*, illustrated by William Blake; and charts autobiographically a single mother’s outward and inward journey of self-education in *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*.

Indebted to Catherine Macaulay’s less-developed proposal of coeducation and to her own teaching experiences as eldest daughter, schoolmistress, governess, and public educator-in-print, Wollstonecraft’s coeducational thought experiment in the second *Vindication* formulates critical approaches and concerns that remain in broad outlines those of an

English-speaking feminist tradition of coeducational thought.

Many biographers have retold Wollstonecraft's unusually well-documented, self-educative life, including her early passionate partnership with Fanny Blood; her learning from several mentors; and her late, joyfully egalitarian, mutually educative marriage to political philosopher William Godwin, who admired her educational wisdom and shared her principled resistance against marriage as well as childhood memories of domestic violence. Wollstonecraft died upon birth of their daughter, *Frankenstein's* author, Mary Shelley, whose work reflects study of her mother's educational writings.

Susan Laird

See also Coeducation

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WOODSON, CARTER GODWIN (1875–1950)

Carter Godwin Woodson is a pioneer of African and African American history and research. A lifelong bachelor, he openly declared “marriage” to his life's work of dispelling racist myths perpetuated by White scholars about African Americans and their history.

The oldest of nine children of former slaves, Woodson received sparse formal education prior to entering high school at the age of 20 because he had to work on the family farm and later in the West Virginia coal mines. Bright and focused, he completed the four-year high school curriculum in two years and went on to take a bachelor's degree from Berea

College in Kentucky and both bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Chicago. He then became the second African American to earn a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1912.

Woodson was a high school teacher and principal, college professor and dean, and multilingual world traveler who prolifically wrote and published historical research. Of the sixteen books he authored, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (1933) became a classic and is a perennial best seller with several hundred thousand copies in print seventy-five years later. It is a testament to the enduring message that an oppressed people cannot depend upon their oppressors for liberatory education. Woodson's research found that many Negroes who were “educated” to professional status in Eurocentric American institutions were denied full access to American society, exhibited self-defeatist behavior, and returned to their communities less empathetic and committed to the plight of the oppressed.

Woodson established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (1915), founded the *Journal of Negro History* (1916), the Associated Publishers (1921), and the *Negro History Bulletin* (1937). In February 1926, he initiated Negro History Week, which later became Black History Month in the 1960s. He believed that correcting American miseducation could not be left to ivory tower scholarship; myths about African inferiority and their lack of contribution to world history must be debunked before the popular masses.

Jonathan Lightfoot

See also Affirmative Action; African American Education; Antiracist Education; Biography; Minority Student Access to Higher Education; Miseducation

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YOUNG, ELLA FLAGG (1845–1918)

Ella Flagg Young, who served as superintendent of the Chicago Schools from 1909–1915, may have been the most famous and well-respected public educator of her era. Her assumption of the Chicago superintendency marked the first time any woman had risen to such a powerful position of school leadership. In 1910, a year after becoming superintendent, rapidly growing ranks of female teachers in the National Education Association elected her as the association's first female president.

Previously, Young had been a remarkably popular professor at the University of Chicago, teaching alongside John Dewey. In this position, she authored several influential books of educational theory. Through these and numerous other forms of public service, Young deeply influenced generations of students, educators, social progressives, and woman's suffragists who found inspiration in her life, work, and thought.

Born in 1845 in Albany, New York, N. Ella Flagg, as she was first known, joined her parents, an older sister, and an older brother in moving to Chicago so that her father, Theodore, a skilled metalworker, might find steady work in this explosively expanding midwestern city. Although Young reputedly did not attend elementary school because of chronic illness, she studied at home with her mother, Jane Flagg, reading voraciously and discussing social issues of the day. During her early teens, her lack of formal schooling notwithstanding, she enrolled in a newly created normal program at Chicago High School, quickly demonstrating exceptional pedagogical gifts. She independently established her own teaching internship so that she could further refine her skills.

In 1862, at the age of 16, she began teaching in her own classroom in a school with more than 1,300 students and located in a squalid, congested part of town. Within two weeks, Young's mother died prematurely of an unexplained cause. Young responded to this great personal loss by investing herself even more fully in her work, a pattern that would recur throughout the rest of her life. Over the next few years,

Young's annual salary leaped upward in comparison with those of her peers.

Her reputation for outstanding teaching led the superintendent to appoint her in 1865 to serve as principal of a newly created school of practice. In this capacity, she worked with normal school students as they practiced their pedagogical skills in a fully functioning elementary school. Despite a bitter disagreement with the school board after which she resigned from the principalship of the school of practice, a brief failed marriage, the great Chicago fire (which destroyed her home), and the deaths of her brother and father, Young nevertheless continued devoting herself fully to her work during these years, eventually returning to the principalship in 1876.

In 1886, her exceptional administrative work was profiled in a nationally circulated magazine, which raised her visibility substantially. Shortly thereafter, the school board appointed her to an assistant superintendency, a position she held for twelve years. She resigned from this work in 1899 when she sharply disagreed with the superintendent on a growing number of matters. Having already taken doctoral coursework with John Dewey at the University of Chicago, Young then finished her dissertation and joined the ranks of the University of Chicago faculty.

She and Dewey jointly published a series of books on educational theory. She also worked closely with him in establishing and running the university laboratory school. Then, after sustained disagreements with university administrators, both Dewey and Young resigned in 1904. Young and her life partner, Laura Brayton, traveled abroad to study the schools of Europe. Upon their return in 1905, the Chicago school board invited Young to serve as principal of the Chicago Normal School, to which she readily agreed. Then, in 1909, after a contentious and nearly failed search, the school board unanimously selected her for the Chicago superintendency.

The announcement that Young would take the helm of Chicago's schools prompted newspapers across the country to feature stories on this unprecedented achievement for a woman. Suffrage activists in the United States and abroad celebrated the news in newsletters and stump speeches. For the next several years, Young enjoyed broad public support and

political peace on the school board as she raced to implement a host of progressive reforms, such as the creation of councils through which teachers governed their schools, significant teacher pay increases, the development of penny lunch programs, the first establishment of sex education courses anywhere in the country, the desegregation of schools, and the creation of groundbreaking programs addressing the unique vocational and social needs of girls.

She resigned briefly in 1913 when the board took a decidedly conservative turn. Massive rallies of teachers, students, suffragists, and other progressive allies prompted sufficient political pressure for the board to relent temporarily. After renewed board resistance, however, she resigned for good in 1915, this time making front-page headlines around the world. She spent the remainder of her years promoting war bonds, chiding President Wilson for his lukewarm support for suffrage, writing a book on the role of schools in a democracy, and traveling extensively with her partner. She died in 1918 during the flu pandemic.

Looking back, John Dewey regarded Young as the “wisest educator” he had ever encountered. He noted in his writings that his ideas about democracy and education were heavily influenced by her. Margaret Haley, who for decades led the Chicago Teachers

Federation, reflected that Young, more than anyone she had known, possessed astonishing executive ability in which she instantly combined theory and practice. Teachers celebrated Young’s groundbreaking pedagogical, theoretical, and administrative contributions. And suffragists everywhere found inspiration in her service and political skill. However, this very public figure saved none of her personal effects and requested that her closest friends guard the privacy of her legacy. Consequently, memory of her achievements faded over the twentieth century until a recent resurgence of interest among scholars.

Jackie M. Blount

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Toward a Renewed Definition of the Social Foundations of Education

Toward a Renewed Definition of the Social Foundations of Education

The social foundations of education is among the most interdisciplinary fields in education and the social sciences. This fact is reflected in the unusual range of articles found in this encyclopedia. It also explains why there is so much discussion as to what constitutes the field.

What Is the Social Foundations of Education?

Use of the phrase “social foundations of education” dates back to the mid-1920s. It was probably first used by George S. Counts and J. Crosby Chapman in their 1924 book *The Principles of Education*. They organized “25 problems” under the following four major headings:

- What Is the Place of Education in Individual and Social Life?
- What Are the Psychological Foundations of Education?
- What Are the Sociological Foundations of Education?
- What Principles Govern the Conduct of the School?¹

More recently, the Council of Learned Societies in Education defines the foundations of education as follows:

Foundations of Education refers to a broadly-conceived field of educational study that derives its character and methods from a number of academic disciplines, combinations of disciplines, and area studies, including: history, philosophy, sociology,

anthropology, religion, political science, economics, psychology, cultural studies, gender studies, comparative and international education, educational studies, and educational policy studies. . . . The purpose of foundations study is to bring these disciplinary resources to bear in developing interpretive, normative, and critical perspectives on education, both inside and outside of schools.²

The idea of distinguishing in the social foundations of education “interpretive,” “normative,” and “critical” perspectives in education is important. According to the *Standards*, the interpretive perspective assists “students in examining, understanding, and explaining education within different contexts.”³ Thus, although schools are critical to understanding and studying the process of education in the culture, they are only one of many social and cultural forces at work in defining the educational process.

The idea of a normative perspective suggests that education needs to be understood in the context of values. As argued in the *Standards*:

Foundational Studies probe the nature of assumptions about education and schooling. They examine the relation of policy analysis to values and the extent to which educational policymaking reflects values. Finally, they encourage students to develop their own value positions regarding education on the basis of critical study and their own reflections.⁴

Editor’s Note: The field of the social foundations of education is at a critical point in its development. This encyclopedia, in some regards, reflects the maturity of the field. Its diverse content and methodological arguments also reflect the divisions or “fault lines” within the field. The following essay attempts to provide an overview of the field, as well as suggest a new direction for it, based upon the emergence of cultural studies as an area.

In this context, the social foundations of education encourage students to define their own philosophical approach to schooling, as well as develop a personal set of ethics and norms.

Finally, the critical perspectives “employ narrative interpretations to assist students to develop inquiry skills, to question educational assumptions and arrangements, and to identify contradictions and inconsistencies among social and educational values, policies and practices.”⁵

Although the *Standards* are intended as a curricular device for defining the educational requirements of students studying education as an academic and professional field, underlying them are a number of assumptions that go against traditional norms in university culture, as well as the society at large.

To begin with, the social foundations of education is essentially an interdisciplinary field. American university and collegiate structures historically have given lip service to interdisciplinary work in the social sciences and the humanities, but, in fact, tend to operate through tight departmental and disciplinary models as separate and isolated entities. Sociologists, for example, are rarely engaged in educational or research exchanges with colleagues in related fields such as history, political science, or anthropology, let alone schools of education. The same situation is often found in other disciplines as well. Exceptions to this tendency can be found in some of the country’s smaller liberal arts colleges, where cross-disciplinary programs are a necessity, because of limited resources.

A single disciplinary model such as history or English literature often dominates interdisciplinary programs such as American studies or African American studies. In selected institutions, some fields, such as communications, seem to employ an interdisciplinary approach, but even in these programs, the concept of interdisciplinary work is often suspect. Professional status comes from affiliation with a discipline more than from a commitment to a line of interdisciplinary inquiry focused around a subject such as education.

Thus, even within schools of education, which are among the most interdisciplinary units within universities and colleges, interdisciplinary modes of inquiry and instruction are often rejected. Counseling psychologists revert to their home discipline of psychology as

a means of achieving authority and status, both within their department and school settings as well as within the larger colleges or universities. Similar behavior is often found among scholars in areas such as special education, or those individuals who perceive themselves as pure historians, philosophers, or sociologists, strictly pursuing their disciplinary inquiry in a department or school of education.

In the latter case, people associated with the social foundations in universities and colleges may, in fact, reject the institutions in which they work and even fellow social foundations scholars—that is, foundation specialists in disciplines other than their own, as well as their more methods- and classroom-based colleagues in teacher education—in favor of a disciplinary affiliation.

The Council of Learned Societies, in their *Standards* report, recognizes that there is considerable diversity in the foundations field and significant debate over what issues and methodological approaches should shape the field. As they explain:

From its origin in the 1930s, Foundations of Education has been subjected to a variety of interpretations and approaches. There are those who have promoted the idea that Foundations of Education should be assembled around educational issues, using the issues as curriculum-selecting and curriculum-organizing principles. Some have insisted that interdisciplinary and generalist concerns should supersede the commitments of Foundations of Education scholars to specific disciplines. Others have held to the priority of close disciplinary ties for Foundations of Education scholars. Some have promoted the desirability of curriculum liaisons between Foundations of Education scholars and teacher educators in other fields, for example, administration, counseling and guidance, urban education, and curriculum and instruction. Still others have argued for the establishment of working ties between Foundations of Education scholars and community groups and for involvement in areas of concern that go beyond the school enterprise.⁶

The Council of Learned Societies in Education points to the fact that there “are distinguished advocates for all of these approaches.”⁷ Which approach is most appropriate is clearly a subjective judgment.⁸

The Origins of the Social Foundations of Education

Steve Tozer has chronicled the origins of the social foundations as thoroughly as any scholar in the field. He explains that prior to the 1930s, there were basically two kinds of foundations courses in the United States. One involved single-discipline coursework in a subject

such as philosophy of education, history of education, or sociology of education. Scholars such as R. M. MacIver in sociology, Ellwood Cubberly in history, and W. H. Kilpatrick in philosophy used the lenses of the social sciences and humanities to study and teach about education in cultural context.⁹

The second type of foundations course was a fundamentals or basics of teaching practice. This tradition was reflected in books such as Levi Seely's *The Foundations of Education* (1901), which was "an introduction to teaching practice, rather than an effort to use foundational disciplines to study school and society."¹⁰

Interest in social foundations issues began to coalesce among the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University, during the late 1920s. In 1928, a group began to meet, chaired by William Heard Kilpatrick, that came to be known as the Teachers College Discussion Group. Many of the most well-known and respected scholars interested in education from the period were part of the group, including Harold Rugg, John L. Childs, R. Bruce Raup, George Counts, Jesse H. Newlon, and Goodwin Watson. Later, they were joined by Kenneth D. Benne and R. Freeman Butts.

As mentioned previously, George Counts and J. Crosby Chapman talked about the psychological and sociological foundations of education as early as 1924, and George Counts published *The Social Foundations of Education* in 1934, but the social foundations of education as we know it today can be traced back to the mid-1930s and specific curricular reforms at Teachers College. Prior to this time, the foundations requirement for the master's degree at Teachers College required the completion of eight credits in several different departments, including: history of education, philosophy of education, psychology, educational sociology, educational economics, and comparative education.

Although this approach provided grounding in individual disciplinary fields, it had the disadvantage of overspecialization and not providing students with the opportunity to adequately explore and understand "the foundational conditions and problems of contemporary society."¹¹ Under the direction of William H. Kilpatrick, the faculty at Teachers College created a new eight-credit course (Education 200F) that all students were required to take. The course was first offered during the winter term of 1934–1935. The creators of the course described their approach as involving a

shift from a mechanistic and atomistic outlook upon life to an organic one. This shift is the result of documentary and experimental research reaching back a century. Although much of the technical study of this shift in psychological and philosophical outlook is carried on in the second semester of the course, every possible opportunity is taken during the first semester to employ it in the building of our understanding of the contemporary world.¹²

The purpose of Education 200F, and foundational study in general, was to give students a "proficiency in the design, construction and operation of schools."¹³ The course was based on the assumption that the educational system and its schools reflected the social, cultural, and political forces at work in the society. As R. Freeman Butts explained in the introduction to the book of readings developed for the first semester of the course: "Schools and other educational institutions inevitably reflect the culture in which they operate. The culture invariably impinges upon the schools whether in times of slow or rapid social change, whether in times of greater or lesser social tension."¹⁴

The creators of the Education 200F course assumed that in order to understand the work of the schools, it was critical to realize that they were essentially social institutions. Education always needed to be understood as "a function of time, place and circumstance."¹⁵ In this context, education and schooling were understood as being deeply cultural. Butts, in a piece written very late in his career, recalled a typical syllabus for the course as follows:

Ed. 200FA—Education and Society

- I. Education and Culture
- II. American Democracy Faces the Future
- III. Economics and Democracy
- IV. Democracy and Political Power
- V. Democracy and a Stable World Order
- VI. Intergroup Relations
- VII. The Social Role of Education in the World Today

Ed. 200FB—Education and the Individual

- I. Education and Human Nature
- II. Communication
- III. Adjustive Behavior
- IV. Intelligence and Learning
- V. Art and Aesthetics
- VI. Moral and Religious Experience
- VII. The Role of the Profession as a Vocation¹⁶

The course met for three hours each week. As Butts recalled, during the first hour, the faculty members teaching the course assembled as a panel for a deliberation and made presentations to the class. The second hour was taken up with discussion in small groups; and in the third hour, efforts were made to arrive at a decision with the large group. The main class typically had from 300 to 400 students. Discussion groups (the second hour) were made up of ten students each, with a student-appointed discussion leader for each group.¹⁷ The course description in the *Teachers College Announcement* for 1938–1939 explained that in regard to the course: “The effort is made so to deal with the area common to the various fields of educational endeavor as to provide for them all a basic understanding and a common outlook and language of discourse.”¹⁸

Kilpatrick’s study group met biweekly from the late 1920s to the beginning of World War II. The Education 200F course at Teachers College, as well as the creation of the modern social foundations of education as a field, evolved from this group. Kenneth Benne, who joined the group in 1937, recalled that its members

came to believe that all teachers should become students of the issues of contemporary society and culture and of the relations of these issues to questions of educational aims, methods, and programs. They also believed that a cross-disciplinary approach was conducive to adequate treatment of these issues. In keeping with this thinking, they brought the psychological, sociological, economic, historical and philosophical perspectives together into a division of educational foundations and brought in a recommendation that the requirement for those pursuing a graduate degree of work in scattered courses in psychology or philosophy or history be replaced by the cross-disciplinary courses in educational foundations.¹⁹

The model of social foundations of education established by Kilpatrick’s discussion group at Teachers College rapidly made its way into other institutions during the period following World War II. By the early 1950s, for example, the University of Illinois had an extremely active program in place that was interdisciplinary in nature. Under the leadership of figures such as Archibald W. Anderson, Kenneth D. Benne, Othanel Smith, Foster McMurray, and Bill Stanley, they articulated a clear vision of the social foundations of education and its relationship to other fields. As they explained in their 1951 book, *The Theoretical Foundations of Education*:

Social foundations, as a field, is concerned with those aspects and problems of society which need to be taken into account in determining educational policy, especially as this policy concerns the social role of the school, and in determining broader social policies which affect educational policy. . . . This definition of the field distinguishes it from educational history and philosophy on the one hand, and from educational sociology on the other.²⁰

Although the faculty at Illinois felt that there should be a “close relationship and some overlapping” between the problems studied in subjects such as the history and philosophy of education, they argued that “the problems of social foundations are the problems of policy-formation and policy-evaluation set by contemporary social conditions.”²¹ Essentially, educational

philosophers, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists who are foundations scholars are potentially concerned with very different issues from people in those same disciplines who study educational issues.

The Social Foundations in Its Early Years at Teachers College

Historically, the social foundations of education model has been under attack almost from its inception. Part of this may be because of the field's progressive and liberal roots. Whatever the case, the experiment with Education 200F had barely gotten underway before it started garnering severe criticism. R. Freeman Butts, who arrived at Teachers College in 1935 as a postdoctoral student and a member of the Education 200F team, recalled how the social foundations faculty at Teachers College were swept up in political activities not only outside of the college, but inside it as well. The social foundations faculty found itself frequently challenging what it felt were "arbitrary" administrative decisions at the college. Butts recalls the following:

Jack Childs leading the fight for the right of cafeteria workers to unionize; or George Counts counterattacking the relentless pressure and tactics of the Communist popular front; or Harold Rugg fighting the American Legion onslaught upon his books; or Edward Reisner struggling with the identity problem raised by interventionism, isolationism, war with Germany, and America Firstism; or George Hartmann's convictions leading him to Peace Now in the face of overwhelming antagonism; or Ernest Johnson flailing at reactionary religionist attacks upon the public schools; or Harold Clark's extravagant predictions about the uses of the ocean thirty years before the population explosion was headline news; and so on and on.²²

Clearly, the social foundations faculty at Teachers College during the 1930s was an activist group, engaged in contemporary political and social issues in the culture.

Butts recalls how, when he took over as the chairman of the social foundations department in 1948, there was a crisis developing over personnel. Eight of

the fourteen full-time faculty members of the program would retire by 1955. Those retiring were the "key framers and molders" of the original social foundations model, including luminaries such as John Childs and George Counts.²³ In addition, curricular reforms in the college led to a reduction from eight to six in the number of course credits in the social foundations of education required for master's students in the college's programs.²⁴

During the 1949–1950 academic year, the foundations department at Teachers College hammered out a set of guidelines for its programs that was eventually approved by the Committee on Policy, Program and Budget and by the trustees of the college. According to the guidelines,

The task of educational foundations centers upon a basic and comprehensive study of the culture and of human behavior as these are related to the total educational enterprise. It assumes that every member of the educational profession should have a fundamental understanding of the relations of education to the deepest values, traditions, and conflicts in society and to the basic characteristics of human behavior. This understanding is foundational for the superior professional worker in all of his activities as educator and citizen in a democracy, no matter what his specific professional job may be. The foundations task is as profoundly important as any other aspect of the professional preparation of educators. It is a central task of the professional preparation of educators and not merely a peripheral or a "service" function.

Educational foundations undertakes to bring together three types of resources to help educators study the central question, "What is the educational task in our culture?" To approach this question with scholarship, thoroughness, and creativeness, on one hand, and with awareness of practical realities in school and society on the other, the educational foundations draws upon three resources: the university disciplines, community and citizen activities, and the institutions of education. It is the special task of Foundations to keep these routes open and to cultivate the resources to the highest possible levels in the attainment of educational direction and power.

To reduce all of these matters to one shorter statement, the foundations process which absorbs from all these resources and tries to give unity to the educational effort is one which (1) deals with questions of educational direction, policy, and action in areas of unresolved problems in the culture, in such a way (2) that every available, pertinent, and scholarly resource is brought authentically into the effort, (3) with a definite view to attaining the greatest possible personal commitment to democratic beliefs, purposes, and goals, and (4) to extending the effort to gain the maximum possible community of understanding, purpose, and commitment. It need hardly be said that this is an effort to make a discipline of the democratic process, particularly as this becomes the concern of educators in a democracy.

This is our view of the nature of the foundations task and its role in the professional preparation of educators. We believe that Teachers College is committed to this view. We believe it has been of prime significance in enabling Teachers College to achieve and maintain its leadership in the educational profession of the nation and the world. We believe it is one of the important characteristics that distinguishes the university study of education from a normal school approach. We believe that this view, largely originated and nourished at Teachers College, has spread wherever institutions are trying to develop the university study of education as a means of re-directing the social and cultural role of education.²⁵

The above “guidelines” are probably the best evidence we have of the social foundations of education program at Teachers College in its nadir. In reference to Education 200F, Butts described it as entering a “decline and fall in the 1950s.”²⁶ It seems fair to conclude that the success and influence of the course corresponded to the influence of the social foundations faculty.

Criticisms of the Social Foundations Model

The early 1950s were a difficult period for progressively minded educators such as the social foundations faculty at Teachers College. Several factors were at play. Following World War II, the country

became increasingly conservative. McCarthyism was challenging the foundations of liberal and progressive thought. More specifically, a series of critiques of the public educational system and particularly Deweyan progressive models was becoming widespread. Critics such as Arthur Bestor, Jr., Mortimer Smith, Harry J. Fuller, and Albert Lynd²⁷ criticized public schools for being too lax in their curricula and too much under the influence of progressive educational models.

Of the critiques that came out during the late 1940s and early 1950s, the most substantive was that of Arthur Bestor, Jr., a history professor at the University of Illinois. Bestor had attended the New Lincoln School at Teachers College and had taught at Teachers College. In his 1952 article, “Life Adjustment in Education,” published in the *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, he wrote a scathing critique of contemporary education and the lack of serious academic content in many of its courses.²⁸ Bestor’s critique was expanded into a book the following year titled *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat From Learning in Our Public Schools*.

Bestor’s work attacked schools of education at both the college and university levels as well as criticized the influence of progressive education on the schools at the K–12 level. His criticism focused in particular on the Life Adjustment curriculum, which had been widely adapted in secondary school programs across the country. It emphasized social development and skills over academic content in the curriculum.

Bestor’s work was strongly grounded in a disciplinary model. Although he saw a place in academic study for understanding the processes of teaching and learning, he believed that departments and schools of education had no business getting involved in questions related to the aims and purposes of education.

Pedagogy itself—that is to say, the careful investigation of the processes of teaching and learning—is a legitimate field of study. But its exact nature and its limitations need to be fully understood. Like the various branches of engineering, pedagogy is an applied science. It answers practical questions, not ultimate and philosophical ones. It tells how something can be

taught most effectively, but it provides no basis whatever for deciding what should be taught. In this it is like civil engineering, which tells how a dam can be constructed across a given river, but not whether it ought to be built. A specialist in pedagogy is entitled to respect when he talks about the most effective methods of teaching a given subject in the elementary or secondary school. The question of what subjects should be taught is a totally different one. It cannot be answered on the basis of pedagogical considerations alone, for it involves the ultimate purposes of education.²⁹

According to Bestor, American colleges and universities were, by definition, devoted to education, and every department in the university, in a certain sense, was “a department of education.” Referring to his affiliation as a history professor at the University of Illinois, he explained that

My own department is actually a department of education in historical thinking. The term Department of History is merely a convenient abbreviation. The division that calls itself a Department of Education is in reality a department of education in pedagogical methods, that is a Department of Pedagogy. It has no right to imply, by its name, that it has a greater concern with education than any other department.³⁰

Programs and departments in the social foundations of education represented a direct contradiction of Bestor’s model that emphasized the disciplines.

Bestor’s criticism of progressive educational models was, at least in part, a result of his own immediate experience. He attended the Lincoln School at Teachers College during the 1920s and felt that although he had received excellent instruction in history, his course in “social studies” was an inferior “hodgepodge.” While claiming to throw insight on contemporary problems, the course encouraged superficial opinions lacking “balanced and critical judgment.”³¹ As he explained: “Freedom to think was elbowed aside by freedom not to think.”³² “Indoctrination,” rather than education, dominated the course, which Bestor and his classmates referred to as a “social stew.”

Bestor believed that progressive educators such as the social foundations specialists at Teachers College were creating a “regressive” model of education:

Experts in pedagogy were feeling their oats, were abandoning their proper task of improving instruction, and were brazenly undertaking to redefine the aims of education itself. By disregarding or flatly rejecting the considered educational views of the scholarly, scientific, and professional world, these new educationists succeeded in converting the division between secondary and higher education from a mere organizational fact into a momentous intellectual schism. Progressive education became regressive education, because, instead of advancing, it began to undermine the great traditions of liberal education and to substitute for them lesser aims, confused aims, or no aims at all.³³

Bestor did believe that there was a legitimate place for “interdisciplinary investigation and teaching” in departments and schools of education, but that these needed to be based in a disciplinary foundation. In regards to the great philosopher and educationist John Dewey, he explained that Dewey was

himself a philosopher, and he brought philosophy to bear upon educational problems. Today, however, the so-called “philosophy of education” offered in most departments of pedagogy has lost touch with living philosophical thought, for it is taught mainly by men trained not in philosophy itself but merely in their predecessors’ courses in the philosophy of education. What began as the free and creative speculation of philosophic minds upon educational questions has congealed into educational dogma passed on from generation to generation by men who no longer speculate but merely expound.³⁴

Bestor proposed a new curriculum for teacher education based upon liberal arts and science rather than pedagogy. Although he did not specifically talk about social foundations as a field, his critique dismissed the field and eliminated its role in the university curriculum. Essentially, cultural and social knowledge about education, its aims and purposes, were to be the subject of disciplinary scholars, not professors of education.

Other critics followed Bestor. The launch of the Soviet Union satellite *Sputnik* in October 1957 led to a reevaluation of American public education in which the need to develop disciplinary scientists in fields such as science and mathematics was seen as being a matter of national security. Education became so closely linked to the concept of military defense that figures such as Navy Admiral Hyman Rickover began to act as educational advocates. The rhetoric of war was widely used, as is clear in the following comments made by Rickover during this period:

We are engaged in a grim duel. We are beginning to recognize the threat to American technical supremacy which could materialize if Russia succeeds in her ambitious program of achieving world scientific and engineering supremacy by turning out vast numbers of well-trained scientists and engineers. . . . We have let our educational problem grow much too big for comfort and safety. We are beginning to see now that we must solve it without delay.³⁵

As pointed out by the educational historian Diane Ravitch, the “furor” over *Sputnik* and the “crisis in education” led to the National Science Foundation’s involvement in secondary school curriculum development in fields such as mathematics, biology, chemistry, and the social sciences. Eventually, a wide range of innovative curricula were developed including “the new math,” “the new social studies,” and innovative natural and physical science programs such as Biological Science Study Committee (BSSC) and the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC).³⁶ These models led to a greater disciplinary influence on the public schools and their curriculum.

At the same time, within departments and schools of education, there was a move toward greater disciplinary orientation. At Teachers College, Lawrence Cremin took over as chair of the department of social and philosophical foundations in 1958. According to R. Freeman Butts, Cremin, like the educational philosopher Harry Broudy, considered “the term ‘foundations’ as being too ambiguous and fuzzy.”³⁷ Under Cremin’s leadership, the separate foundational disciplines went their own way, except for a general

departmental seminar for all doctoral candidates. Psychology split off and became a separate division in the college.

Cremin was the preeminent educational historian of his generation. Although he took the Education 200F course as a graduate student, and even served as an assistant in the Raupe-Benne-Butts section of the course, he did not seem to have embraced the more general social foundations model of Kilpatrick and his discussion group. Instead, he chose the path of gaining status for the field through disciplinary affiliation (history).

In doing so, Cremin was more in sync with contemporary educational critics than those who were still holding on to the older tradition of the social foundations of education. Some critics continued to call for greater academic rigor in foundational studies. In the early 1960s, for example, James D. Koerner argued that philosophical approaches to education tended to be vague and could not be substantiated. As a result, he believed that the subject did not deserve the attention of those interested in becoming teachers.³⁸ Critics like Koerner, however, received relatively little attention.

More important criticisms came from other sources. James Bryant Conant, the president of Harvard and a chemist by academic training, argued in 1963 in *The Education of American Teachers* that courses in the social foundations of education did not constitute an area of serious study. They represented, instead, an “attempt to patch together scraps of history, philosophy, political theory, sociology and pedagogical ideology.”³⁹ For Conant, the field was “worthless” and “superficial,” and he believed that courses in the field needed to be eliminated from the curriculum of schools of education because they gave the programs in which they were housed a bad reputation. Conant explained that

If I were participating in faculty appointments in an institution that certifies future teachers, I should do all in my power to see to it that all who gave courses in the philosophy of education were approved by the philosophy department as well as the department or faculty of education. *Graduate schools of education should cease trying to train professors of the philosophy of education without the active and responsible participation of the departments of philosophy.*⁴⁰

Like Bestor, Conant felt that disciplinary knowledge provided the necessary standards for addressing questions about the nature and purpose of education. Any other approach was simply a form of dilettantism. The disciplinary specialist would be the necessary midwife to give birth to meaningful social thought in education. As Conant explained, an important opportunity was at hand:

Well-trained philosophers who turn their attention to problems of American education have an opportunity to make a real contribution to overhauling the philosophic foundations of education, which today consist of crumbling pillars of the past placed on a sand of ignorance and pretension.⁴¹

According to him, the future teacher

would do well to study philosophy under a real philosopher. An additional course in the philosophy of education would be desirable but not essential. The same is true of a course in the history of education. Again, the professor should be an intermediary or middleman; he should be approved by a department of education and a department of history or an outside committee containing eminent historians. The explanation of the history of the schools of the United States under the guidance of a first-rate American historian would be a valuable experience for any teacher. It would strengthen his understanding of the political basis of our educational system and relate what he should have learned in his American history courses to his own professional work. Some of the material presented might be considered sociological rather than historical. If a competent sociologist is investigating social problems closely related to the schools and is ready to give a course in educational sociology, the desirability of such a course is evident. As to whether the present group of professors who consider themselves educational sociologists should perpetuate themselves, I have the gravest doubts. I would wish that all who claim to be working in sociology would get together in the graduate training and appointment of professors who claim to use sociological methods in discussing school and youth problems.⁴²

Disciplinary models for the social foundations of education increasingly dominated the field in the 1960s and 1970s. Although I believe some of this had to do with attempts to develop methodological rigor for the field, the disciplinary orientation taken by many foundations professors represented an attempt on their part to achieve greater status and personal acceptance across their institutions. Lawrence Cremin had accomplished this through an appointment early in his career as a professor of history at Columbia University. Bias against the study of education and the devaluation of the education of teachers meant that there was little likelihood of these individuals gaining much recognition or status outside of their programs.

In 1968, several graduates from Teachers College established the American Educational Studies Association as part of an attempt to renew the more traditional approach to the social foundations of education. One of the founders, John Laska, considered the controversy over whether or not the social foundations of education was a discipline to be a pointless discussion. As he explained in an article published in *Teachers College Record* in the late 1960s:

Much futile discussion has taken place over whether education does or does not constitute a discipline. Rather than enter into this essentially sterile controversy, the founding members of the American Educational Studies Association have chosen to use the general term "field" to designate their area of study. Thus, if it can be agreed that, for example, demography, genetics, and ecology constitute fields of study (though perhaps not disciplines), there should be no difficulty in regarding the academic study of education as a field of study, reserving for later years the question of whether it has attained disciplinary status or not.⁴³

This was in a period that also saw the establishment and growth of groups such as the History of Education Society and the Philosophy of Education Society.

History Versus Social Foundations

The educational historian Sol Cohen has provided a useful discussion of the history of American education.

At the beginning of his essay, “The History of the History of American Education: The Uses of the Past,” he clearly states that the main problem confronting educational historians who work in schools and departments of education is

the degree to which historians of education should be detached from or engaged in the educational and social problems of the day; that is, questions about what used to be called the “function” of history in a school or department of education.⁴⁴

Cohen considers this a perennial controversy. Is the work of a historian in a faculty of education “liberal,” “technical,” “professional,” or “social reconstructionist”?⁴⁵ This is a question that faces all professors in the social foundations, whether they are historians, sociologists, or philosophers. In the case of historians of education, I believe that, to a large degree, they decided to go the “professional” route as part of a process of disciplinary affiliation and the quest for personal professional status. There are many explanations for this, some of which have to do with efforts made in the general discipline of history during the 1950s.

In 1954, the Ford Foundation called a conference of historians to look at the possibility of promoting historical research about the role of education in the development of American culture. Only historians in departments of history were invited to the meeting. They included Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., Merle Curti, Samuel Eliot Morison, Richard Hofstadter, Ralph Gabriel, Walter Metzger, Paul H. Buck, and Richard J. Storr.⁴⁶ No “specialists” in the field were invited to the conference. In other words, no one working in an education department or school was included.

The group assumed that no really serious work had been conducted in the history of American education—that the work done largely by educational historians working in education programs had been uncritical, largely celebratory, and not of much value. In October 1959, a conference on early American education was sponsored by the Fund for Advancement of Education. The colonial historian Bernard Bailyn presented a paper, “Education in the Forming of American Society.” This essay was subsequently published as a monograph of the same title.⁴⁷

In a foreword to Bailyn’s work, Lester J. Cappon argued that the history of American education needed to be restudied because it had

suffered at the hands of specialists who, with the development of public education at heart, sought historical arguments to strengthen their “cause.” If there was a story of the past worth writing, it was viewed from the narrow concept of formal instruction. If schooling was institutionalized in the schoolhouse of the nineteenth century, its antecedent must be lurking in a comparable building and curriculum of the colonial period.⁴⁸

In the words of Bailyn, “the past was simply the present writ small.”⁴⁹

Bailyn argued that the histories of education written by “educational missionaries” at the turn of the century reflected their professional interests and did not represent critical histories. He argued further that their histories were focused almost exclusively on the role of formal institutions in the educational process. As pointed out by Sol Cohen, Bailyn’s interpretation almost completely disregarded the pioneering work of scholars such as Paul Monroe, who taught at Teachers College at the beginning of the century, and his students, including Edgar Knight, Stuart Noble, Frederick Eby, Edward Reisner, Thomas Woody, Willystine Goodsell, and Harlan Updegraff, as well as a subsequent generation (many trained as academic historians) such as Edgar B. Wesley, Adolph Meyer, Allen O. Hansen, Herman G. Richey, Newton Edwards, Charles F. Arrowood, and Harry Good.⁵⁰

In 1961, Lawrence Cremin had been invited to become a member of the Committee on the Role of Education in American History. This was the same year that he published his breakthrough study *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education*.⁵¹ In 1965, Cremin published *The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley*.⁵² It was subtitled “An Essay on the Historiography of American Education.” Cremin followed Bailyn’s lead by arguing that Ellwood Patterson Cubberley’s book *Public Education in the United States* had set an uncritical and jingoistic model for the interpretation of American educational history—one that schools and departments of education had never been able to escape.

Although Cubberley's work can certainly be criticized, I believe that it was being used, to a certain extent, to provide a justification for a new history of education that was separate from the tradition of a department or school of education. I think that Cremin had decided to throw his lot in with the academic historians. He was rejecting the social foundations tradition in which he had been trained and nurtured at Teachers College for a disciplinary alliance.

Cohen cites an argument that Wilson Smith, a professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, made in a 1961 article that the new historians of education would be distinguished by two characteristics. The first would be "their use of broader historical references, and [their] wider, more humanistic, professional commitment." They would also move beyond a simply "useful" or "functional" approach in their work and become a "servant of disciplined thinking" and a "representative of humane learning."⁵³

Cohen maintains that the new educational historians personified by Bailyn and Cremin ignored two generations of educational historians. They did so, according to him, for highly complex reasons. What was really at work was a rejection of the tradition of the social foundations of education—that is, the people who trained Cremin at Teachers College. According to Cohen, historians of education such as Cremin

during the 1950s and early 1960s, for what seemed like good reason at the time, decided to overlook or repress not only contemporary historians of education, but the long conversation about the function of the history of education—"liberal," "technical," or "social constructionist"—which had taken place in the three decades between Cubberley and themselves.⁵⁴

It is no accident that as all of this was taking place, Cremin and others were laying down the foundation for the History of Education Society. In 1948, a small group of educational historians, including Archibald Anderson at the University of Illinois, R. Freeman Butts at Teachers College, John Brubacher at Yale University, and Claude Eggersten at the University of Michigan, convinced the National Society of Colleges of Teacher Education (NSCTE) to sponsor a history of education section with its own journal.⁵⁵ From the

beginning, there was strong disagreement among the group's membership as to whether or not the primary purpose underlying the history of education should be to make it functional as a means of addressing contemporary questions and problems, or to follow a more traditional academic model based in "liberal study." As Stuart Noble maintained in his support of the more traditional liberal study approach, it was not "necessary or desirable to teach the subject with the motive of relevancy to current problems. I am positive in the conviction that the history of education should be taught with the liberal rather than the functional values in mind."⁵⁶

In 1960, more than a decade after the founding of the History of Education Society, Cremin tried to settle the argument by founding a new History of Education Society based around the idea that it was part of liberal studies. Cremin's rejection of the older social foundations of education model fit well into the reform agenda proposed a couple of years later by Conant in *The Education of American Teachers*. In 1968, Division F (History and the Historiography of Education) was established as part of the American Educational Research Association.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, a disciplinary model for the social foundations of education prevailed. Under this model, the development of groups such as the History of Education Society, the Philosophy of Education Society, and Division F of the American Educational Research Association occurred. Further developments took place in the history of education with the emergence of the revisionist and radical revisionist movements. Many traditional social foundations of education specialists found themselves gravitating to the American Educational Studies Association and Division G (Social and Cultural Context of Education) in the American Educational Research Association. Others moved between various disciplinary groups and the more general organizations.

It was very clear that by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the social foundations of education was a highly divided field. This situation was further complicated by the emergence of competition from scholars interested in curriculum inquiry, critical theory, and cultural studies—an issue that is discussed later in this essay.

Disciplinary Versus Social Foundation Models

As was demonstrated with the example of the history of education, the relationship between disciplinary areas of knowledge and the social foundations of education has been an issue throughout its history. Unlike more disciplinary-based fields, “the problems of education and of society are basically indivisible except for individual diagnosis and study.”⁵⁷ Educational problems are situational. They require seeing the interrelationship of things. Thus, a single disciplinary approach cannot address the needs of education.⁵⁸ As R. Freeman Butts explained, the solution of educational issues requires “judgment, generalization, and the application of knowledge from a variety of sources. The greater the specialization of knowledge, the greater the need for generality, integration, and interdisciplinary study.”⁵⁹

How does one determine the appropriate use of disciplinary knowledge? Erving Johanningmeier argues that social foundation specialists in education have always had to face this problem. This process, according to him, is more difficult than it may seem at first. As he explains,

If we do not adhere to the standards of the discipline, we are in danger of making misapplications that can result in unsound and useless conclusions and applications as well as criticism from the practitioners of those disciplines. We become amateurs subject to the criticism of experts.⁶⁰

At the same time, Johanningmeier points out that “Seeking our status and credibility through knowledge of our neighbors’ affairs distracts us from our own field and the problems we should be examining.”⁶¹

What Johanningmeier is referring to is perhaps the inevitable problem facing any interdisciplinary line of research. In a field such as the social foundations, one needs to be grounded in not just a discipline and its related political and methodological issues, but also the larger field of social foundations of education. If one is truly interdisciplinary from a methodological and interpretive point of view, one can find oneself stretched across a wide range of methods and disciplines. A researcher interested in visual sources in the history of American education, for example, can easily

find him- or herself bridging research issues ranging from visual anthropology to communication studies to semiotics and qualitative methods.

Johanningmeier makes the important point that when the social foundations scholar applies a discipline to education as a field, he or she is dealing directly with the question of applying research to practice. Noting the philosopher William James’s belief that teaching is an art rather than a science, Johanningmeier quoted James’s admonition

that you make a very great mistake, if you think that psychology being the science of the mind’s laws, is something from which you can deduce definite programmes and methods of instruction for immediate school use. Psychology is a science, and teaching is an art; and sciences never generate arts directly out of themselves.⁶²

As Johanningmeier points out, psychology by itself cannot convert theory into practice. Instead, there is the need for what James referred to as an “inventive mine.”⁶³

Those who use disciplinary-based models of inquiry tend to assume that they possess a superior rigor and insight compared to those in an interdisciplinary field such as the social foundations of education. What disciplinary specialists do not realize is that they are doing something that is significantly different. Johanningmeier quotes Foster McMurray, who wrote in 1955 that an educational sociologist, in doing his or her work, is making a contribution to sociology rather than to education. This is not to say that his or her contribution is not important beyond the discipline, but that it is not necessarily the same thing that a social foundations of education researcher does when he or she uses sociological methods in his or her work. According to McMurray,

In the same way that application of pure science to industrial process is not found by simple deduction from basic knowledge, but is rather the product of creative invention, so the “meaning” of the social sciences for education must be discovered by activities of a higher intellectual order than following suggestions, analogous, or supposed “implications” from foundational sciences.⁶⁴

According to McMurray, the “true” discipline of education cannot arise only by applying the questions of a discipline such as history or sociology within a school setting.⁶⁵

There are several reasons why a singular disciplinary model is inadequate for the field of education and, more specifically, the social foundations of education. Most important is the fact that schools are, by their very nature, multifaceted and complex. No single discipline is capable of capturing all that goes on in schools. An interdisciplinary model is required.

This does not mean that the social foundations needs to reject disciplinary approaches. They are, in fact, essential to the main task of the social foundations. As Johanningmeier explains, although “the disciplines are ancillary to our task,” they are, from a practical point of view, “indispensable.”⁶⁶ Yet, at the same time, they can be regarded as “enemies” because their disciplinary focus tends to reject interdisciplinary models, which are fundamental to the very idea of the social foundations.⁶⁷

Nash, Shiman, and Conrad maintain that the preoccupation of many social foundations scholars with imitating the disciplines has caused them to lose focus of their primary purpose—at least as defined by the original founders of the field, such as Counts and Kilpatrick. As they explained in the mid-1970s:

What ails the social and humanistic foundations of education is the slavish tendency to ape the disciplines. It is time to admit the obvious: We in the foundational areas have for so long attempted to borrow legitimacy for our own subject matter from the academic disciplines that we have seriously neglected the day-to-day professional concerns of the undergraduate and graduate constituents we serve. Casual attendance at our professional conferences and the most perfunctory perusal of our technical journals embarrassingly reveal the current sad state of foundational studies: preoccupation with the most tendentious and narrow academic issues. Burning topical concerns such as busing, mainstreaming, career education, “back-to-the-basics vs. open education,” and teacher militancy are often collapsed into—or ignored in favor of—the most abstruse, “scholarly” discussions of sociology of knowledge, historical revisionism,

language analysis, and existential phenomenology. Also, like our cherished counterparts in the disciplines, we are often more comfortable interminably debating and critiquing each other on trivial technical issues than we are in radically reorganizing and integrating our subject matters and exploring vital and more varied instructional procedures.⁶⁸

Many in the social foundations, according to Nash and colleagues, pay lip service to the idea of interdisciplinary work, but in fact “still cling tenaciously to the boundaries of the established disciplines.”⁶⁹ In doing so, they deny the fundamental interdisciplinary character of the field—the very basis on which it was founded.

The desire to develop disciplinary affiliations is perhaps understandable. Most social foundations professors find themselves as outsiders in the schools and departments of education where they teach. They are typically in small number and are surrounded by colleagues with many different agendas, orientations, and interests. Their work is often difficult to understand and does not easily fit in with traditions of empirical and scientific research that are more commonly embraced by researchers in fields such as educational psychology, statistics, and quantitative research. Practitioners, with their field-based orientation, often consider their social foundations colleagues to be disconnected from the real world of the schools.

In addition to the above problems, social foundations professors, because of their disciplinary orientation, are potentially considered to be “fraternizing with the enemy.” Particularly in larger university settings, arts and sciences disciplinary specialists have a history of devaluing and attacking professional schools, and more specifically, departments and schools of education.⁷⁰ Somehow, the education of teachers is not considered to be a responsibility for the overall institution (including arts and sciences professors and their content courses), but strictly the responsibility of professors in the education school. There is little awareness of the fact that students in most schools of education get the great bulk of their education outside of the school of education. They don’t seem to realize that what can be accomplished within a program is often limited by certification requirements and so on. In many schools—particularly state

universities—teacher education programs fund more specialized disciplinary programs in the arts and sciences. In fact, there is a failure in many state institutions—particularly smaller, regionally based schools that have been designated recently as universities—to face up to the fact that they began as teacher education colleges or normal schools and, to a very large degree, still have that function today.

Social foundations of education professors are also faced with the temptation of trying to gain professional status in their disciplines, rather than in the professional schools and departments where most of them work. Even when such status is offered, it is often conditional and subject to unconscious biases.

Disciplinary Power, Hegemony, and the Social Foundations of Education

It can be argued that, in the medieval scholastic sense, disciplines such as history, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology are the handmaidens of the social foundations of education. Such an approach would be a challenge to most disciplines. By adopting an interdisciplinary model, the social foundations of education challenges the exclusive authority of an individual discipline. In doing so, there is the potential threat of an outsider asking about the validity of specific disciplinary models, as well as the extent to which they serve selected personal agendas and needs.

Disciplinary association is not simply an academic issue, but is also deeply rooted in issues of power and authority in both the university and the culture at large. In this regard, the concept of hegemony provides an extremely interesting lens through which to examine the potential of disciplinary systems to limit the freedom and latitude of interdisciplinary approaches such as the social foundations of education.

Hegemony is a concept that was first developed by the Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). For Gramsci, hegemony represented the diffusion or permeation throughout the culture of a specific system of values, attitudes, and beliefs that had the effect of supporting the existing power structure in the culture. According to Peter McLaren,

Hegemony refers to the maintenance of domination not by the sheer exercise of force but primarily

through consensual social practices, social forms, and social structures produced in specific sites such as the church, the state, the school, the mass media, the political system and the family. . . . Hegemony refers to the moral and intellectual leadership of a dominant class over a subordinate class achieved not through coercion (i.e., threat of imprisonment or torture) or the willful construction of rules and regulations (as in a dictatorship or fascist regime), but rather through the general winning of consent of the subordinate class to the authority of the dominant class.⁷¹

The concept of hegemony is particularly interesting because the very people whom it oppresses often embrace it. As a result, they unconsciously contribute to their own oppression. One might argue that this is the case with certain disciplinary specialists in the social foundations of education who strongly embrace a disciplinary approach to gain greater academic status, while they are discriminated against for working with the “people in education.”

Hegemonic systems set the character and content of discourse in a culture and in a disciplinary field. They do this, according to Douglas Kellner, in that they “define the limits of discourse, by setting the political agenda, by defining the issues and terms of debate, and by excluding oppositional ideas.”⁷²

R. Freeman Butts and the “ABCs of the Foundations of Education”

In an article published in *Education Theory* in 1973, R. Freeman Butts attempted to set forth a complex, multilayered model for the social foundations of education. The model included multiple disciplines (history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and comparative international studies) stacked on top of each other. Each discipline was divided along different axes—literally referred to by Butts as the “ABCs of the Foundations of Education.” These included

Social and Cultural Problems of Modernizing Societies

Issue-Laden Trends of Modern Education

Humanistic and Behavioral Disciplines.⁷³

For a discipline like history, Butts's model not only was based around the X, Y, Z axes of the ABCs of the Foundations of Education, but was further defined by twelve intersecting vectors (my own term) or forces. These were, on the first vector, "Research-Minded," "Achievement Versus Learner Oriented," "Differentiated," "Practical and Professional," "Secular and Scientific," and "Large-Scale Organization." The second intersecting vector consisted of "Ethnic and Racial Integration," "Religious and Cultural Pluralism," "Technical and Intellectual Specialization," "Rural Transformation and Industrial Urbanization," "Popular Participation in Public Affairs," and "Nation Building and National Development."⁷⁴

At first, Butts's model, which he tried to present visually, is extremely confusing. What he was trying to get at was a multivariate model of the forces that shape

education and culture—each being situated in a foundational discipline—history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and comparative international studies. In turn, he tried to demonstrate, by stacking the disciplines (history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and comparative international studies), that they are ultimately interconnected.

Although Butts's model never caught on, I believe that he was on to something. He tried to demonstrate the interrelatedness of forces and issues that shape education. He believed that it was possible to decode the meaning of these forces through the disciplines, ultimately integrating the findings in a multidisciplinary model based in the social foundations of education. In a certain sense, what he was postulating was a complex social/ecological system.

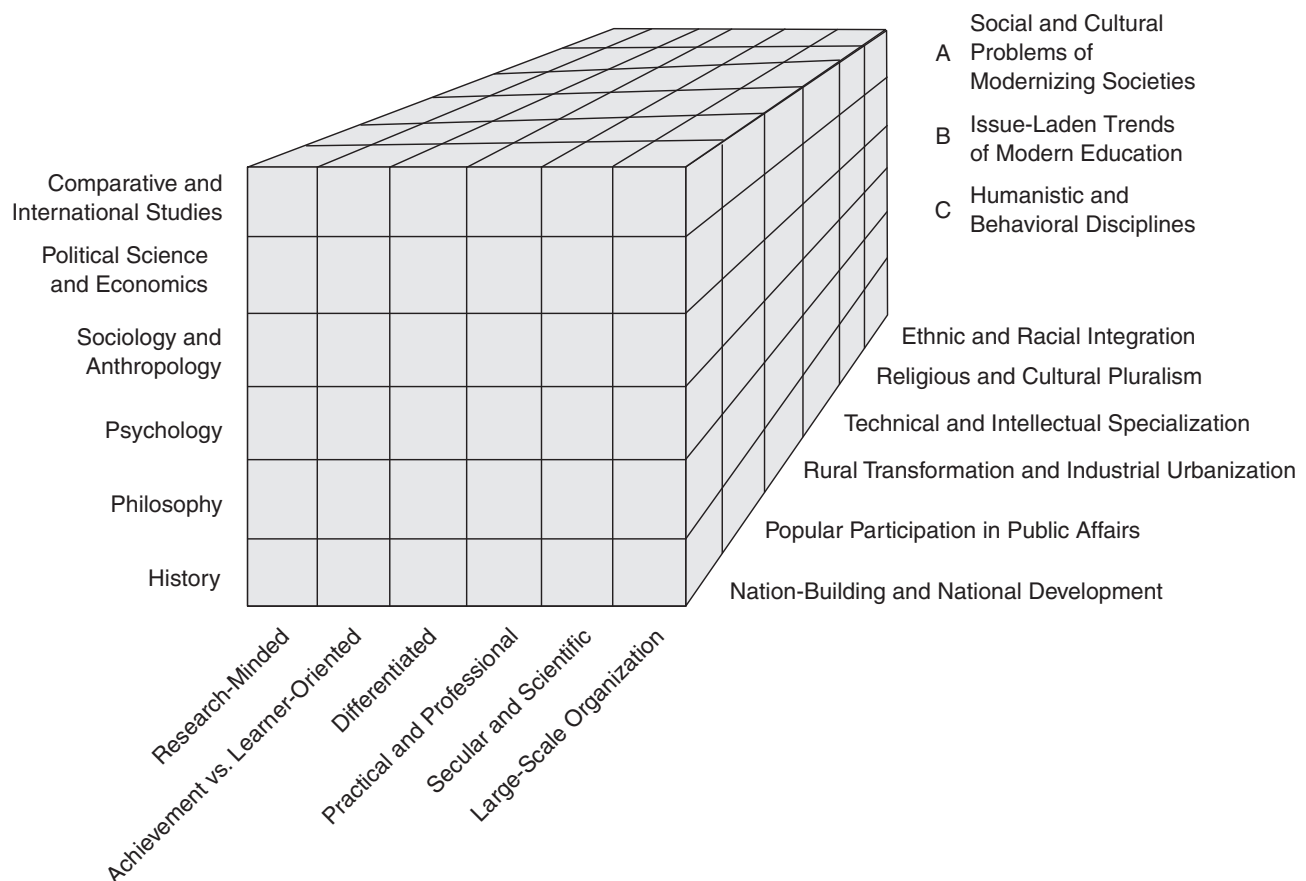


Figure 1 The ABCs of the Foundations of Education

Source: Adapted from R. Freeman Butts, "Reconstruction in Foundations Studies," *Educational Theory*, 23, 1 (Winter 1973). Used with permission by Board of Trustees, University of Illinois.

Butts recognized the limitations and possibilities inherent in his model. As he explained,

Approaching the foundational study through the several disciplines has the undoubted merit that it can achieve a depth of understanding in a single field of knowledge and provide the methodological tools for thinking about education and society in a particular way, historical, philosophical, psychological, sociological. But the trouble is that the more successful the disciplinary approach is in the eyes of the scholar the less useful it may be for the non-specialist student. The disciplinary specialist needs a conceptual framework to guide the selection of instructional materials that will be relevant to the interplay between education and society. . . . Approaching foundational study through the other avenues, social problems or educational issues, has the immediate advantage of greater relevance for the common problems facing educators, but the danger is that the study may be superficial and shallow with too little depth of real knowledge as the basis for making judgments or enlisting commitment for reform. If a problem approach is used, the most valid scholarly knowledge of the several disciplines must be relied upon, but this too requires a well-formulated framework of thought to serve as a principle of selection for instructional materials to be plumbed from the depths of the disciplines.⁷⁵

Butts essentially argued that the social foundations of education must provide a conceptual model to function. While it needs the methodological tools provided by the disciplines, disciplinary inquiry cannot answer meaningful educational questions unless it goes beyond the boundaries of a single field. In other words, interdisciplinary approaches are unavoidable if much meaning is to be found in the disciplinary inquiry.

The image of Chang and Eng, the famous Siamese twins who toured with P. T. Barnum during the second half of the nineteenth century, comes to mind when we consider the ultimate connection between the disciplines and the social foundations of education. Chang and Eng were bound together for life. Essentially, the social foundations cannot afford to sever its connections with the disciplines, no matter how much discomfort those disciplines may cause. The problem is

that the disciplines can continue on their own without the necessity of the social foundations of education. In doing so, however, the study of education and its connection to professional training and critical social change and reform becomes extremely limited.

Toward a Redefinition of the Social Foundations of Education

The social foundations of education is at a critical point in its history. There is a very real possibility that the field could fall into oblivion—or, at best, be incorporated into specialized disciplinary fields such as history, philosophy, and sociology. This would be unfortunate because the interdisciplinary nature of the field has the potential to serve the needs of the culture and the educational community more than restricted disciplinary models. Throughout the second half of this essay, I call for a renewed definition of the social foundations of education. In doing so, the integration of insights from the field of cultural studies can provide the basis for a new approach to the field. It can not only respect disciplinary insights and methods, but also be linked in a dynamic and meaningful way to the original founding principles of the social foundations of education.

Undertaking a discussion of cultural studies and its relationship to the social foundations of education requires an examination of the meaning of the term *culture*. In its most conservative meaning, culture can be defined as a “standard of aesthetic excellence,”⁷⁶ what the nineteenth-century English critic Matthew Arnold defined as “the best that has been said and thought in the world.”⁷⁷ For the poet T. S. Eliot, culture represented “all the characteristic activities and interests of a people.”⁷⁸ In the United States, this definition could include New Orleans jazz, the poetry of Robert Frost, the music of Elvis Presley, the design of the Empire State Building, a McDonald’s hamburger, or the New York Philharmonic. The anthropologist Edward T. Hall describes culture in the following way:

Culture is man’s medium; there is not one aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. This means personality, how people express themselves (including shows of emotion), the way they

think, how they move, how problems are served, how their cities are planned and laid out, how transportation systems function and are organized, as well as how economic and government systems are put together and function.⁷⁹

However, it is frequently the most obvious and taken-for-granted, and therefore the least studied, aspects of culture that influence behavior in the deepest and most subtle ways.

For John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, culture represents

the shared principles of life characteristic of particular classes, groups or social milieux. Cultures are produced as groups make sense of their social existence in the course of everyday experience. Culture is intimate, therefore, with the world of practical action. It suffices, for most of the time, for managing everyday life. Since, however, this everyday world is itself problematic, culture must perforce take complex and heterogeneous forms, not at all free from contradictions.⁸⁰

The study of culture as a phenomenon is at the root of foundational studies in education. Therefore, it is not surprising that cultural studies as a field should suggest the direction for a redefinition of the social and cultural foundations as a field.

Defining cultural studies, as a field, is a difficult task. Advocates of the field consciously avoid a disciplinary approach, maintaining that such models are limiting and often represent entrenched power groups. According to Kathy Hytten,

As a counter logic, cultural studies advocates suggest that the segmentation of knowledge into neat disciplinary packages and categories is what precipitates the need for alternative ways of understanding and exploring the world, as the narrow confines and highly specific methodological approaches of any one particular discipline are not adequate to capture the complexity of something as multi-faceted as culture.⁸¹

Although there is a deliberately open-ended quality to cultural studies, it does not lack a focus. Cultural studies is concerned with understanding what can be

termed the “web” of culture—its interrelationships and connectedness. In doing so, cultural studies identifies relationships involving power, domination, control, and authority. It does so, not through the study of just traditional culture, but also through the study of popular culture. It considers what is valued and what is not valued by the culture, as well as at a culture’s signs and symbols—where, and how, and who generates them. Cultural studies assumes that culture is dynamic and changing, and that there are many cultures that define a larger culture or society such as is found in the United States or Great Britain.

Hytten summarizes cultural studies as involving “the study of culture: what it is and how it is constructed, transmitted, contested, negotiated and conceived.”⁸² In addition, she points to four characteristics that particularly distinguish cultural studies as an approach: (1) Cultural studies assumes that culture is a dynamic process; (2) cultural studies makes little or no distinction between high-brow and popular culture; (3) cultural studies understands that culture and power are linked; and (4) cultural studies demands new ways of studying culture that transcend traditional methods and disciplinary boundaries.⁸³ These four characteristics effectively position cultural studies as a challenge to more traditional disciplinary approaches to knowledge and education.

For example, arguing that cultural studies is a dynamic process challenges the notion of many traditional humanists and disciplinary specialists who believe that there is an essential body of knowledge that defines the meaning of Western culture. This approach is represented in the work of literary scholars such as E. D. Hirsch, Jr. and Alan Bloom.⁸⁴ According to Hirsch, cultural literacy is defined within a narrow range of traditions and experiences.

Significantly, cultural studies does not necessarily reject the traditions of knowledge such as the “Western canon.” The field even recognizes that some cultural traditions may be of more value than others. As Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux explain,

To acknowledge different forms of literacy is not to suggest that they should all be given equal weight. On the contrary, it is to argue that their differences are to be weighed against the capacity they have for enabling people to locate themselves in their own

histories while simultaneously establishing the conditions for them to function as part of a wider democratic culture. This represents a form of literacy that is not merely epistemological, but also deeply political and eminently pedagogical.⁸⁵

Hirsch and Bloom, as representatives of a much more conservative model, would maintain that culture represents less of a dialogic process, and is more fixed. In this context, Hirsch and Bloom would subscribe to the nineteenth-century English critic Matthew Arnold's model of culture as being "the best that has been said and thought in the world."⁸⁶

Theorists in cultural studies, rather than simply accepting an Arnoldian selection of "the best that has been thought and said," would ask whose values are being represented in the selection? Why? Is the selection of certain topics a manifestation of selected cultural and political groups replicating or extending their power and privilege? Thus, according to Giroux, culture "is not seen as monolithic and unchanging, but as a site of multiple and heterogenous borders where different histories, languages, experiences and voices intermingle amidst diverse relations of power and privilege."⁸⁷

Cultural studies rejects elitist models of culture that privilege certain groups over others. Thus, it includes not just elite culture, but also popular culture sources. These sources, such as film, television, comics, and advertising, are often highly problematic for traditional scholars. Much of the discomfort on the part of traditional academics over the introduction of cultural studies into the curriculum of colleges and universities has not so much to do with the content of the material, as with what other material is being displaced. The American culture wars that began during the late 1980s were largely over whose values and belief systems would be represented in the culture.⁸⁸

This brings us to the notion that power and culture are linked. Cultural studies theorists recognize, like the English philosopher Francis Bacon, that knowledge is power. Defining what culture is is ultimately a political act that reinforces specific lines of power and authority. This explains why the work produced by artists is often a touchstone of controversy in a culture. Artistic representations have the potential to reinforce or challenge existing lines of culture power and authority.

Hyttén argues that the four guiding assumptions outlined above (culture as dynamic, no absolute distinction between high and low culture, culture and power as linked, and the importance of transcending disciplinary boundaries) represent

an intellectual and political practice that is concerned with understanding culture as something which is multi-faceted and helps to condition the dominant expectations, values, beliefs and norms toward being and acting in the world. As a practice, cultural studies is contextualist, critical and interventionist.⁸⁹

Cultural Studies and the Social Foundations of Education

The field of cultural studies began to achieve prominence in the United States during the mid-1980s. As an academic area, it can trace its origins back to the 1960s and the founding of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. From its beginning, the Centre's approach was interdisciplinary. Led by figures such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, and Edward Thompson, the Centre's roots were in adult and working-class education.⁹⁰

As Lawrence Grossberg has pointed out, it is ironic that all of the founding figures of cultural studies, including Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, and Stuart Hall, started their work in education, outside of traditional academic university settings.⁹¹ Yet despite this fact, education, and more specifically the social foundations of education, was slow to incorporate cultural studies models into its programs.

I believe that there are several explanations for this phenomenon. To begin with, the social foundations of education was already asking many of the same questions that are being addressed in cultural studies.⁹² In fact, each of the four characteristics identified by Hyttén as being associated with cultural studies (Cultural studies assumes that culture is a dynamic process; cultural studies makes little or no distinction between high-brow and popular culture; cultural studies understands that culture and power are linked; and cultural studies demands new ways of studying culture that transcend traditional methods and disciplinary boundaries) can be accommodated easily within

the assumptions of the founders of the social foundations of education.

For example, cultural studies assumes that culture is a dynamic process. This concept is inherent in the social reconstructionist model that underlies the basic philosophy of the Teachers College social foundations faculty. The need to “reconstruct” the culture, or, as George S. Counts argued, that the “schools build a new social order,” implies, by definition, the idea that schools and the culture are inevitably involved in the process of change. In other words, they are part of a dynamic social process.

One need only look at the work of Counts to see an example of this assumption. In *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* he argued that

We live in troublous times; we live in an age of profound change; we live in an age of revolution. Indeed it is highly doubtful whether man ever lived in a more eventful period than the present. In order to match our epoch we would probably have to go back to the fall of the ancient empires or even to that unrecorded age when men first abandoned the natural arts of hunting and fishing and trapping and began to experiment with agriculture and the settled life. Today we are witnessing the rise of a civilization quite without precedent in human history—a civilization founded on science, technology, and machinery, possessing the most extraordinary power, and rapidly making of the entire world a single great society. Because of forces already released, whether in the field of economics, politics, morals, religion, or art, the old molds are being broken. And the peoples of the earth are everywhere seething with strange ideas and passions. If life were peaceful and quiet and undisturbed by great issues, we might with some show of wisdom center our attention on the nature of the child. But with the world as it is, we cannot afford for a single instant to remove our eyes from the social scene or shift our attention from the peculiar needs of the age.⁹³

Likewise in the introduction to the textbook *Readings in the Foundations of Education*, which was created by the Kilpatrick discussion group for Education 200F, change and how it affects schools and the culture at large was presented as being an unavoidable and current issue

for educators. As the editors of the book explained: “The present age of industrialism and high technology is peculiarly dynamic, that in fact not only in America but practically the entire world it has entered a period of most profound social and cultural transition.”⁹⁴

Hyttén’s second assumption, that cultural studies make little or no distinction between high-brow and popular culture, is reflected in the fact that the content of a course such as Education 200F at Teachers College recognized society’s “shift from a mechanistic and atomistic outlook upon life to an organic one.”⁹⁵

In this context, although the idea of popular culture was almost certainly unknown to the founders of the social foundations, the concept of moving beyond mechanistic models toward organic ones strongly resonates with the notion that there was a need to understand both high and low culture. In the Education 200F *Readings* textbook, the inclusion of essays such as “Literature as Art and Propaganda,” “Social Propaganda as Art Education,” and other similar topics suggests that there was at least the beginning of an understanding on the part of the Teachers College faculty that issues involving the relationship between popular culture, the educational system, and the larger culture were important. Mass media—more specifically, electronic media—had just been introduced into American culture by the mid-1930s. Commercial radio was introduced in the late 1920s and commercial television would reach mainstream audiences during the late 1940s or early 1950s—fifteen to twenty years after the core formulation of the social foundations had taken place.

Hyttén’s third assumption, that cultural studies understand that culture and power are linked, is an issue that Counts was clearly aware of. Once again we need only turn to *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* where he states that “ruling classes never surrender their power voluntarily.”⁹⁶ Likewise, when he asks, “In whose interests and for what purposes are the vast material riches, the unrivaled industrial equipment, and the science and technology of the nation to be used?”⁹⁷ Counts was interrogating the meaning of power and authority in American society in ways that would be readily understood by anyone coming from a cultural studies perspective.

Finally, Hyttén’s argument that cultural studies demand new ways of studying culture that transcend

traditional methods and disciplinary boundaries is implicit in the very definition of the field of the social foundations of education. To repeat the guidelines statement made by the social and philosophical foundations department at Teachers College more than fifty years ago: “As with the field of cultural studies, the interdisciplinary character of the Social Foundations of Education was defined at its inception.”

Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Studies of Education

The tradition of critical pedagogy traces its roots back to the late 1970s and early 1980s. Writers such as Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz, and Peter McLaren started to draw on such theorists as Michael Young, Basil Bernstein, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, Richard Johnson, Paul Willis, Antonio Gramsci, and Paulo Freire, as well as members of the Frankfurt school of critical theory (Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Walter Benjamin).⁹⁸ Giroux, Aronowitz, and McLaren also began to question whether or not schools were neutral, the extent to which they perpetuated privilege, and the extent to which they were part of larger systems of power and authority within the culture.

Their work was not entirely original. Disciplinary-based social foundations scholars such as the revisionist and radical revisionist historians of education had asked similar questions more than a decade earlier. Their work nonetheless represents an important breakthrough. By the late 1970s, Giroux, in particular, had become increasingly interested in culture as part of a political and social process. He moved beyond a traditional Marxist analysis of culture, rejecting it because of its overemphasis on economics.⁹⁹ In works such as *Education Under Siege* (coauthored with Stanley Aronowitz), Giroux argued that schools were part of a “democratic public sphere.” According to Aronowitz and Giroux, this meant that several steps needed to be taken. The first was

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.¹⁰⁰

The second step involved “rethinking the purpose of education” and

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 want to offer a set of categories that will allow for a better understanding of intellectual work, the preconditions for its existence, and the political role it does and can serve.¹⁰¹

Aronowitz and Giroux, and particularly Giroux, had probably discovered the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. This is important, because Gramsci not only posits the idea of hegemony, but counterhegemony, which implicitly included the concept of resistance. For both Aronowitz and Giroux, the idea of a counterhegemony posits the possibilities of a language of hope and reform.

Interestingly, Aronowitz and Giroux believe that their work resonates with that of earlier educational progressives such as Dewey and Kilpatrick. As they explain,

Progressive education—the core American doctrine of liberal educational humanism—contains a language of possibility for fruitful intervention into contemporary educational battles, because it poses the relationship 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 1960s, and the ideas of its leading theorists John Dewey and the Columbia

School (Kirkpatrick, Rugg, Hook and Mikeljohn). 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.¹⁰²

Aronowitz and Giroux credit progressives such as Dewey with having a vision of what schools ought to be, but take him to task for not “making a social and political analysis of what schools are.”¹⁰³

I believe that Aronowitz and Giroux, and particularly Giroux, fail to sufficiently take into account the importance of earlier theoreticians in the social foundations of education—specifically, those in the Kilpatrick discussion group such as George S. Counts.

In *Teachers as Intellectuals*, for example, Giroux argues that teachers need to become “transformative intellectuals,” ones who will

combine reflection and action in the interest of empowering students with the skills and knowledge needed to address injustices and to be critical actors committed to developing a world free of oppression and exploitation. Such intellectuals are not merely concerned with promoting individual achievement or advancing students along career ladders, they are concerned with empowering students so they can read the world critically and change it when necessary.¹⁰⁴

Returning to the idea of schools as “democratic public spheres” that he developed with Aronowitz in *Education Under Siege*, Giroux argues in *Teachers as Intellectuals* that “both teachers and students need to work together to forge a new emancipatory vision of community and society.”¹⁰⁵ According to Giroux, teachers as intellectuals

must take active responsibility for raising serious questions about what they teach, how they are to teach, and what the larger goals are for which they are striving. This means that they must take a responsible role in shaping the purposes and conditions of schooling. Such a task is impossible within a division of labor in

which teachers have little influence over the ideological and economic conditions of their work.¹⁰⁶

There is absolutely nothing wrong with old wine in new bottles. Giroux’s concept of teachers being “transformative intellectuals” sounds a great deal like George S. Counts’s argument for teachers becoming a social force in his 1932 *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* As Counts argued,

Teachers, if they could increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence, and vision, might become a social force of some magnitude. About this eventuality I am not over sanguine, but a society lacking leadership as ours does, might even accept the guidance of teachers. Through powerful organizations they might at least reach the public conscience and come to exercise a larger measure of control over the schools than hitherto. They would then have to assume some responsibility for the more fundamental forms of imposition which, according to my argument, cannot be avoided.¹⁰⁷

Counts believed that teachers should not only be politically and socially proactive, but consciously seek power as well. As he explained,

That the teachers should deliberately reach for power and then make the most of their conquest is my firm conviction. To the extent that they are permitted to fashion the curriculum and the procedures of the school they will definitely and positively influence the social attitudes, ideals, and behavior of the coming generation. In doing this they should resort to no subterfuge or false modesty. They should say neither that they are merely teaching the truth nor that they are unwilling to wield power in their own right. The first position is false and the second is a confession of incompetence. It is my observation that the men and women who have affected the course of human events are those who have not hesitated to use the power that has come to them. Representing as they do, not the interests of the moment or of any special class, but rather the common and abiding interests of the people, teachers are under heavy social obligation to protect and further those interests. In this they occupy a relatively

unique position in society. Also since the profession should embrace scientists and scholars of the highest rank, as well as teachers working at all levels of the educational system, it has at its disposal, as no other group, the knowledge and wisdom of the ages. It is scarcely thinkable that these men and women would ever act as selfishly or bungle as badly as have the so-called “practical” men of our generation—the politicians, the financiers, the industrialists. If all of these facts are taken into account, instead of shunning power, the profession should rather seek power and then strive to use that power fully and wisely and in the interests of the great masses of the people.¹⁰⁸

Counts, along with William Heard Kilpatrick, is widely considered to be the singular force in the development of the Education 200F course at Teachers College and perhaps as much as any single figure, the founder of the field of the social foundations of education. The basic premise and title of his “revolutionary” pamphlet *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* calls for a radical pedagogy that complements theorists such as Giroux and could easily have been written during the 1980s or in our own era. According to Counts, writing during the early years of the Great Depression, teachers

must be prepared to stand on their own feet and win for their ideas the support of the masses of the people. Education as a force for social regeneration must march hand in hand with the living and creative forces of the social order. In their own lives teachers must bridge the gap between school and society and play some part in the fashioning of those great common purposes which should bind the two together.¹⁰⁹

As a result of science, technology, and culture, human civilization was transforming itself into a “single great society.”¹¹⁰

Included in Aronowitz and Giroux’s idea of the school as a democratic sphere is the need “to specify what we as a community want education to be.” Implicit in this notion is the belief that the schools must be part of an active political process, not simply passive containers of knowledge. This is an idea that clearly resonates with Counts, who argued that

If the schools are to be really effective, they must become centers for the building, and not merely for the contemplation, of our civilization. This does not mean that we should endeavor to promote particular reforms through the educational system. We should, however, give to our children a vision of the possibilities which lie ahead and endeavor to enlist their loyalties and enthusiasms in the realization of the vision. Also our social institutions and practices, all of them, should be critically examined in the light of such a vision.¹¹¹

Education and Cultural Studies

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, Giroux’s work had evolved beyond a focus on critical pedagogy into a broader cultural studies model. By the middle of the 1990s, he had published his essay, “Is There a Place for Cultural Studies in Colleges of Education?”¹¹² This piece was followed in 1997 by a book coedited with Patrick Shannon, *Education and Cultural Studies: Toward a Performative Practice*.¹¹³

At the beginning of “Is There a Place for Cultural Studies in Colleges of Education?” Giroux asks the question of “why so few academics have incorporated cultural studies into the language of education reform, particularly as it applies to colleges and schools of education.”¹¹⁴ Although I think that there is validity in his argument that there is a long tradition of educational reform emphasizing the practical and the immediate over the reflective and the intellectual, and that “within such a tradition, management issues become more important than understanding and furthering schools as democratic public spheres,”¹¹⁵ I also believe that Giroux and many others interested in the cultural studies of education have consistently ignored the intellectual traditions of the social foundations of education. Once again, I do not object to Giroux and others adopting a cultural studies model of education. I obviously think that the model is important and well worth attention. My objection is that by not connecting their model to the intellectual traditions of the social foundations of education begun at Teachers College more than fifty years before, they contribute to the fragmentation among those groups interested in social and cultural issues related to schooling.

As argued in earlier sections of this essay, the founders of the social foundations of education laid out an intellectual agenda in the 1930s and 1940s that, if not precisely the same, included most of the key elements of a cultural studies approach to education. Certainly, popular culture and an understanding of the need to study media—particularly electronic media—as an educational force was not part of their agenda (these forces had not sufficiently emerged in the culture to have attention given to them). The themes of culture as dynamic and changing, of the need for educators and academics to be political and cultural leaders, of the need for them to go beyond disciplinary borders in the study of education, as well as the realization that education involves issues of power and authority, were all concerns of the Kilpatrick discussion groups. They were also themes within the traditions of the social foundations of education that emerged from Teachers College.

Giroux demonstrates little awareness of this tradition. Perhaps this is because of his academic training and experience. Giroux taught as a high school teacher from 1969–1975. His graduate training culminated with the completion of a doctorate of arts from Carnegie-Mellon University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences in 1977 with a major in curriculum theory, sociology of education, and history. His dissertation was titled "Themes in Modern European History: A Study in the Process of Writing History." At least at the doctoral level, Giroux's training was not in the social and cultural foundations of education, yet it is this area that, historically, has been most linked to cultural studies issues.

In his writing, both on critical theory and pedagogy, as well as on cultural studies and education, Giroux makes virtually no reference to the social foundations of education as a field, nor to the key writers in the field. His approach is to draw on literary and cultural theorists—ones whom I suspect he knew and with whom he was comfortable from studies in literature and critical theory as part of his doctoral program. I think Giroux's originality is that of the outsider coming to the field of education and bringing with him a new set of theoretical insights and perspectives. I believe that his main limitation is that he is not sufficiently connected to intellectual traditions such as the

social foundations. By coming from the outside, and by not integrating his work with existing traditions, Giroux contributes to the division over the social foundations of education and its role in departments and schools of education.

Other people have contributed to the problem. William Pinar's important reconceptualist work in curriculum theory led to the creation of the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* and the Bergamo Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice (widely known as Bergamo because of its location at a conference center by that name located near Dayton, Ohio). This conference has influenced people to move away from the social foundations of education. People have also been focusing on disciplinary affiliations rather than on the broader social foundations model.

Foundational Questions for the Field of Educational and Cultural Studies

Kathy Hytten asks the fundamental question for anyone interested in the social foundations of education or cultural studies in education: "What should be the ultimate purposes of education in a democratic society?"¹¹⁶ She points to the fact that this question and others like it are seldom addressed in schools of education. She notes,

Asking about ultimate purposes is a metaphysical question, one that requires us to consider the reasons why we do something—the why, or the end goal. Yet too often in education, we neglect metaphysical questions and focus instead on engineering ones.¹¹⁷

Hytten's "engineering questions" are goal oriented: "Should students be able to choose their schools? How can we efficiently implement an educational strategy such as cooperative learning? What is the best way to teach biology? How can we better assess students?"¹¹⁸ What these questions avoid, according to Hytten, is the question, What is the purpose of schooling?

The following outline is intended to provide a core set of questions around which a new model of education and cultural studies can be formulated. Many of the questions are obvious to those engaged in the social foundations of education and its related disciplinary fields.

The idea for such a series of questions is by no means original. In 1960, for example, the educational anthropologist and sociologist Jules Henry developed “A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education,” which included many of the same essential questions and concepts outlined below. In 1969, Philip W. Perdue outlined many of the key questions for the field in an article, “What Are the Foundational Questions?”¹¹⁹ More recently, Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg have used a similar approach in their book *Thirteen Questions*, in which they provide contrasting interpretations of thirteen key questions in the field of education and cultural studies. Their insight that “teacher education often ignores questions of educational meaning, focusing its attention on techniques of delivering information,”¹²⁰ is important and addresses one of the most important limitations of how we prepare teachers for the real world.

The approach taken by Steinberg and Kincheloe is also closely related to what Macmillan and Garrison refer to as *ereotetic* teaching—that is, teaching that relies on questioning as a central pedagogic technique.¹²¹ Although it is hoped that the questions and concepts outlined below are useful to those engaged in teaching in educational foundations, they are also intended to provide a guide for critical inquiry and the means by which to establish a preliminary map of the field of educational and cultural studies.

Like any map, this set of questions provides an overview or metaphor for the field. Earlier theorists provide useful guidelines. For example, Philip W. Perdue maintained that the criteria for the selection of such questions should include the following:

They are abstract or theoretical.

They have broad application to many specific or practical situations.

For their solution, they draw upon data in more than one field.

They have the potential for generating new data.

They are problems in *education*, not in philosophy, sociology, psychology, or any other discipline, although they may generate data which will be useful to other disciplines.¹²²

Perdue’s criteria are worth careful consideration. They also suggest that the development of such a list is

subject to constant revision, as new territories are explored and older, more defined geographies and landscapes are reexamined. It is hoped that these questions will provide a starting point for further discussion and debate.

The questions that are included are divided into two groups. The first group is an example of questions about the nature and purpose of schooling and education that critical educational social theorists have asked in recent years. I include them as examples of the types of questions that have been proposed by many of those working in critical and cultural studies of education. The list is not definitive and is intended simply to provide a “scrapbook” of some of the questions that are being asked by researchers and theoreticians in the field. They are not organized in any particular order. Often, the questions were grouped in clusters. As a result, in most instances, I have kept them grouped together.

The second list draws on many of the questions in the first list. I have reworked some questions and added new questions as I tried to construct a rough taxonomy of inquiry for the field. It is not in any way meant to be definitive, but simply a starting point, a framework, for building an *ereotetic* system—a foundational set of questions for educational and cultural studies.

Questions From Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Studies

In developing the second set of questions, I have been guided by Peter McLaren’s notion that in the case of questions involving critical pedagogy, they need to be ones that must

take as their point of departure the real, concrete problems facing students and teachers today. . . .

Questions which are relevant and pertinent to the human condition, questions which are formulated as part of a larger struggle for human liberation—are those which must be asked of history itself.¹²³

The first set of questions that have been asked in recent years is as follows:

Upon what criteria do we base our decisions about what type of society our schools should work to create? How do we decide what we need to know or not to know? What is the nature of the process that certifies certain

information as valuable school knowledge? How do we apply the knowledge gained in schools to our own lives and the larger society?¹²⁴

How do students and teachers come to construct their views of reality?¹²⁵

Why are some constructions of educational reality embraced and officially legitimated by the dominant culture, while others are repressed?¹²⁶

What should be taught in the schools?¹²⁷

What do schools teach, what should they teach, and who should decide?¹²⁸

Is the primary purpose of schooling to instill basic skills or to foster critical thinking?¹²⁹

Should education aim to mold future citizens, engender personal development, or inspire academic achievement?¹³⁰

Must education have an aim?¹³¹

What beliefs, values, or attitudes are learned from the way classrooms are? That is, what lessons are acquired but taken for granted, taught but not planned?¹³²

What is a good teacher? good teaching? What does it mean to be a good teacher? Are teachers as good as they used to be? Do we have reason to think teachers are not as good? What made them good? How do we define good? Is there a model for good teaching? a system of meaning that we can attach to good teaching? Are there different types of good teachers? What stories do we hear from teachers about good teaching? what stories from students? Is good teaching intuitive? Is it learned? How symbiotic should schooling and teaching be? What does learning have to do with teaching? Can one really *teach* anything? What is the responsibility of the learner? What is the text of teaching? of good teaching? Can we define good teaching?¹³³

What is good teaching in the context of gender, class, ethnicity, and generation?¹³⁴

What kinds of teaching contribute to the building of democracy in the present as well as the future? What might encourage students and teachers to imagine in deep and compassionate terms, the possibilities offered by their own identities and the identities of others? How might teaching engage everyone involved in social justice and in the attainment of civil rights? What kind of values allows students and teachers to work together in dignified ways? What conditions allow teaching and learning to be meaningful, creative, and pleasurable? If we can imagine schooling as a wonderful place, what kinds of identities would

be available to teachers, students, and the larger communities? If education could (be) lived as a utopia, what kinds of practices, values and beliefs, and relationships would sustain it? What if teachers and students could shed the stereotypes that trap them? How would their work and their lives be different?¹³⁵

What are the moral variants against which we shall construct ourselves as social agents of change? How can problems related to class, race, gender, and power be translated into questions of educational quality and excellence? In what way can we reposition ourselves as educators against the dominant culture in order to reconstitute our own identities and experiences and those of our students? How can educators construct a pedagogical project that legitimates a critical form of intellectual practice? How is it possible to acknowledge difference and multiple forms of identity and still address the issues of will and political struggle? What diversity do we silence in the name of a liberatory pedagogy? How can educators come to recognize injustices which have been perpetrated in the name of education? How can they come to face their own participation in the employ of an often oppressive system that appears to rob students of their basic rights? In what ways can teachers work to support a pedagogy responsible for collectively forging a democratic public culture? How can educators link a theory of schooling to a pedagogy of the body and desire? What are the limits of the knowledge/power/subjectivity relation? How do we develop a public discourse that integrates the language of power and purpose with the language of intimacy, friendship, and caring? How do we speak in the name of emancipation without showing scorn for those who are caught in the grip of domination or ignorance, regardless of their class position? Since we don't know what is historically possible until it has been tried, how can educators begin to empower students to imagine a future in which hope becomes practical and where freedom can be dreamed, struggled for, and eventually won?¹³⁶

Who controls different modes of communication, and in whose interest do they operate? More succinctly put, do the modes of communication operate in the interest of oppression or liberation?¹³⁷

Should the schools develop young people to fit into present society as it is, or does the school have a revolutionary mission to develop young people who will seek to improve the society?¹³⁸

What is learned in schools?¹³⁹

What counts as curriculum knowledge? How is such knowledge produced? How is such knowledge transmitted in the classroom?¹⁴⁰

Who has access to legitimate forms of knowledge?
Whose interest does this knowledge serve?¹⁴¹

How are social and political contradictions and tensions mediated through acceptable forms of classroom knowledge and social relationships?¹⁴²

How do prevailing methods of evaluation serve to legitimize existing forms of knowledge?¹⁴³

How can we make schooling meaningful so as to make it critical and how can we make it critical so as to make it emancipatory?¹⁴⁴

What should be the ultimate purpose of education in a democratic society?¹⁴⁵

Basic Questions

What follows is a series of basic questions for the social and cultural foundations of education. As mentioned earlier, some of these questions draw on those listed above. Others have been reworded and some are completely new.¹⁴⁶

What is taught in the schools? Who determines the curriculum? Does the content reflect a specific social or political set of values? Is the censorship of certain ideas necessary to protect students from “dangerous” or inappropriate ideas? What should be included in textbooks?

What are the fundamental images or metaphors used to define the culture? Are there certain core or “root” metaphors that are used in the culture and the educational system? What do these images and metaphors reflect?

What is the focus or primary purpose of education in a specific culture or society? Is it to produce loyal subjects or citizens? Is it to pass on traditions? Is it to produce workers? Is it to control the individual or groups? Is it to maximize the potential of individuals or groups?

Who is it that teaches? Men? Women? High-status individuals? Low-status individuals? Do the people who teach create or control the curriculum they teach?

Should the schools act as agents for social change or as a means of maintaining the status quo? To what extent should teachers act as agents for promoting change or for maintaining the dominant values and beliefs of the culture? Should teachers be restricted in what they are allowed to teach their students?

Who is to be educated? In a democratic society such as the United States, is equal education for all possible or even

desirable? Does the gifted child need the same support and resources as the average child or the handicapped child? What is equitable? Should ethnic groups and language minorities receive different training from other groups?

What makes a good school? Does the definition of a good school differ depending on the social and economic background of its students? Can we compare schools with different types of clients who have different types of needs?

What narratives should be emphasized in the curriculum of the schools? Whose stories are to be told? What cultures are to be represented? What should be the end and purpose of instruction?

What types of obligations do the schools have beyond simply educating students? Should schools address the moral development of students, for example, or provide health services? What should be the focus of the school?

Should schooling be compulsory? If so, for how long? What is considered a sufficient education? Should students be compelled to learn things they or their parents oppose on moral and personal grounds?

Should private schools be encouraged or discouraged? Should they receive direct or indirect support from the government? Do private schools benefit certain groups in the culture? If yes, how?

What role should religion play in schooling? Should selected religious practices or sects be allowed in the schools? Should certain religious groups be excluded? What is equitable?

Who should control the schools? Should the schools be controlled by parents, administrators, or state and federal governments? Should education and the schools be under the control of an elite? Who is capable of making the most informed decisions concerning what is needed by the educational system?

What constitutes the necessary and proper means of training teachers? Who should be allowed to teach? To what extent should teachers have the right to act according to the dictates of their own values?

To what extent should the schools be used as a means of correcting or compensating for past social injustices? Should the schools be used to desegregate the society and bring about greater equality?

To what extent should the schools provide instruction that has been provided in the past by the family and other social groups? Should subjects such as sex education or personal ethics and values be taught in the schools?

To what extent are the media, in the form of television, movies, popular music, video games, and computers, taking the place of more traditional family and school-based instruction? Is most of the education children receive coming from media sources? How is this type of education different from other types of learning? How is it related to commercial interests in our society?

Who benefits most from new educational technologies such as computers? Do the privileged have the most to gain from new computer technologies like the Internet? Are there differences in the services provided to students based on their social or economic class? Is the use of technology encouraged more for boys than girls?

What is considered useful knowledge? Whose knowledge is taught in the classroom? Is there a “canon” that is taught? Where does it come from? Does its adoption benefit certain groups over others?

How does race affect what goes on in the schools? Does the racial background of the student affect how and what he or she is taught? Are there hidden curricula at work in schools and the culture reflecting racial bias and privilege?

How does ethnicity affect what goes on in the schools? Are certain ethnic groups treated differently based on their background and experience? Or are all ethnic groups treated the same?

How does gender affect what goes on in the schools? Are men educated differently from women? Are women subjected to treatment and experiences that are different from those of men? Are alternative sexual orientations discriminated against?

How does social class affect the experience of students in the schools? Are students from lower socioeconomic groups treated differently from children whose parents are part of the culture’s power bloc?

What types of citizens do our schools and the culture want to create? What knowledge is necessary to make people active and productive citizens?

What constitutes good teaching? How are teachers trained? What is considered good teaching? Why is it considered good teaching?

Should schools provide social services? Is it the obligation of schools to provide free lunch and health care programs for students in need?

What are the rights of teachers? What can teachers do or not do? How much control should the society have over teachers in the classroom? in their private lives?

What is the role of business in shaping and influencing the content of education? What type of influence should business have in shaping the curriculum of the schools? Should students be trained for specific jobs demanded by the business system?

What is the significance of the fact that women have dominated the teaching profession since the middle of the nineteenth century? Has the fact that teaching has been a feminized profession affected the status of teachers—both historically and in contemporary culture? Why are the majority of teachers women? Why are there fewer men and minorities in the teaching profession than in the general population?

Should there be national standards and guidelines for the curriculum of the schools? Should the content of curriculum be controlled at the local and state level or by the federal government? Who should determine what gets taught in the schools?

What role does popular culture play in the shaping of attitudes about schools, teachers, and students? Is the representation of schools, teachers, and students accurate, or does it distort the reality of their experience?

Should teachers be nationally licensed and certified? Should teachers be “board certified” the way a specialist is in the field of medicine? What should constitute certification?

How is technology used as part of the educational system? What discourses does it encourage or discourage? Is educational technology neutral? Does it benefit some more than others?

I would argue that we need to reconceptualize the field of the social foundations of education around questions such as these. I believe that the formulation of key questions about the nature and purpose of education and schooling, about how people are acculturated, and about how these processes relate to larger issues of race, gender, and social and economic class are essential to a reconceptualized model of social foundations of education. Cultural studies provide an understanding of the structures of power in a culture, as well as the mechanisms by which cultural meaning is created and controlled. In doing so, a theoretical model and set of methods are provided for formulating key questions in the field. To quote Hytten,

In developing new ways of thinking about pedagogy and curriculum, cultural studies of education attends to basic questions about the knowledge most worth learning, while at the same time opening up spaces for students to study larger social questions that transcend typical disciplinary boundaries.¹⁴⁷

I agree with Perdew's nearly thirty-year-old criticism that the true foundations "must be more relevant, more analytical, and more integrative." Those of us interested in the social foundations of education, cultural studies of education, educational studies, or whatever term we want to use to describe our field, must draw on the disciplines for methods and insights, but, at the same time, not be blinded by their inherent limitations. We need to develop truly meaningful transdisciplinary models that confront the balkanization of the academic disciplines and their avoidance of critical questions about the foundations of American culture and society.

Conclusion

The title of this essay, "Education and Cultural Studies: Toward a Renewed Definition of the Social Foundations of Education," might have also been called "Back to the Future." I believe that many of the elements underlying the original founding of the field of the social foundations of education are inherent in a "renewed" model of the social foundations—one that emphasizes a cultural studies approach.

Of course, this is not to argue that the social foundations of education and education and cultural studies are necessarily the same thing. There is a separation of nearly half a century between the fruition of each field. Methodological advances, new texts and sources, innovative interpretive paradigms and schemas, and accumulated knowledge in the field of educational research make them different. Yet in many regards, what cultural studies in education attempts to do fulfills many of the main ideals pursued by the founders of the field of social foundations.

If cultural studies is to provide a basis for the renewal of the social foundations of education, then its practitioners will have to involve themselves not only with the faculty who teach throughout departments

and schools of education, but also with their colleagues in the liberal arts. In addition, they will have to address how their work is meaningful for those actually working in schools—school administrators, teachers, and parents. I think this is a very difficult task that requires both enormous energy and insight.

A renewed social foundations of education that draws upon a cultural studies model cannot be simply the study of popular culture and media, corporate pedagogy, radical pedagogy, and revolutionary multiculturalism. Although these are fascinating and important topics, they represent only a very small part of the issues that need to be addressed as part of a renewed definition of the social foundations of education.

Educational and cultural studies needs to expand the issues it addresses. It needs to include, as Kathy Hytten suggests, more issues that "dominate the broader educational discourse" such as school choice, alternative assessment, national standards, grouping practices, testing, school business partnerships, and technology.¹⁴⁸

I admire much of the work done in critical pedagogy and cultural studies in education. Yet critical pedagogy and, more recently, cultural studies of education, despite their promise, are situated largely on the fringes of educational practice. Thus, concepts developed by these approaches are rarely integrated into courses in methods, or specialized areas such as special education or educational technology. Teachers, and the educational system in general, fail to ask questions about how they perceive the classrooms in which they work, how students interpret the information that is presented to them, and how knowledge is mediated between teachers and students.¹⁴⁹ This is perhaps the great failure of teacher education in the United States. Through its failure to address cultural questions, it has been unable to train the teachers it educates to be reflective thinkers about what they do, about the character and concerns of the students they teach, and about the communities in which they work.

It is interesting that we insist on teaching elementary school teachers the fundamentals of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, and how to introduce young children to basic mathematics, but we do not systematically introduce them to concepts that will help them be reflective social practitioners.

Like Hytten, I believe that the cultural studies of education provides a “compelling vision” of education that contributes to educational practices and that has the potential to both empower and liberate individuals. A cultural studies approach to education has a number of implications for educators. First, it forces them to “acknowledge the value-ladenness of their positions and of knowledge itself.” Second, it assumes that “educators need to relate curricula more directly to students’ lives, aspirations, and cultures.” Third, in a cultural studies model, “issues of diversity need to be more paramount in schools. Specifically, students need to know how power and privilege get constructed in society—often in problematic ways.” Fourth, in a cultural studies model, “educators should teach students how to express themselves and gain more control over their daily lives so that they are not passive consumers of disabling social messages.” Fifth, and finally, a cultural studies model compels educators to “experiment with new models for teaching and learning that better connect what occurs in the classroom to efforts at social transformation.”¹⁵⁰

If we are to adopt a cultural studies of education model for renewing the social foundations of education, we must also recognize the limitations of both cultural studies and the social foundations. In a very powerful, and I believe essentially fair critique, the educational and social/ecological theorist C. A. Bowers challenges the work of educational and cultural theorists such as Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren. Although arguing that he is in full agreement with them on many social justice issues—specifically, issues involving gender, minority cultures, and the economic underclass—he questions why they ignore issues involving

the right of future generations to experience life in an uncontaminated environment, the need for cultures to sustain patterns of moral reciprocity along with knowledge and activities that result in a more ecologically sustainable footprint, and the need for more ecologically centered cultural groups to assess which technological and linguistic innovations can be assimilated and rejected.¹⁵¹

Bowers argues that emancipatory theorists such as McLaren and Giroux, along with their predecessors

Freire and Dewey, reject tradition by associating it with “the legacy of a feudal social order that limited human choice and development.”¹⁵² Bowers questions their epistemological assumption based on the Western philosophical tradition “that the individual is the basic social unit that engages in rational thought and has direct, culturally unmediated experiences.”¹⁵³ For Bowers, tradition is not an impediment, nor is change necessarily desirable or good. These are assumptions that he believes are built into the work of theorists such as McLaren and Giroux, as well as a critical pedagogue such as Paulo Freire.

Bowers, for example, takes to task Giroux’s notion of teachers being “transformative intellectuals” and change agents for the culture. As he explains,

According to Giroux’s way of thinking, all members of society, regardless of cultural background and degree of participation in their primary and secondary cultures, must be willing to yield to the moral judgments of students and their teachers. In the 1930s, George Counts urged teachers to become a selfless vanguard dedicated to the task of creating a new social order. More recently, the world has witnessed several examples of student-led revolutionary movements that set out to overturn all traditions. Few people today would agree that the Red Guard and the youthful followers of Pol Pot created democratic public spheres that provided for greater social equality and the discovery of new personal identities.¹⁵⁴

Bowers goes on to criticize McLaren, Giroux, and their followers’ assumptions about the nature of progress and their rejection of traditional and “conservative” (i.e., conserving) models of culture.

Bowers presents a note of caution for any renewed definition of the social foundations of education. If we are to use a question-based model to reformulate the social foundations of education—one that emphasizes a cultural studies approach—then we must “interrogate” (to use a favorite phrase of Giroux’s) what assumptions underlie our questions, as well as our interpretations of them. No construction of knowledge is neutral. Bowers’s recent work on social ecology and education emphasizes Western education, and more specifically, the failure of American colleges and universities to

recognize their bias against traditional forms of knowledge. It represents a powerful critique that should help us realize the potential limitations of new formulations concerning culture and education and provide us with insight that allows us to go beyond our perspectives and points of view in renewing our definition of the social foundations of education.¹⁵⁵

During the mid-1970s, Nash, Shiman, and Conrad proposed a set of recommendations for reforming the social foundations of education. In doing so, they did not reject the disciplines, but emphasized the concept of moving toward constructs for the field that went beyond disciplinary models.¹⁵⁶ More recently, Lee Shulman has analyzed the foundations in the education of professionals. Beginning with a discussion of the work of Abraham Flexner and the development of a foundational/disciplinary model for medical teaching at the beginning of the twentieth century (i.e., two years of basic science before practical courses begin), Shulman criticizes the foundational courses in medical education as eventually becoming “disconnected, disintegrated and unrelated to practice.”¹⁵⁷

After reviewing John Dewey’s approach to the foundations at the University of Chicago in the late 1890s, Shulman makes a case for a reconceptualization of the foundations of education (both psychological and philosophical). He argues specifically for “a withering away of the field of educational foundations as we know it as separate, disconnected studies in psychology, history, sociology, and philosophy of education.”¹⁵⁸ For Shulman,

the foundation must be seen as an integral part of the connective tissue that gives shape and meaning to the education of teachers—as the framework for connecting and integrating the knowledge acquired in the liberal arts and sciences with the practice of pedagogy.¹⁵⁹

Shulman argues that the “true foundation disciplines are not what we call foundations.” Instead, they are the “arts and sciences themselves.”¹⁶⁰ Rejecting the architectural metaphor for the foundations in which disciplinary coursework provides the base upon which professional training is laid, Shulman proposes an alternative metaphor of the steel skeleton for a skyscraper, one that is “much more powerful than a solid

foundation because it is integral to the structure. It weaves itself through it; it becomes part of the very structure it is trying to support.”¹⁶¹

Shulman’s model suggests that foundational scholars in psychology, history, philosophy, anthropology, and sociology of education should not think of themselves as providing a base, but a scaffolding or framework for the understanding of pedagogy and education. This metaphor is even more useful because it also suggests the notion of a connectedness, or an understanding of the pattern or patterns that connect the phenomenon of education.

Shulman goes on to propose five principles for rethinking the general foundations of education:

1. We must teach foundations in a way that is bound up with the content of instruction. It does not make sense to separate the content from the pedagogy now any more than it did for Dewey in 1896.
2. The best way to think about the foundations is as that set of ideas and experiences through which we forge connections between what students learned in the arts and sciences and the pedagogy that they are going to be learning with us.
3. Cases should become an important tool for teaching foundations. Cases can be selected, crafted, sequenced. If we can learn to make them more vivid and interactive, we can derive all of the virtues of their situatedness and their connectedness, and have the opportunity to add the moral to the intellectual in the teaching of pedagogy.
4. We must use what we call the foundations to create vivid, compelling images of the possible in education, images of the long-term moral as well as intellectual possibilities of being an educated person in a good society.
5. Our foundations work should continually present students with the opportunity to test the correspondence between their own thinking and doing and these images of the possible they generate.¹⁶²

Shulman’s proposed principles seem reasonable. I would suggest including them in any reconsideration of the social foundations of education and the cultural studies of education.

I believe, however, that a larger reform needs to be considered, one that goes beyond the integration of the social foundations of education and the cultural studies of education. I suggest going beyond departments and

schools of education, going beyond departments and disciplines, to ask the question: How do we teach undergraduates and graduate students in professional schools?

Shulman's argument that the true foundations disciplines are arts and sciences is ultimately a sound one. The majority of undergraduate instruction for students in education comes from outside the field of education. What meaning do these courses have for students? If they are simply a selection of general education requirements, they may or may not serve the purpose of broadly educating them and preparing them for work as professionals. I do not believe, for example, that it is sufficient to have students take an introductory American history course, and then assume that they are going to connect it to their studies in education. Nor do I believe that we can expect undergraduates to connect their studies in biology, mathematics, or philosophy in a similar way. A course here and there across the liberal arts does not sufficiently connect what students need to know and understand.

I believe we need to connect our courses together using a truly interdisciplinary approach. Imagine a course that fulfilled a general education requirement that required students to consider the relationship between schooling and culture. Imagine a course that posed fundamental questions of the type discussed earlier in this work.

Imagine students going back to their courses in American history, sociology, philosophy, or biology and asking these various questions within the context of these disciplines. Why not introduce in a general course in the social foundations and cultural studies of education the concept of "privilege"? The issue of privilege and its role in education could be posed as follows: How does privilege advantage certain individuals over others in our educational system? Are men privileged over women? If so, how? Does privilege enter into the equation of race or ethnicity? If so, how do racial or ethnic privileges manifest themselves in school settings? What are the implications for our culture and democracy? What are the implications for working in educational settings? for the development of curriculum? And so on.

These questions, which could be outlined and discussed on a preliminary basis in a general social foundations course, then could be linked to a scaffolding or network of additional coursework and inquiry. An African American or American literature course could

examine discrimination (the denial or opposite of privilege) in a work such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or Richard Wright's *Native Son*. Reference back to the key concept or question from the general foundations course would be part of the discussion.

Likewise, a sociology course could include a strand on privilege, perhaps considering the work of theorists such as Emile Durkheim or Antonio Gramsci. A biology course could look at issues of racial representation and scientific bias beginning with phrenology. In psychology, one could look at not only pseudoscientific systems like phrenology, but also at how psychological testing has been used and abused by different groups to promote privilege among select populations in the culture.

Integrative discussion groups and courses could provide the opportunity to pull seemingly disparate sources together. Combined with intensive writing and research projects, such courses could stress an understanding of the connectedness of things in the web of culture.

Methods courses in education could be linked much more closely to disciplinary knowledge from the liberal arts. Classroom management, for example, could be understood in the context of issues of privilege that operate on a racial, ethnic, or gender level.

Initially, such coordination and integration would be difficult. I think it is liable to fail because of the natural tendency of individuals not to revamp their thinking and teaching. Disciplinary specialists, by definition, are fascinated by their subject. They take its importance for granted. They see its connections within itself as a field. They are not necessarily, nor even likely to be, interested in broader questions that may be crucial to an undergraduate.

Similarly, methods instructors, teaching in an education program, may consider stressing the connection of what they are doing with knowledge in the disciplines as a distraction. They may also see it as threatening because it challenges myths and assumptions that they hold dear. Age and the problems of breaking set traditions and habits may be contributing factors. I cannot imagine a colleague near the end of his or her career, whether in a discipline or in a practice-oriented course in education, easily adopting a radical model such as the one proposed. Certainly, some people will be able to change, but many will not be able to alter ingrained habits and ways of looking at the world.

Yet such a model has the promise of providing a much more powerful and meaningful education for our students. It overcomes Whitehead's objection to schooling that emphasizes the acquisition of "inert knowledge":

Culture is activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art. We have to remember that the valuable intellectual development is self development, and that it mostly takes place between the ages of sixteen and thirty.¹⁶³

"Inert ideas"—ideas that are simply digested by students without "being utilized, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations"¹⁶⁴—are useless in the meaningful education of the individual.

Technologies are available that could help us in the process of realizing an interdisciplinary and "connected" model of the type outlined above. Robert M. Hutchins developed his famous *Synopticon* to accompany the *Great Books of the Western World*.¹⁶⁵ The *Synopticon*, according to Hutchins, was

begun as an index and then turned into a means of helping the reader find paths through the books, has ended, in addition to making these contributions as a tool for reference, research, and study, as a preliminary summation of the issues around which the Great Conversation has revolved, together with indications of the course of the debate at this moment. Once again, the *Synopticon* argues no case and presents no point of view. It will not interpret any book to the reader; it will not tell him which author is right and which wrong on any question. It simply supplies him with suggestions as to how he may conveniently peruse the study of any important topic through the range of Western intellectual history.¹⁶⁶

The philosopher Mortimer Adler was primarily responsible for the development of the *Synopticon*. Including 102 categories or "chapters," topics dealt with in the index were as diverse as "Temperance,"

"Sign and Symbol," and "Slavery." Under the category of "Poetry," for example, there are nine major topics, including "The nature of poetry: its distinction from other arts," "The origin and development of poetry: the materials of myth and legend," and so on.¹⁶⁷ Under the category of "The nature of poetry: its distinction from other arts," are references to authors such as Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Epictetus, Augustine, Aquinas, Dante, Hobbes, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Bacon, Descartes, Milton, Pascal, Swift, Fielding, Kant, Boswell, Hegel, Goethe, Darwin, Dostoevsky, and Freud.¹⁶⁸

Implicit in Adler's *Synopticon* is a desire to create links between different authors writing on the same or related topics. Such a model could be adopted for the type of curriculum I am proposing by focusing on the creation of an index that dealt with key topics and questions. Such a "Synopticon" could be developed for students in education, but also in other professional fields as well. It could be used in professional schools such as business, communications, social work, or public health. By emphasizing the connectedness of ideas and knowledge, as well as critical thinking, such a system could move beyond the concept of a core or foundational knowledge to one that resonates much more closely with Shulman's metaphor of scaffolding. Such an approach could represent a model for radically reconceptualizing how we teach undergraduates in professional schools and programs. If actually implemented, it could not only encourage a much more integrated model of instruction, but also draw on the strengths of the liberal arts while addressing the fundamental needs of the professional program.

Computers, with their capability of networking and linking information and ideas, as well as making possible the frequent update of materials, are ideally suited to support such a curriculum. The potential to redefine professional education and change the nature of college instruction is enormous. How applicable such a general model would be to graduate education is open to debate.

In conclusion, I would like to argue that the social foundations of education, integrated with a cultural studies model of education, has the potential to not only extend our understanding of the meaning of schooling and its role in American society, but also act as the

structure for creating a renewed model of education and instruction for professional fields such as education.

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Notes

1. Quoted by E. V. Johanningmeier, "Through the Disarray: Some Notes Towards a New Social Foundations," *Educational Foundations*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Fall 1991, p. 7.

2. Council of Learned Societies in Education, *Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education, Educational Studies, and Educational Policy Studies*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Caddo Gap Publishers, 1996). Available online at: <http://members.aol.com/caddogap/standard.htm>

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. R. Freeman Butts quotes Martin Levit in a paper prepared in 1971 for the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education titled "An Inquiry Approach for Foundational Studies":

Foundational studies should be focused on the critical, comparative and comprehensive evaluation of socio-educational policies. . . . No discipline is able to validate its truth-claims by its own resources. . . . No discipline contains or is connected with enough warranted premises to make, by itself, justified recommendations for educational policies and programs. . . . Because this is so, we stand in great need of more comprehensive and interconnected perspectives as a foundation for more rational educational policies.

See R. Freeman Butts, "Reconstruction in Foundations Studies," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Winter 1973, p. 28. For Thomas Howell and Nobuo Shimahara: "The social foundations of education are understood to be interdisciplinary attempts to study education in multi-sided perspectives. They are built upon the contributions of various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities." See Thomas Howell and Nobuo Shimahara, "Educational Foundations: Contributions at the Undergraduate Level," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 71, No. 2, December 1969, p. 207.

9. Steven E. Tozer and Debra Miretzky, "Professional Teaching Standards and Social Foundations of Education," *Educational Studies*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, Summer 2000, pp. 106–120.

10. Ibid. See Levi Seely, *The Foundations of Education* (New York: Hinds and Noble, 1901).

11. Harold Rugg, general editor, *Readings in the Foundations of Education*, Vol. 1 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1941), p. v.

12. Ibid., p. vi.

13. Ibid.

14. R. Freeman Butts, "Schools in the Context of a Tangled Culture," in *ibid.*, p. 5. The description for Education 200F included in the 1936–1937 catalogue described the course in the following way: "The course is designed to give in more inclusive and integrated form the necessary orientation to education formerly offered through the History of Education, Philosophy of Education, Educational Sociology, Educational Psychology, Comparative Education, and Educational Economics. The effort will be so to deal with the areas common to the various fields of educational endeavor as to provide for them all a basic understanding and a common outlook and language of discourse." Quoted in R. Freeman Butts, *In the First Person Singular: The Foundations of Education* (San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press, 1993), p. 15.

15. Ibid., p. ix.

16. R. Freeman Butts, "Kenneth Benne: The Compleat Teacher, or The Philosopher's Practice of Civic Virtue," *Educational Theory*, Volume 43, Number 2, Spring 1993. Accessed at Educational Theory on the Web: http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/Educational-Theory/Contents/43_2_Butts.asp

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., quoted by Butts.

19. Quoted by Tozer and McAninch, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

20. Quoted by Johanningmeier, "Through the Disarray," p. 7.

21. Ibid.

22. R. Freeman Butts, *In the First Person Singular: The Foundations of Education* (San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press, 1993), p. 17.

23. Ibid., p. 22.

24. Ibid., p. 23.

25. Ibid., pp. 23–25.

26. Ibid., p. vi.

27. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat From Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953); Mortimer B. Smith, *And Madly Teach* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1949); Harry J. Fuller, "The Emperor's New Clothes, or prius dementat," *The Scientific Monthly*, 72(1951), 32–41; Albert Lynd, *Quackery in the Public Schools* (Boston: Little Brown, 1953).

28. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Life Adjustment in Education: A Critique," *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, 38(1952), 413–441.

29. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools. Second Edition with Retrospectives by Clarence J. Karier and Foster McMurray* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 41.

30. Ibid., p. 42.

31. Ibid., p. 46.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., p. 47.

34. Ibid., p. 108.

35. Quoted by Peter Dow, "Sputnik Revisited: Historical Perspectives on Science Reform," 1997 National Science

Foundation "Reflecting on Sputnik," available online at: <http://www.nationalacademies.org/sputnik/dow.htm>

36. Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1845–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), pp. 231–233.

37. Butts, *In the First Person Singular*, p. 5.

38. Arnstine, Donald, "The Knowledge Nobody Wants: The Humanistic Foundations in Teacher Education," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Winter 1973, p. 9.

39. James Bryant Conant, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 127.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 131, emphasis in original.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. John A. Laska, "Current Progress in the Foundations of Education," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 71, No. 2, 1969, 181–182.

44. Sol Cohen, "The History of the History of American Education: The Uses of the Past," in Sol, Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), p. 3.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

47. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, VA.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. vi–vii.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

50. Cohen, op. cit., p. 13.

51. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Knopf, 1961).

52. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberly: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965).

53. Cohen, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

56. Quoted by Cohen, p. 18.

57. Butts, "Reconstruction in Foundations Studies," p. 28.

58. According to Henry Giroux, David Shumway, Paul Smith, and James Sosnoski:

What is studied under the aegis of an academic discipline at any given time is not a natural subject matter, but a field which is itself constituted in the practice of the discipline. Such a field is not arbitrary in the sense that it develops randomly or on whim; rather, a field can be called arbitrary because it is contingent on historical circumstance. Hence it reflects cultural, social, and institutional demands. This is true of all academic fields, but especially so in fields outside the natural sciences. To understand why this is the case, it is necessary to look more closely at the formation of academic disciplines.

See Henry Giroux, David Shumway, Paul Smith, and James Sosnoski, "The Need for Cultural Studies: Resisting Intellectuals and Oppositional Public Spheres," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 64 (1984), pp. 472–486.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Johanningmeier, "Through the Disarray," p. 8.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. In this context, Johanningmeier, pp. 9–10, cites Arthur Powell citing Harvard University's Philip Rulon to the effect that the differences between arts and science and education faculty was probably impossible to bridge: "One wanted to advance knowledge, the other to find out how to inculcate in youth the needed adult skills."

68. Robert J. Nash, David A. Shiman, and David R. Conrad, "The Foundations of Education: A Suicidal Syndrome," *Teachers College Record*, February 1977, Vol. 78, No. 3, p. 299.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

70. See, for example, Bestor, *Educational Wastelands*.

71. Peter McLaren, *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1998), pp. 177–178. Todd Gitlin defines hegemony as a ruling class's (or alliance's) domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order. No hard and fast lines can be drawn between the mechanisms of hegemony and the mechanisms of coercion. . . . In any given society, hegemony and coercion are interwoven.

See Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 253.

72. Quoted by Henry Giroux, *Ideology, Culture & the Process of Schooling* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), p. 23.

73. Butts, "Reconstruction in Foundations Studies," p. 33.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

76. *Ibid.*

77. See Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma: An Essay Towards a Better Apprehension of the Bible* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1874); and *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (New York: Macmillan, 1882).

78. Quoted by Dick Hebdige, "From Culture to Hegemony," in Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 358.

79. Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1981), pp. 16–17.

80. John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, “Subculture, Culture and Class” in *Resistance Through Rituals*, edited by Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson, 1976), quoted by Giroux, Shumway, Smith, and Sosnoski, “The Need for Cultural Studies,” p. 486.

81. Kathy Hytten, “Cultural Studies of Education: Mapping the Terrain,” *Educational Foundations*, Fall 1997, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 40.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., p. 41.

84. See E. D. Hirsch, “Finding the Answers in Drills and Rigor,” *New York Times*, September 11, 1999: A15, A17; *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (New York: Vintage, 1988); *The Schools We Need and Why We Don’t Have Them* (New York: Doubleday, 1996); and E. D. Hirsch, Joseph F. Kett, and James S. Trefil, *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988).

85. Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, *Postmodern Education: Politics, Culture, and Social Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 51.

86. See Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* and *Culture and Anarchy*, *op. cit.*

87. Quoted by Hytten, “Cultural Studies of Education,” p. 42.

88. See James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991) for background on the culture wars in the United States.

89. Hytten, “Cultural Studies of Education,” p. 43.

90. For background on the history of the Birmingham program, see Thomas Steele, *The Emergence of Cultural Studies* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997) and Lawrence Grossberg, “Bring It All Back Home: Pedagogy and Cultural Studies,” in *Bringing It All Back Home: Essays on Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), in particular the essay “The Formation(s) of Cultural Studies: An American in Birmingham,” pp. 195–244.

91. Grossberg, “Bring It All Back Home,” p. 375.

92. There are many elements in the original conception of the social foundations of education that clearly resonate with a cultural studies model. In the following summary by Tozer and McAninch of the new model of the social foundations of education that the Kilpatrick discussion group incorporated into Education 200F at Teachers College during the mid-1930s, one can clearly see approaches that are fundamental to a cultural studies approach, including the ideas of cross-disciplinary and critical studies:

Social foundations of education is grounded in a rigorous study of society; it is cross-disciplinary, an integrated—rather than a simply eclectic—course of study; it is critical—that is, it exposes students to coherently argued critiques of social and educational processes, institutions and ideas; it reflects an

explicitly articulated point of view which gives organization and integration to the materials studied and which seeks to help “each student . . . build his own point of view” as a result of interacting with the arguments and issues in the text. (Tozer and McAninch, *op. cit.*, p. 10)

93. George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Company, 1932), pp. 31–32.

94. Rugg, *Readings in the Foundations of Education*, p. x.

95. Ibid., p. vi.

96. Ibid., p. 51.

97. Ibid., p. 43.

98. Peter McLaren, “Foreword: Critical Theory and the Meaning of Hope,” in Henry A. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning* (Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988), p. x.

99. Ibid., p. xiv.

100. Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, *Education Under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Debate Over Schooling* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), p. 19.

101. Ibid., pp. 19–20.

102. Ibid., p. xvii.

103. Ibid., p. 9.

104. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, p. xxxv.

105. Ibid., p. xxxvi.

106. Ibid., p. 126.

107. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* pp. 28–29.

108. Ibid., pp. 28–30.

109. Ibid., pp. 30–31.

110. Ibid., p. 32.

111. Ibid., p. 37.

112. Henry Giroux, “Is There a Place for Cultural Studies in Colleges of Education?” in *Counternarratives: Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogies in Postmodern Spaces*, by Henry Giroux, Colin Lankshear, Peter McLaren, and Michael Peters (New York: Routledge, 1996).

113. Henry A. Giroux and Patrick Shannon, *Education and Cultural Studies: Toward a Performative Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

114. Ibid., p. 232.

115. Ibid.

116. Kathy Hytten, “The Promise of Cultural Studies of Education,” *Educational Theory*, Fall 1999, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 527–543. Accessed online.

117. Ibid., p. 527.

118. Ibid.

119. Philip W. Perdue, “What Are the Foundational Questions?” *Teachers College Record*, December 1969, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp. 217–224.

120. Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirely R. Steinberg, editors, *Thirteen Questions: Reframing Education’s Conversation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), p. 3.

121. C. J. B. Macmillan and James W. Garrison, "An Erotetic Concept of Teaching," *Educational Theory*, Summer/Fall 1983, Vol. 33, Nos. 3/4, pp. 157–166; and C. J. B. Macmillan and James W. Garrison, "Erotetics Revisited," *Educational Theory*, Fall 1986, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 355–361.
 122. Perdue, "What Are the Foundational Questions?" p. 219.
 123. McLaren, "Foreword," pp. xii–xiii.
 124. Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Thirteen Questions*, p. 2.
 125. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 126. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 127. Elliot W. Eisner, "Who Decides What Schools Teach?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, March 1990, Vol. 71, pp. 523–526, reprinted in David J. Flinders and Stephen J. Thornton, editors, *The Curriculum Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 337.
 128. Flinders and Thornton, "Introduction," p. vii.
 129. *Ibid.*
 130. *Ibid.*
 131. *Ibid.*
 132. *Ibid.*
 133. Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Thirteen Questions*, p. 62.
 134. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
 135. *Ibid.*, pp. 73–74.
 136. McLaren, "Foreword," pp. xii–xiii.
 137. Henry Giroux, "Mass Culture and the Rise of the New Illiteracy: Implications for Reading," in Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, p. 75.
 138. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 139. Henry Giroux, "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum," in Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, p. 27.
 140. Henry Giroux, "Toward a New Sociology of Curriculum," in Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, p. 17.
 141. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 142. *Ibid.*
 143. *Ibid.*
 144. Henry Giroux, "Rethinking the Language of Schooling," in Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, p. 2.
 145. Hytten, "The Promise of Cultural Studies of Education," p. 527.
 146. Many of the questions are drawn from a list I developed for my introductory social foundations textbook *Teaching, Learning, and Schooling: A 21st Century Perspective* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2002), pp. 43–46.
 147. Hytten, "Cultural Studies of Education," p. 54.
 148. Hytten, "The Promise of Cultural Studies of Education."
 149. *Ibid.*
 150. *Ibid.*
 151. C. A. Bowers, *Educating for Eco-Justice & Community* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), p. 33.
 152. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
 153. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 154. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 155. See C. A. Bowers, *The Culture of Denial: Why the Environmental Movement Needs a Strategy for Reforming Universities and Public Schools* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).
 156. Among the alternatives to disciplinarity that they proposed were the following:
 - a. Foundational experiences should be taught by genuine interdisciplinarians, or at least by faculty who have an interest in more than one narrow knowledge area.
 - b. Foundational studies should demonstrate how concepts and procedures link, and how all practice is ultimately and unmistakably based on theory.
 - c. Foundational studies should be down-to-earth rather than esoteric.
 - d. Foundational studies should be problem-based.
- Foundational studies should help students to appreciate the value of original and bold policy formulation in education.
- e. Foundational studies should enable students to do considerable values and beliefs clarifying.
 - f. Foundational studies will have to be taught with a sense of social purpose and conviction.
 - g. Foundational studies must be delivered within an instructional context that is more varied than lecture discussion.
- See Nash, Shiman, and Conrad, "The Foundations of Education," pp. 305–309.
157. Lee S. Shulman, "Reconnecting Foundations to the Substance of Teacher Education," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 91, No. 3, Spring 1990, p. 302.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
162. *Ibid.*
163. Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 3.
164. *Ibid.*
165. See Robert M. Hutchins, *The Great Conversation: The Substance of a Liberal Education* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), p. xx.
166. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
167. Mortimer J. Adler, *The Great Ideas: A Synopticon of Great Books of the Western World*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), p. 409.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

A Visual History of American Education

A Visual History of American Education

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

Introduction

There is no comprehensive visual history of American education. This lack is a remarkable oversight considering the extraordinary materials that are available. These materials include not only photographs but also line drawings, architectural blueprints, report cards, certificates of merit, paintings, book illustrations, and cartoons. A large section of this third volume of the *Encyclopedia of the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education* is devoted to these sources.

These visual sources stand as important documents by themselves, but they also complement many of the entries in this encyclopedia. The purpose of including these materials is, as much as possible, to visually re-create what American schools looked like, to show who the people were who attended and worked in these schools, and to provide samples of the books and materials they used.

The images included are necessarily selective. Although drawn from many sources, the images in the encyclopedia are almost exclusively from publicly available sources—particularly those that can be found on the Internet. Among the most important of these sources are the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html>) and the Still Pictures Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration (<http://www.archives.gov/research/order/still-pictures.html>).

Many of the topics covered in the entries in Volumes 1 and 2 of the encyclopedia have corresponding visual materials that are included in this visual history of education. The photographs included in the visual history are cross-referenced at the end of many of the entries.

1. Colonial Beginnings

The first images are taken from the earliest textbooks, specifically *The New England Primer*. No known original copy of *The New England Primer* still exists. Published in the early 1690s, it very much reflected the values and beliefs of late Puritan culture. The primer opens with an *alphabaderium*, or a pictorial alphabet.

Its content is religious, and the primer begins by reminding the reader that all suffer from original sin (e.g., Letter A begins with “In Adam’s Fall, We sinned all”). The alphabet goes on to warn readers of their mortality and to encourage them to read the Bible. Simple syllables are introduced first, followed by words

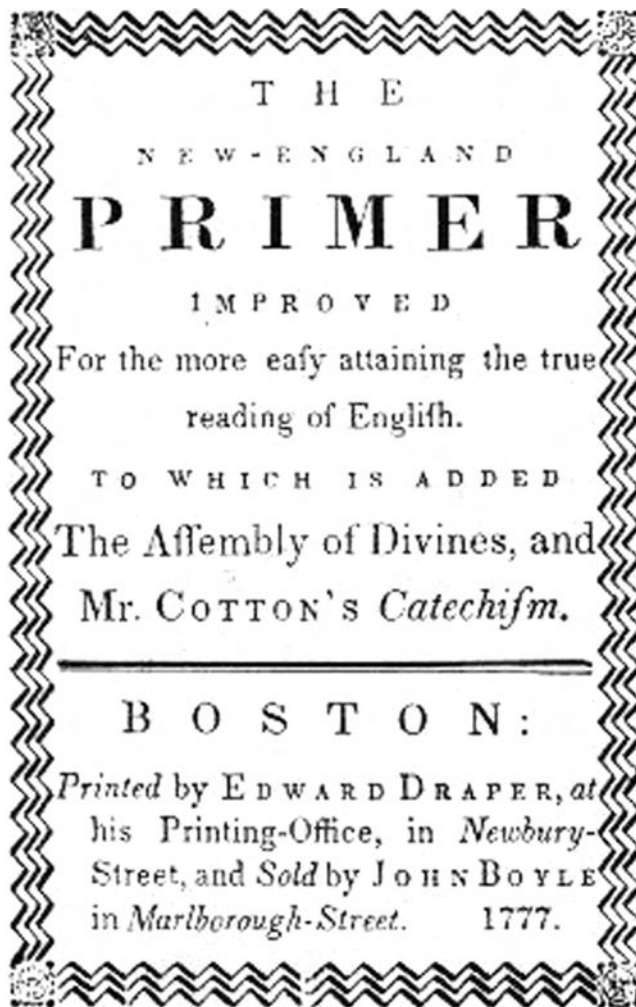


Image 1.1 The title page of a 1777 edition of *The New England Primer*. Earlier editions of the primer unfortunately have not survived.

Source: *The New England Primer*. (1777). Boston: Edward Draper.



Image 1.2 Works such as *The New England Primer* reflected the culture of which they were a part. Religious imagery, including portrayals of humanity's fallibility and mortality, were regularly emphasized. Specific references to the Bible were also common, as can be seen in the sample page from the primer included above.

Source: *The New England Primer*. (1777). Boston: Edward Draper.

of one, two, three, four, five, and six syllables. Many of the words included are religious and make reference to sins that the child is supposed to avoid, such as *fornication*—a reference to specific injunctions provided in the New Testament (e.g., 1 Thessalonians 4; 1 Corinthians 6, etc.). Other words are less provocative

but also could be used in a religious context, such as *celebration* and *consolation*.

The New England Primer's use of illustrations continues a tradition that can be traced back to a number of earlier publications. Hornbooks, for example, which were used in both England and the American colonies,

<i>Words of five Syllables.</i>	
Ad-mi-ra-ti-on	Admiration
Be-ne-fi-ci-al	Beneficial
Con-so-la-ti-on	Consolation
De-cla-ra-ti-on	Declaration
Ex-hor-ta-ti-on	Exhortation
For-ni-ca-ti-on	Fornication
Ge-ne-ra-ti-on	Generation
Ha-bi-ta-ti-on	Habitation
In-vi-ta-ti-on	Invitation

Image 1.3 Words of five syllables and six syllables and "A Lesson for Children" from *The New England Primer*.

Source: *The New England Primer*. (1777). Boston: Edward Draper.



Image 1.4 Illustration from the title page of Hornby's *Horn-Book* (1622) that was reproduced in A. W. Tuer's *History of the Horn-Book*, 1896.

Source: Tuer, A. W. (1896). *History of the horn-book*. London: Leadenhall Press.

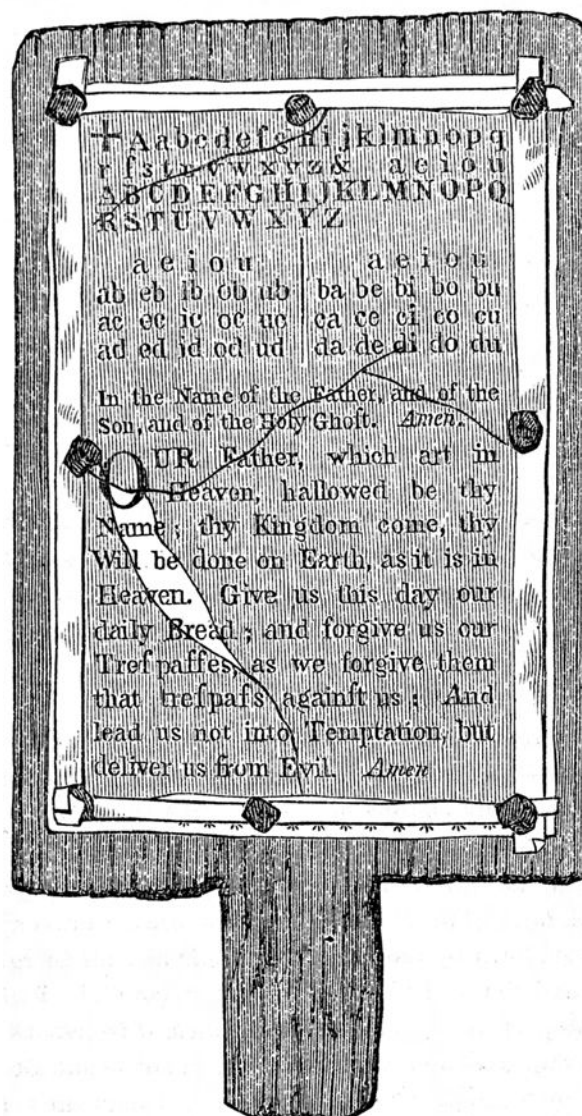


Image 1.5 An eighteenth-century hornbook page.

Source: [Engraving of a hornbook page]. (1862). *The American Journal of Education*, 12, 598.

were a single sheet of paper on which were printed the alphabet and brief texts such as the Lord's Prayer. This sheet was then mounted on a wooden paddle or handle and covered with a piece of translucent, oiled cow's horn (hence the name). This layer protected the surface of the printed material in much the same way as a piece of clear plastic would. Illustrations of hornbooks are found from the early seventeenth century. Although hornbooks were evidently in wide use during the sixteenth century, few

copies survive since they were passed from child to child and almost certainly given hard and steady use. Probably the most important source for *The New England Primer* was the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, which was first published in 1658 by the Czech philosopher John Amos Comenius (1592–1670). The book includes parallel columns of Latin and vernacular text that is correlated with detailed illustrations of objects from real life.



Image 1.6 Illustration of the initial page from John Amos Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.

Source: Comenius, J. A. (1887). *Orbis sensualium pictus* (C. Hoole, Trans.). Syracuse, NY: C. W. Bardeen. (Reprinted from C. Hoole's 1659 translation)

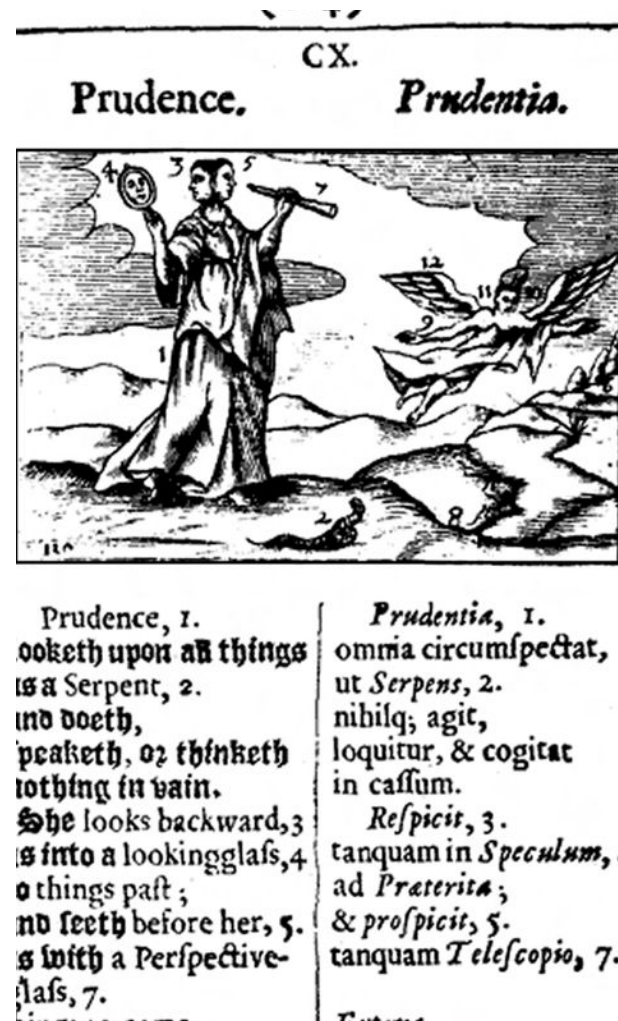


Image 1.7 Illustration from Charles Hoole's English translation of Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* published in 1659.

Source: Comenius, J. A. (1887). *Orbis sensualium pictus* (C. Hoole, Trans.). Syracuse, NY: C. W. Bardeen. (Reprinted from C. Hoole's 1659 translation)

The development of textbooks during the late seventeenth century is part of what theorists such as Philippe Aires refer to as the discovery of modern childhood. Since children were surviving more frequently into adulthood, educational resources were increasingly committed to them. New markets began to emerge that focused on childhood: toys, children's books, and textbooks.

An early textbook author from colonial New England was Ezekiel Cheever (1614 or 1615–1708),

who taught for seventy years, the last thirty-eight as the master of the Boston Latin Grammar School. Cheever was the author of a Latin textbook, *A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue* (published sometime before 1650), which is almost certainly the first schoolbook of any type published in the American colonies. There is no portrait of Cheever, but his signature does survive on a number of documents.



Image 1.8 Signature of the most famous of the New England schoolmasters, Ezekiel Cheever.

Source: Winsor, J. (Ed.) (1881). *The memorial history of Boston, including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630–1880* (Vol. 2). Boston: Osgood.



Image 1.9 Illustrations of colonial teachers are extremely rare. A portrait survives of John Lovell (1710–1784), a successor to Cheever at the Boston Latin Grammar School. Lovell, who was a graduate of Harvard, became head of the school in 1734. He was remembered by his students as a gentle teacher even though the Revolutionaries (i.e., Whigs) described him as a flogging despot. The portrait that survives of him shows a well-fed and prosperous-looking individual, wearing a turban—a popular affectation of the period. It was based on a painting by Nathaniel Smibert.

Source: Winsor, J. (Ed.). (1881). *The memorial history of Boston, including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630–1880* (Vol. 2, p. 401). Boston: Osgood.

2. Early Textbooks

With the exception of works such as *The New England Primer*, the textbooks that were used during the colonial period were largely written and published in England. During the American Revolution, there was a clear need to develop new textbooks that would

reflect not only the ideology of the Revolution, but also its new heroes. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the number of schools was rapidly increasing, with a corresponding growth in the need for textbooks.

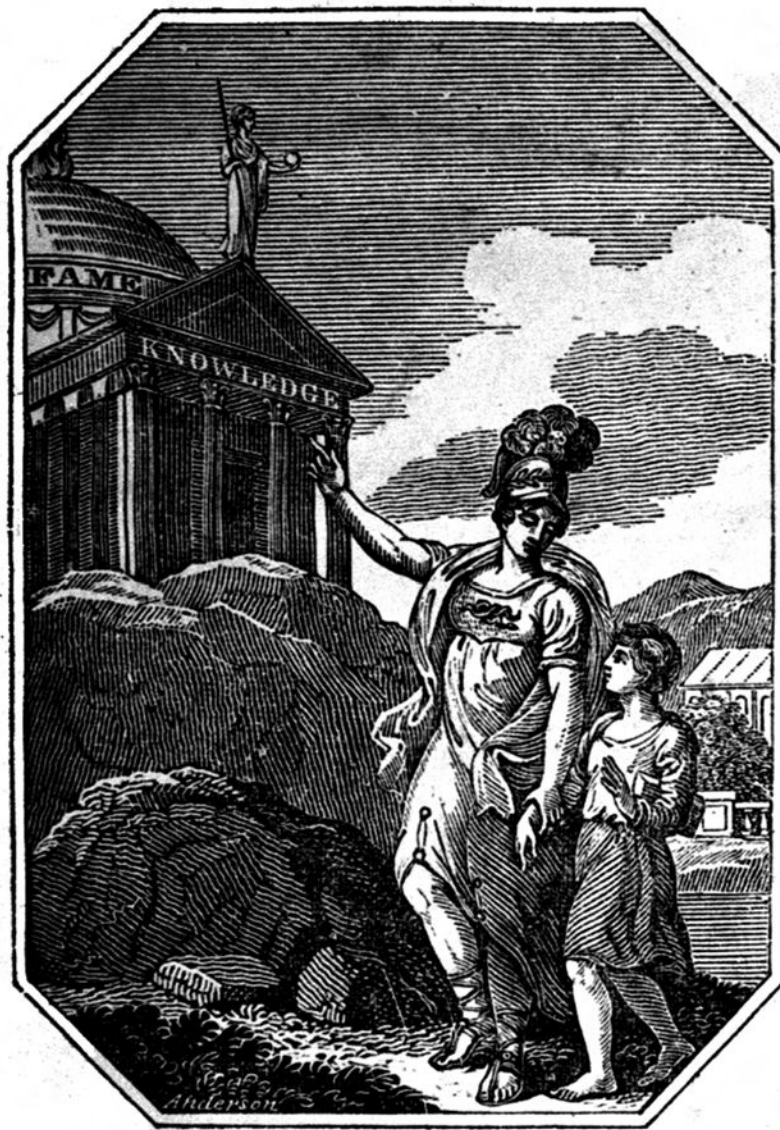


Image 2.1 Frontispiece from Noah Webster's "Blue-Back Speller." Although this edition is from 1832, the frontispiece was used in many earlier versions, as well as in other textbooks such as the Lyman Cobb's speller.

Source: Webster, N. (1832). Frontispiece. In *The elementary spelling book: Being an improvement on the American spelling book*. Boston: Carter, Hendee.

Noah Webster's *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, which would eventually become known as the "Blue-Back Speller" because of its blue cover, was first published in 1783. It was followed by a grammar in 1784 and a reader in 1785. In the frontispiece to the speller, Minerva, the ancient Greek goddess of wisdom, is pointing a youth to a temple on which is

inscribed "Knowledge" and "Fame." On the front of the temple is a statue of what is almost certainly the Roman goddess of liberty.

In British textbooks, it was typical to include a portrait of the king in the frontispiece. In the United States, this tradition was modified to include images of heroes from the American Revolution. An example



Image 2.2 Frontispiece from Jesse Torrey, Jr.'s 1825 Familiar Spelling Book.

Source: Torrey, J., Jr. (1825). Frontispiece. In *Familiar spelling book: Being a new practical system for teaching English pronunciation and spelling*. Philadelphia: J. Grigg.

of this practice can be seen in the 1825 spelling book by Jesse Torrey, Jr., in which Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and the Marquis de Lafayette are pictured.

Early textbooks also included illustrations of teachers. An 1833 spelling book by B. D. Emerson, *The*

New National Spelling Book, for example, includes an idealized portrait of a teacher helping a student read surrounded by other admiring students. In general, textbooks tended to include more iconic and nationalistic images of Images such as Minerva, Liberty, and Columbia rather than of teachers.



Image 2.3 Frontispiece from B. D. Emerson's *The New National Spelling Book and Pronouncing Tutor*.

Source: Emerson, B. D. (1833). Frontispiece. In *The new national spelling book and pronouncing tutor*. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson.

3. Teachers in the Early and Middle Nineteenth Century

There are tens of thousands of images of both etchings and photographs that can be found of teachers during the nineteenth century. Often these images are highly romanticized and do not give a clear idea of what the actual work of teachers was like. Most of the illustrations from the beginning of the common school movement come from textbooks. These illustrations, such as those from Bolle's *Spelling Book*, were almost certainly not based on actual observations but are probably drawn from the

memories or imaginations of the artists who created them. During the 1830s and 1840s many more women (particularly young women) were introduced into the teaching profession. A male teacher is shown with a group of students in an 1883 child's guide. An illustration of a young female teacher was included in the first edition of the McGuffey Reader (Image 3.3).

A few years later in 1833 a male schoolteacher is shown with a group of students in *The Child's Guide*.



Image 3.1 An 1831 illustration of a female teacher working in a summer school from Bolle's *Spelling Book*.
Source: Johnson, C. (1904). *Old time schools and school books* (p. 135). New York: Macmillan.

Actual photographs of teachers in classrooms—particularly of teachers at work—were extremely rare until after the Civil War. Probably the best visual record of what teachers at work looked like in the United States comes from *Harper's Weekly*. In the November 9, 1867, issue of the magazine, the front page is completely taken up with an illustration of a district schoolteacher. In an article on the following page, the author estimates that of the approximately 150,000 teachers in the United States, 100,000 of them are women—a fact reflecting the increasing

feminization of the teaching profession with the growth of the common schools.

The idealization of the teacher, which is clear in the *Harper's Weekly* illustration, is also expressed in the same article, which explains that “every ‘village school-marm,’—every district teacher—has a dual existence, a life in and out of the school. The teacher is supposed to be an epitome of all knowledge, and a combination of ‘whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report’” (1867, p. 706).



Image 3.2 A male teacher showing students a chestnut bur.

Source: Johnson, C. (1904). *Old time schools and school books* (p. 255). New York: Macmillan.



Image 3.3 Illustration of a young teacher reading with her students.

Source: McGuffey, W. H. (1838). *The eclectic first reader for children* (p. 6). Cincinnati, OH: Truman and Smith.

A few years later in 1873, *Harper's* published another image of a district schoolteacher. This 1873 image illustrates an article titled the "New School-Mistress" and describes how the United States, more than any other country, "makes use of the softening

influence of woman's guidance on the young" (p. 817). The author objects to the fact that female teachers do not receive the respect that they deserve and that they are typically paid one third less than their male counterparts.



Image 3.4 *A district schoolteacher.*

Source: [Illustration of a district school teacher]. (1867, November 9). *Harper's Weekly*, 11(567), 705.

Some of the most famous images of teaching and schools from the period following the American Civil War were created by Winslow Homer (1836–1910) for *Harper's Weekly*. Homer had received much of his early training in a lithography company in

New York City and had begun doing illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War. Homer's *Snap-the-Whip*, for example, is among the most beloved American paintings of the nineteenth century. Painted using oils in 1872, the work depicts



Image 3.5 Illustration from "The New School-Mistress."

Source: The new school-mistress. (1873, September 20). *Harper's Weekly*, 46(873), 817.

nine boys outside of a red one-room schoolhouse playing snap-the-whip. The painting was reproduced as an engraving in the September 20, 1873, edition of *Harper's Weekly* and is one of a number of paintings Homer made of rural school life, which include *The Red Schoolhouse* (1873, National Art Gallery) the *Country School* (1873, Saint Louis

Art Museum), and the *Blackboard* (1877, National Gallery of Art).

In November of 1873, Homer did the illustration *The Morning Bell* for *Harper's Weekly*, which accompanied a poem of the same name. The illustration shows students making a solemn procession, lunch-pails in hand, as the school bell rings. Homer's



Image 3.6 *Snap-the-Whip*.

Source: Homer, W. (Painter). (1873, September 20). *Snap-the-whip* [Painting]. *Harper's Weekly*, 46(873), 824–825.

images, done in the field in great detail, provide what is almost certainly the best record of what actual rural schools looked like from the middle of the nineteenth century.

Other illustrators contributed images of teachers and schools to *Harper's Weekly*. An illustration titled *The Young Orator* by Frederick Stuart Church shows

a barefoot young boy giving a speech before a class in a village that includes a student evidently being punished for some misbehavior. The illustration accompanies an article by Eugene Lawrence (1874), "The Opening of the Public Schools," which criticizes both the South, for its poor Negro schools, and the Catholic Church and its priests, who all over the country "are



Image 3.7 *The Noon Recess.*

Source: Homer, W. (Illustrator). (1873, June 28). *The noon recess* [Illustration]. *Harper's Weekly*, 17(861), 549.

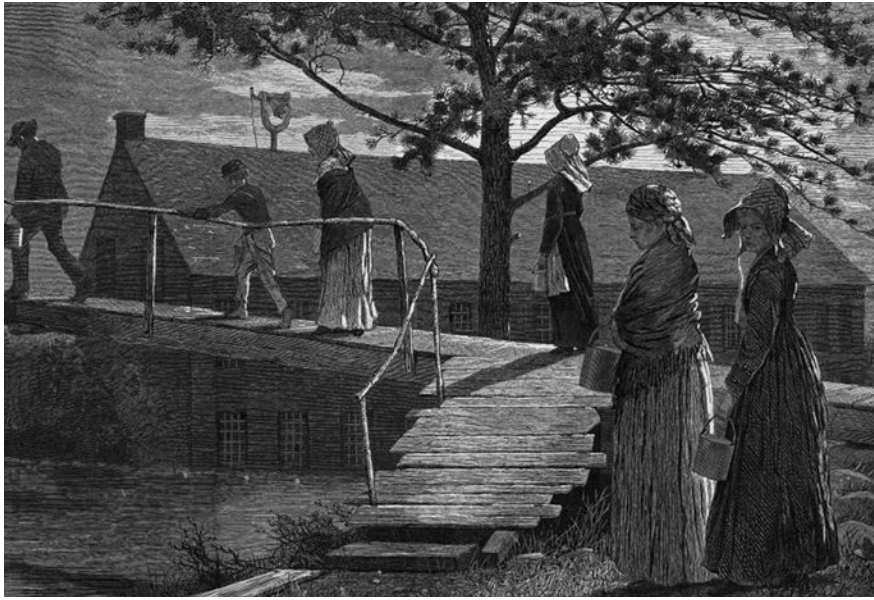


Image 3.8 *The Morning Bell.*

Source: Homer, W. (Illustrator). (1873, December 13). *The morning bell* [Illustration]. *Harper's Weekly*, 17(885), 1114.

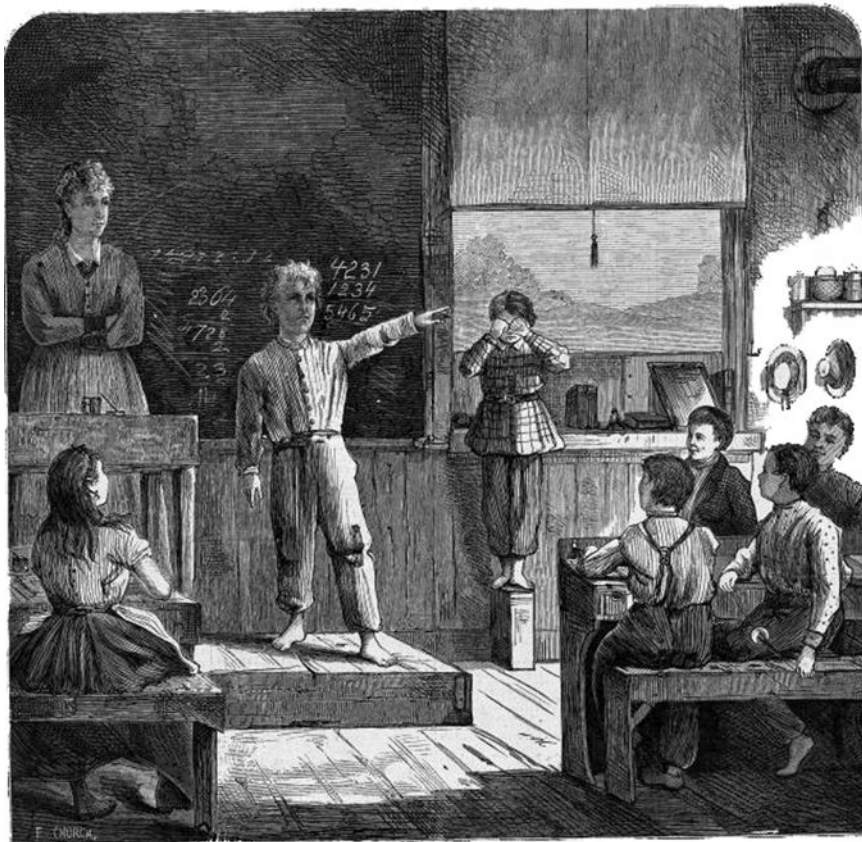


Image 3.9 *The Young Orator.*

Source: Church, F. S. (Illustrator). (1874, September 19). *The young orator* [Illustration]. *Harper's Weekly*, 18(925), 769.

never weary of denouncing the American system of education, and, in fact, all that is especially American in our politics and manners” (p. 769).

Images of students being disciplined by teachers are rare but can be seen in an 1866 illustration from *Harper's Weekly* titled *Caught Napping* (Image 3.10).

Equally rare for this period are depictions of Black teachers at work. In Image 3.11, a Black female teacher in the New York City schools provides her students with object lessons using geometric solids. The experience of a teacher being interviewed for a job is provided by an 1877 illustration from *Harper's Weekly*.

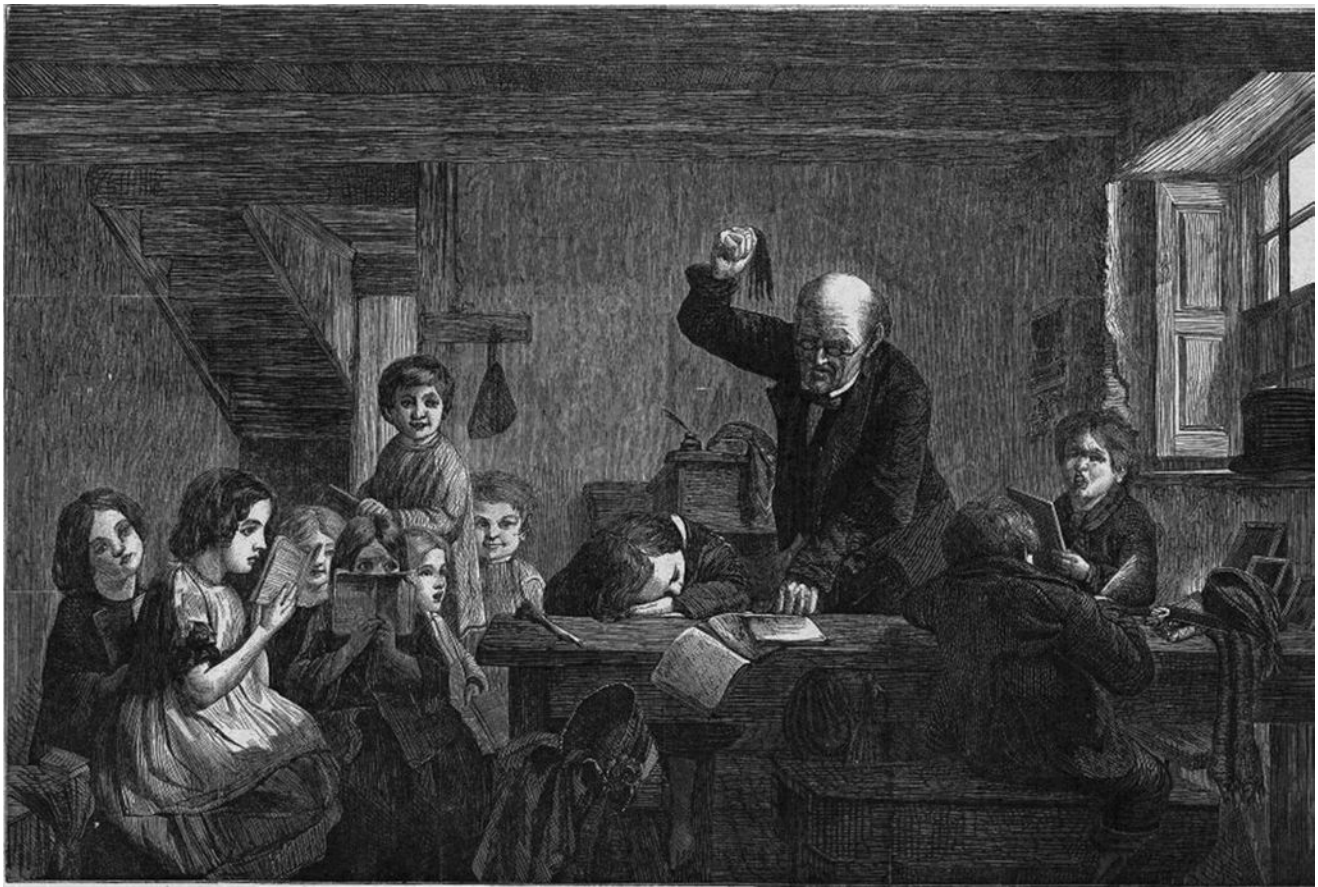


Image 3.10 *Caught Napping*.

Source: *Caught napping* [Illustration]. (1866, March 10). *Harper's Weekly*, 10(480), 152.



Image 3.11 *Colored School—Object Teaching.*

Source: Colored school—object teaching [Illustration]. (1870, February 26). Harper's Weekly, V4(687), 141.

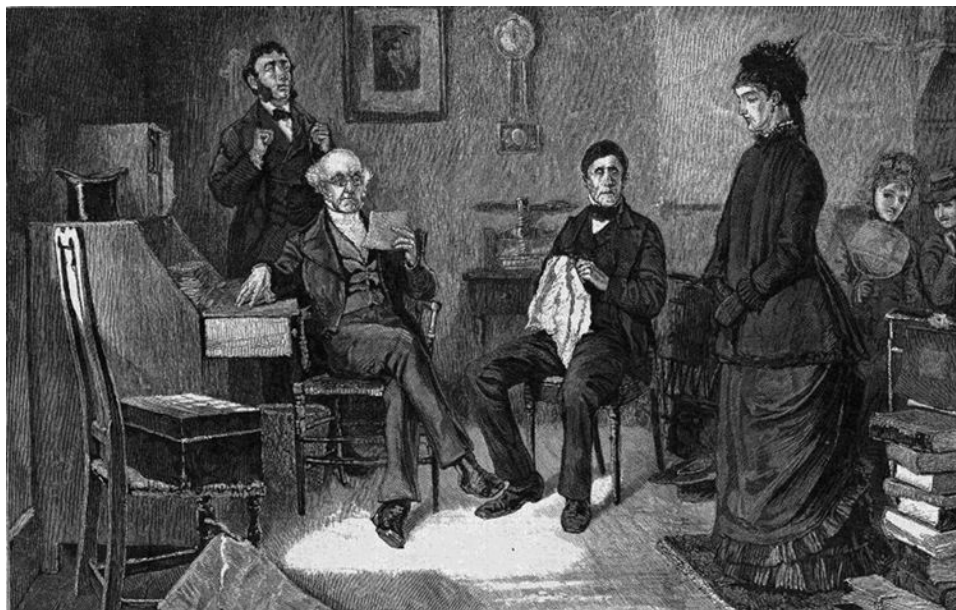


Image 3.12 *Before the School Board.*

Source: Before the school board [Illustration]. (1877, February 10). Harper's Weekly, 47(925), 109.

4. The Common School Movement

By the middle of the 1830s, a campaign for free public elementary education had emerged in the United States. Known as the common school movement, it was led by reformers in states such as Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The common schools were part of the process of building a nation. The country was increasingly moving from agriculture to manufacturing. Between 1820 and 1850, the number of people in Massachusetts working mainly on farms dropped from 58 percent to 15 percent. Up until that time, schools were either private or run by local townships. Statewide involvement in education had not yet developed. With the growth of industry, people needed to develop greater literacy skills. In addition, particularly as immigration increased, it was seen as being important to educate foreign-born children in American ways and traditions.

In New York City, for example, a system of free schools for the poor had been in operation since 1805. These schools were extremely crowded and did

not in any way represent a comprehensive public school system. They implemented a monitoring program based on the English systems of Andrew Bell (1753–1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) in which students at the upper level of the program were used to teach younger learners.

Lancaster described the instructional model for the illustration in Image 4.4 of a monitorial classroom as follows:

The parallelogram at the head of the school, represents the platform, on which the master's desk is placed. The numbers represent the classes of children as seated in the order of their proficiency in learning. The surface of the form and desks are represented in the plan as nearly filled with boys, occupied in writing on their slates: The boys are represented at the desks. There is a dot at the front of each desk in every class, intended to represent the monitor of the class, whose business is to move up and down the desks, and examine the performance and progress of the boys in writing on their slate.

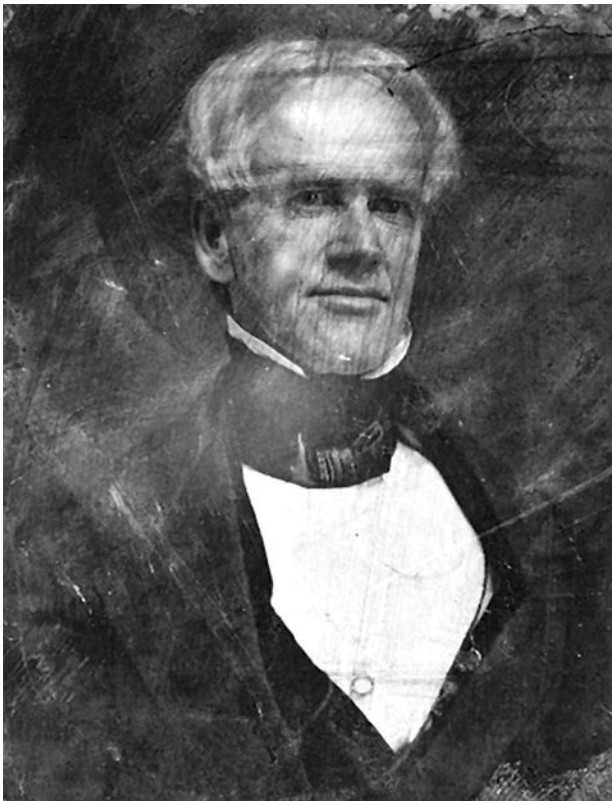


Image 4.1 In Massachusetts, the leader of the reform efforts of the common school movement was Horace Mann (1796–1859). First trained as a lawyer, Mann was a social reformer who in 1837 accepted the position of Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. At left is a portrait of Mann taken between 1844 and 1859.

Source: Call No. DAG, No. 106. (1844–1859). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Monitorial models were not used in township and district schools such as the one shown in Image 4.3, nor did they become the instructional model primarily used in the common schools.

School architecture, until the common school movement, was not particularly well thought out or

systematic. Henry Barnard (1811–1900), the Secretary of Education in Connecticut from 1838 to 1842, published the first pattern book on school architecture in 1848. Ten years earlier in 1838 he had given an address on the disgraceful physical conditions found in American schools and had begun to develop designs

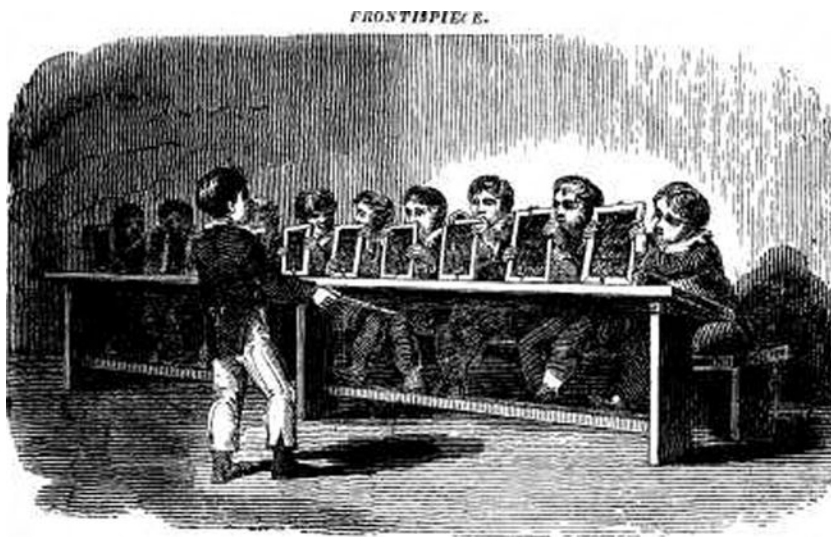


Image 4.2 Students being led in a British school by a monitor.

Source: Lancaster, J. (1810). *The British system of education: Being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised at the Royal Free Schools, Borough-Road, Southwark*. London: Harvey and Darton. Retrieved from <http://www.constitution.org/lanc/epitome.htm>



Image 4.3 Students distributed at the edge of their classroom to receive instruction from monitors assigned to them.

Source: Lancaster, J. (1810). *The British system of education: Being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised at the Royal Free Schools, Borough-Road, Southwark*. London: Harvey and Darton. Retrieved from <http://www.constitution.org/lanc/epitome.htm>.

for school improvement. A large number of these images were eventually reproduced in his journal, the *American Journal of Education*, which he edited from 1855 to 1881.

Many of the buildings that were built during this period were highly ambitious and reflected civic pride

on the part of their creators. This pride was certainly reflected in the case of the Latin and English school built in Boston and in the case of the public high school in St. Louis (Images 4.8 and 4.9).

Other buildings reflected the belief that schooling was a mystical or transcendent process. Many buildings

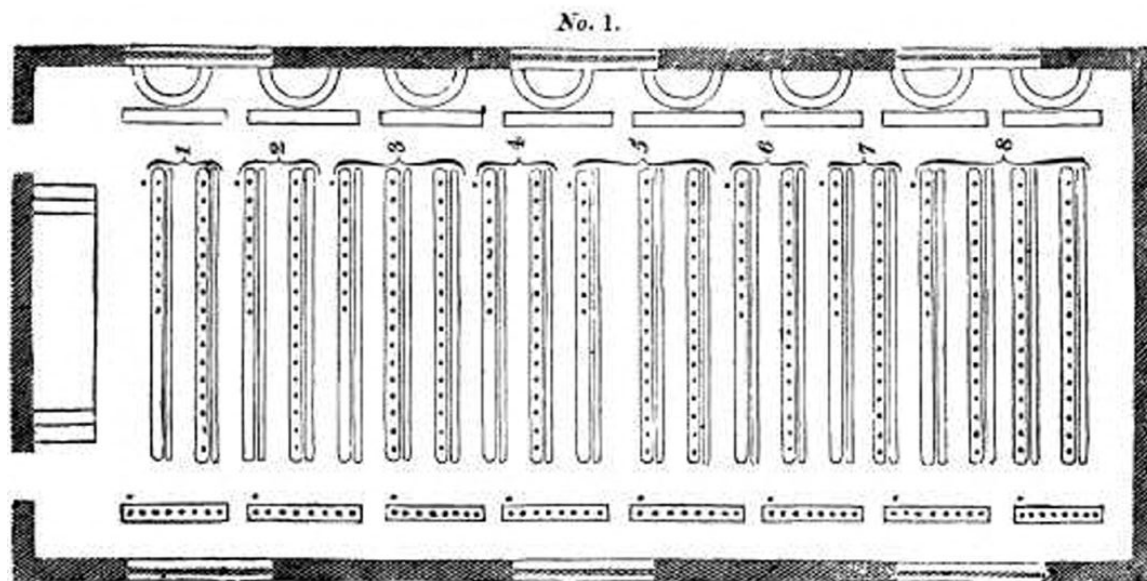


Image 4.4 Lancaster's instructional model.

Source: Lancaster, J. (1810). *The British system of education: Being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised at the Royal Free Schools, Borough-Road, Southwark*. London: Harvey and Darton. Retrieved from <http://www.constitution.org/lanc/epitome.htm>

Image 4.5 An early drawing of the New York Free School, the first schoolhouse built by the Free School Society in New York. The building cost \$13,000 and was completed in 1809. This school used Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell's monitorial model to educate poor children in New York City.

Source: Cubberly, E. P. (1920). *Readings in the history of education: A collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational practice, theory, and organization* (p. 552). New York: Houghton Mifflin.



literally imitated Greek temples or Christian churches (Images 4.10 and 4.11). Implied, of course, was the idea that schooling was a sacred and reverential task.

Included among the illustrations in the *American Journal of Education* are designs for teacher training

colleges or normal schools. The buildings for these schools still exist on the campuses of many state colleges and universities across the United States. The *American Journal of Education* also includes interesting examples of teaching devices such as orreries



Image 4.6 An illustration of a school in a small town in Connecticut.

Source: Griswold Goodrich, S. G. (1830). *A system of school geography, chiefly derived from Malte-Burn, and arranged according to the inductive plan of instruction*. Hartford, CT: H. & F. I. Huntington.

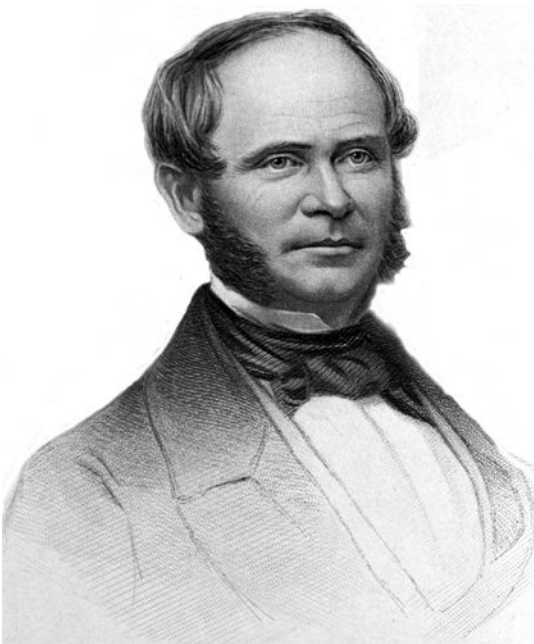


Image 4.7 Henry Barnard (1811–1900). After Horace Mann, Barnard was the most important leader of the Common School Movement and the editor of *The American Journal of Education*. Source: [Engraving of Henry Barnard]. (n.d.). *The American Journal of Education*.

(i.e., models of the solar system) and globes, as well as alphabet tables.

New designs for libraries also accompanied the development of new school buildings. Like many of the school buildings that were built during this period,

libraries were important sources of civic pride in many cities.

Many innovations in educational thought emerged during the common school era. Among the most interesting was phrenology, which provided educators

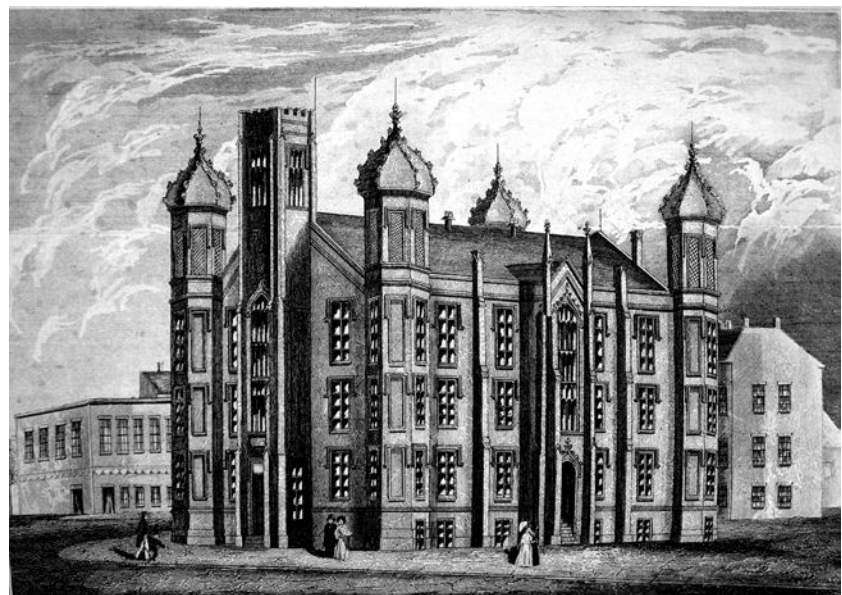
Image 4.8 *Boston Latin and English school, erected in 1844.*

Source: [Illustration of the Boston Latin and English school]. (1862). *American Journal of Education*, 12, 539.



Image 4.9 *Public high school, St. Louis.*

Source: [Illustration of a public high school in St. Louis]. (1855). *American Journal of Education*, 1, 348.



a primitive theory of psychology and personality development. In Mann's Sixth Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education, he drew heavily on phrenological

theory. In fact, he seems to have been trying to develop something like a psychological understanding of schooling, long before the field had been established.

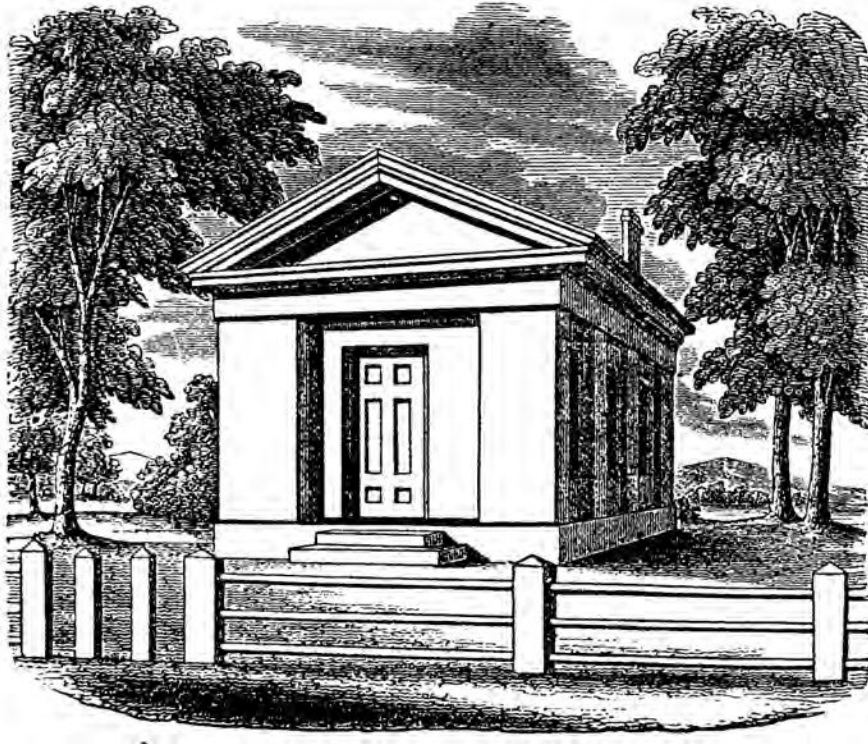


Image 4.10 *Greek revival public schoolhouse in Windsor, Connecticut.*

Source: [Illustration of a Greek revival public schoolhouse]. (1860). *American Journal of Education*, 9, 550.

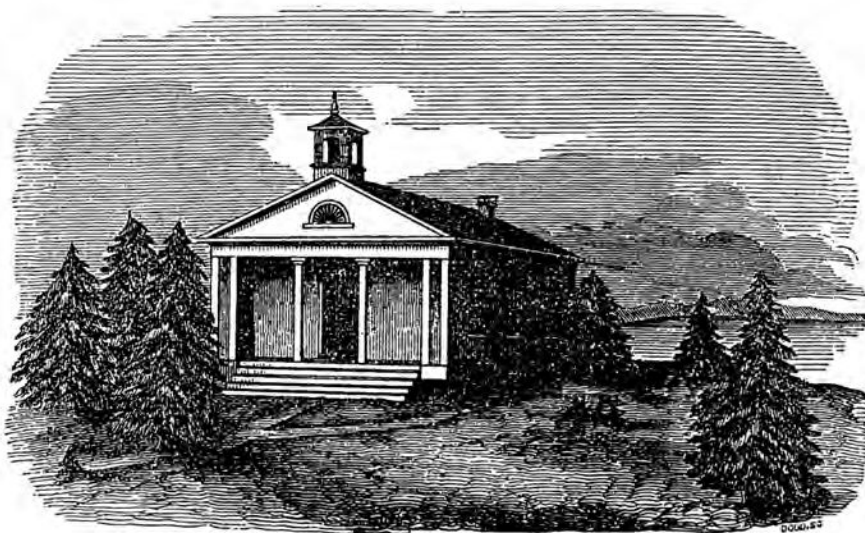


Image 4.11 *Greek revival district schoolhouse in Barrington, Rhode Island.*

Source: [Illustration of a Greek revival district schoolhouse]. (1860). *American Journal of Education*, 9, 554.

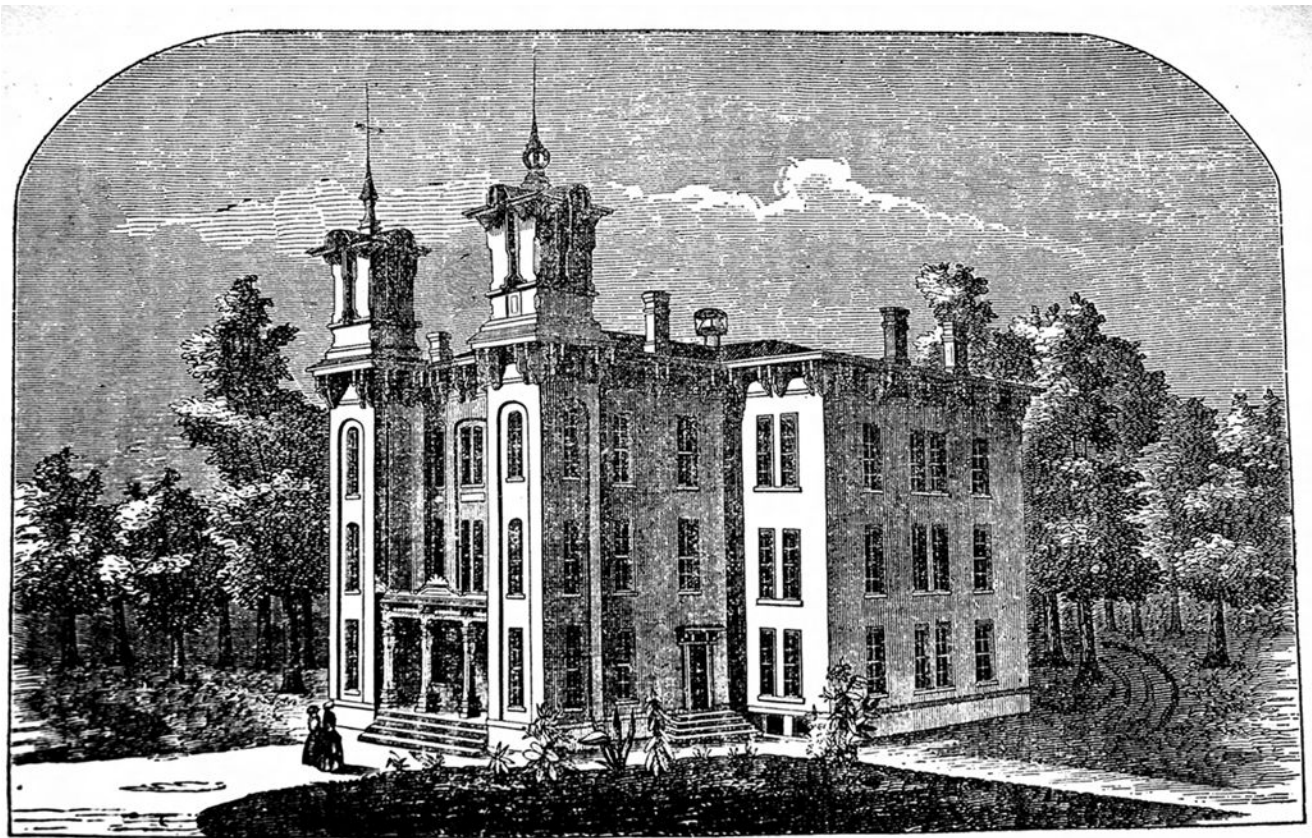


Image 4.12 *State normal school, New Jersey.*

Source: [Illustration of a state normal school]. (1860). *American Journal of Education*, 9, 558.

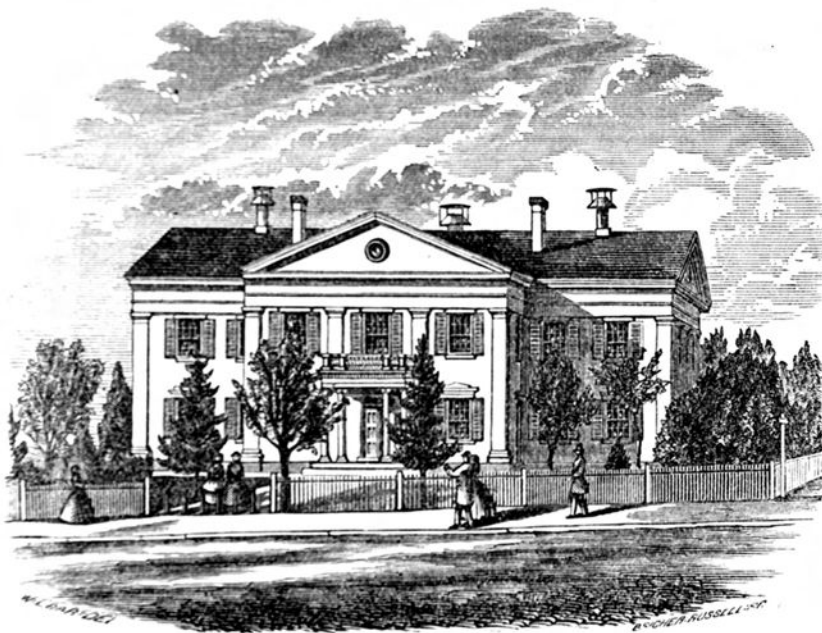


Image 4.13 *Normal school, Bridgewater, Connecticut.*

Source: [Illustration of a normal school]. (1866). *American Journal of Education*, 16, 465.

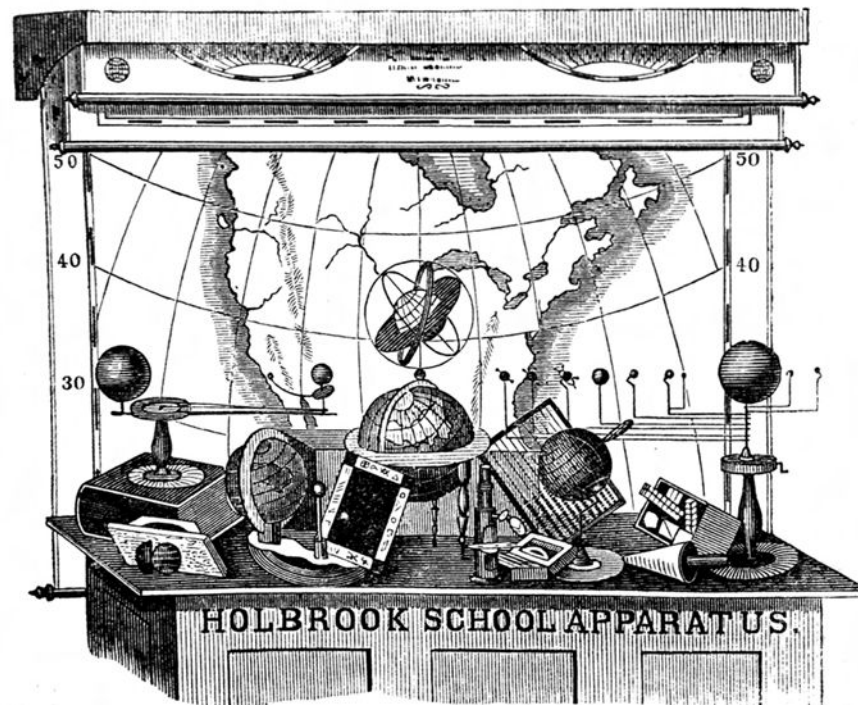


Image 4.14 Engraving of school apparatus.

Source: [Illustration of school apparatus.] (1862). *American Journal of Education*, 12, 598.

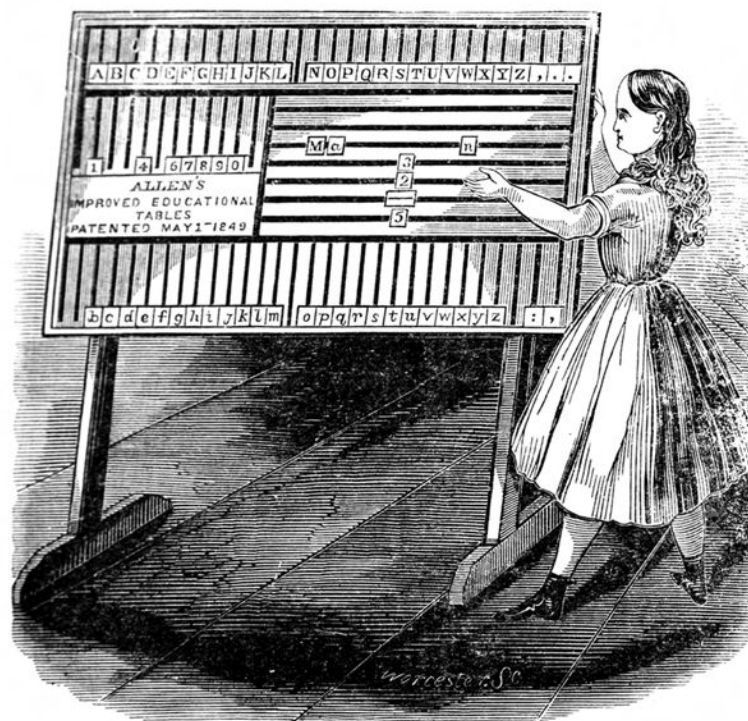


Image 4.15 Allen's improved educational tables.

Source: [Illustration of an educational table]. (1866). *American Journal of Education*, 16, 571.

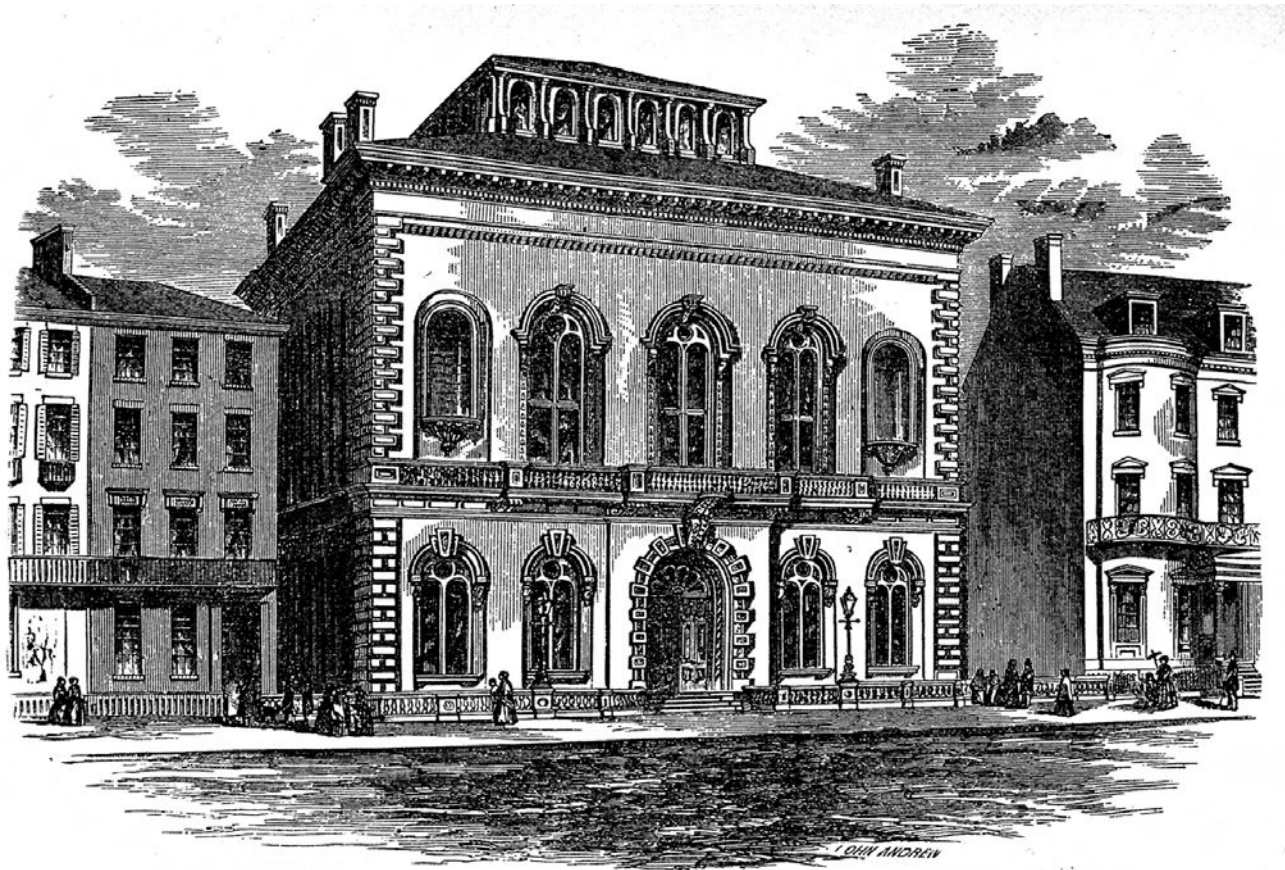


Image 4.16 *The Boston Public Library.*

Source: [Illustration of a public library]. (1858). *American Journal of Education*, 7, 252.

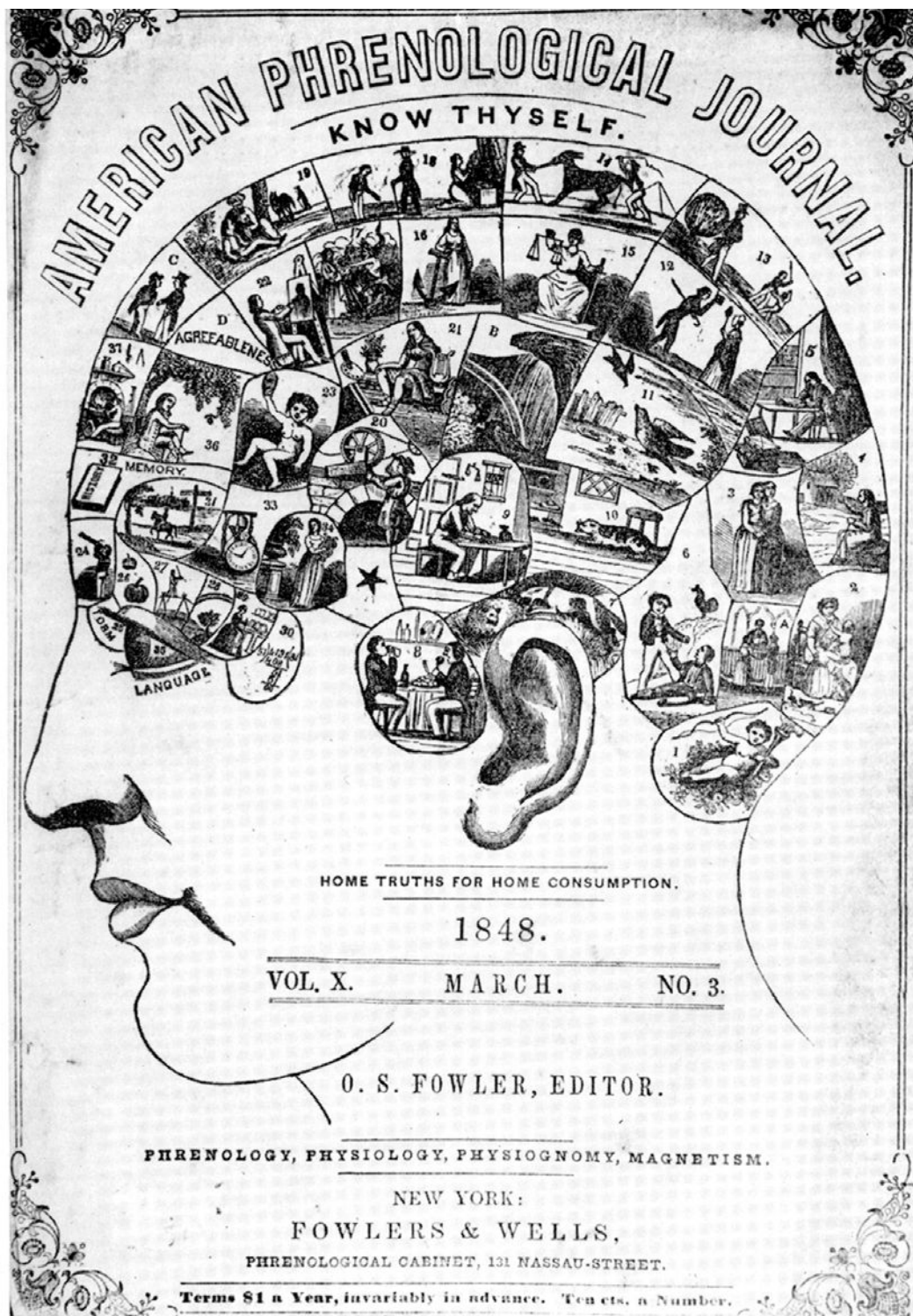


Image 4.17 Front cover page of Orson Fowler's American Phrenological Journal.

Source: Fowler, O. S. (Ed.). (1848). Cover illustration. *American Phrenological Journal*, 10(3).

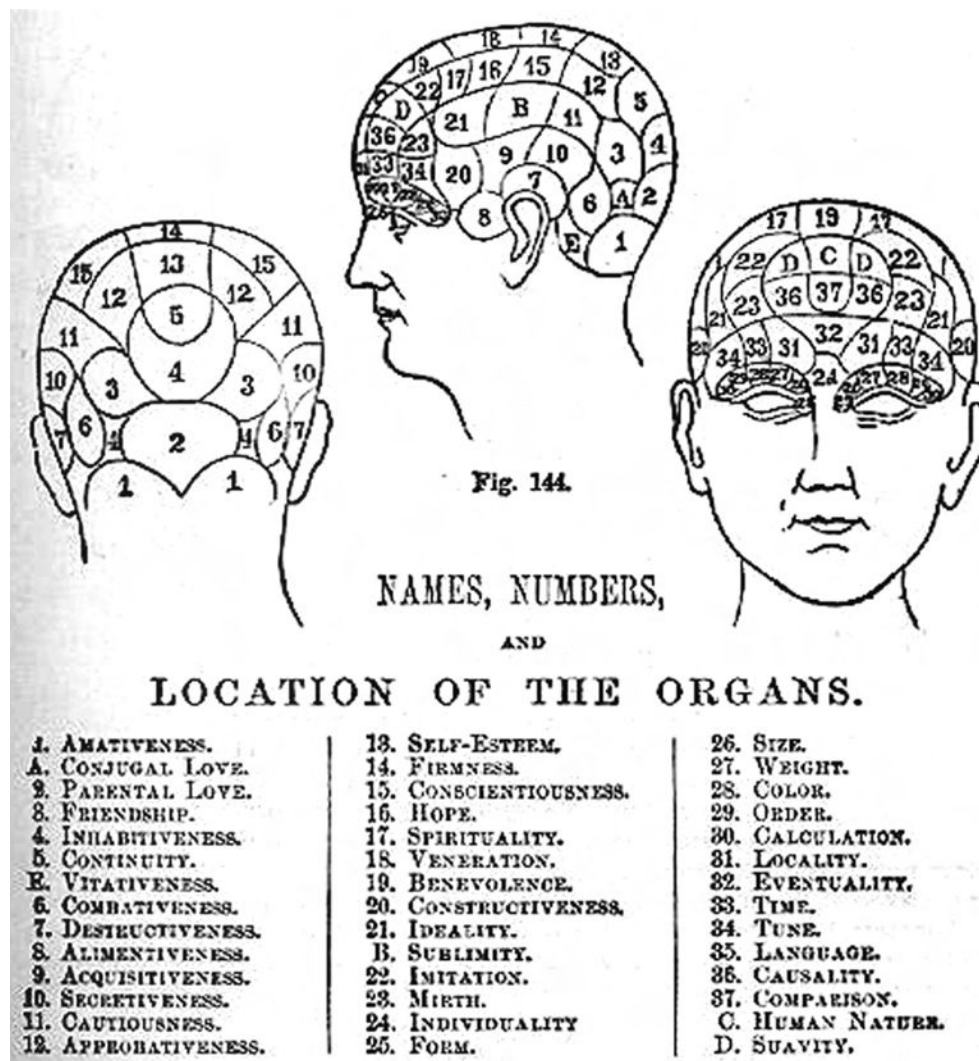


Image 4.18 Names, numbers, and location of the organs.

Source: Wells, S. R. (1871). *New physiognomy, or signs of character, as manifested through temperament and external forms: And especially in "the human face divine."* New York: Fowler & Wells.

5. The McGuffey Readers and Textbook Depictions of Teachers

The common school movement brought with it the need for teaching materials and in particular for textbooks. The most successful of the textbooks written for the common schools were the McGuffey readers. William Holmes McGuffey (1800–1873), a professor at the University of Ohio, published the *First Eclectic Reader* and the *Second*

Eclectic Reader in 1836. A *Primer* was published the following year. Additional readers followed, which included a sixth reader in 1857 and a high school reader in 1863. The McGuffey readers were used by schools well into the twentieth century and are even sometimes used today by home schoolers.



Image 5.1 Illustration for the story “The Truant” included in McGuffey’s Third Eclectic Reader.

Source: McGuffey, W. H. (1879). *Third eclectic reader* (p. 27). New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company.

Lessons included in the McGuffey readers were often moral in nature, urging children to behave and to work hard and warning them of the consequences of misbehaving. Typical is the story of “The Truant,” included in the *Third Eclectic Reader*; in which a boy named James skips school to go out with his friend in a rented boat. The boat is swamped by a wave and the boys are saved from

disaster by some men who at the last moment “reached them just in time to save them from a watery grave” (p. 29). After being taken to a house where their clothes were dried, they were sent home to their parents. James was very sorry for what he did and “became a regular at school, learned to attend to his books, and, above all, to obey his parents perfectly” (p. 29).

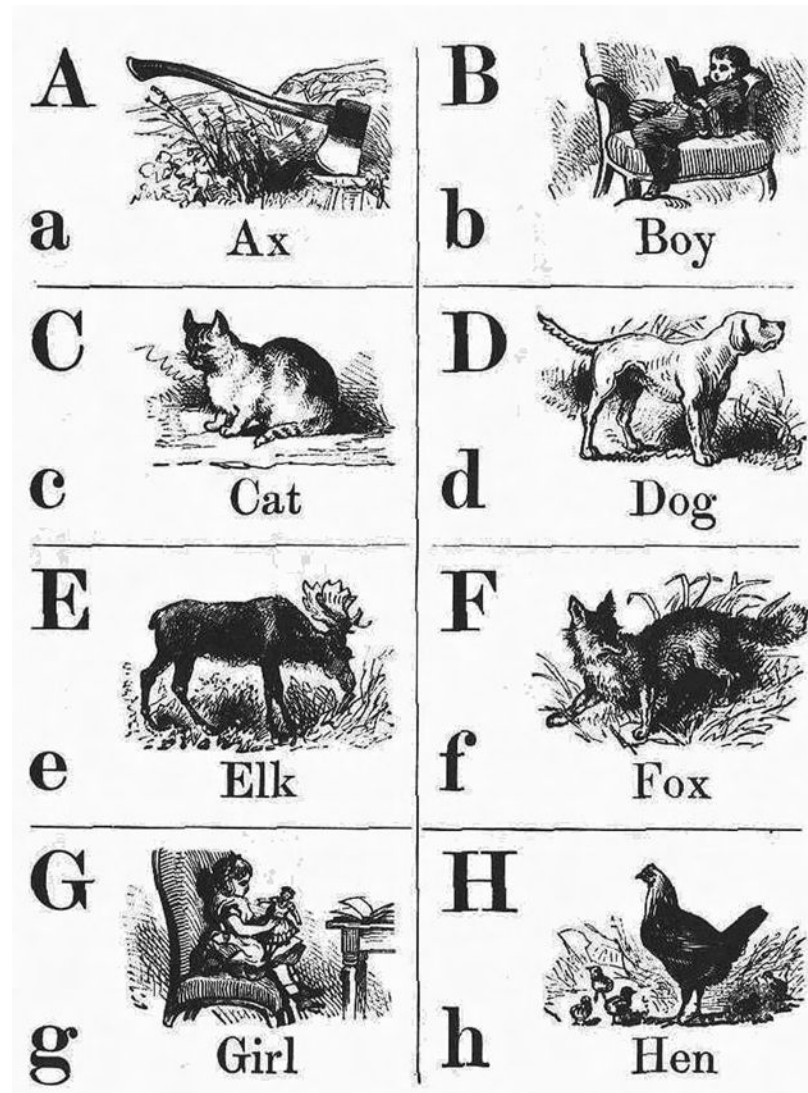


Image 5.2 An illustrated alphabet included in McGuffey's Eclectic Spelling Book.

Source: McGuffey, W. H. (1879). *Eclectic spelling book* (p. 10). New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company.

Illustrations from the McGuffey readers recalled some of the visual formats and models used in earlier textbooks, such as in *The New England Primer*. In the *First Eclectic Reader*, for example, there is a visual alphabet. In addition, models of penmanship were presented to students.

Glimpses of the work of teachers were provided in the frontispieces of textbooks. Interestingly, during the 1830s and early 1840s, the teachers depicted are men (Image 5.4). Women were just beginning to enter the profession in large numbers at this time.

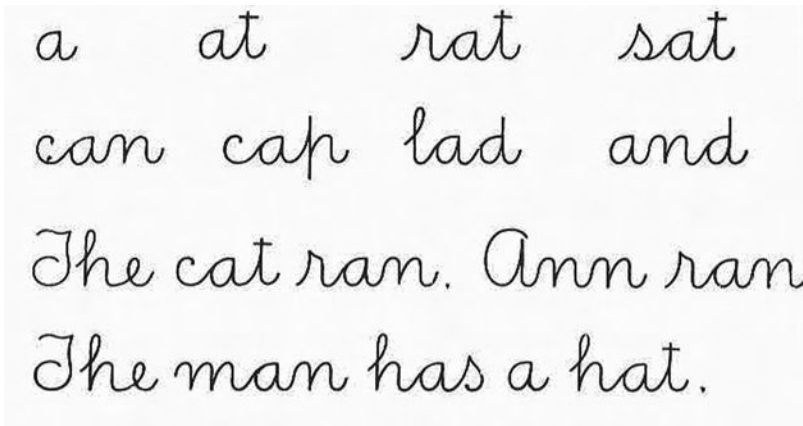


Image 5.3 *Cursive writing models included in McGuffey's Primer.*

Source: McGuffey, W. H. (1879). *Primer* (p. 11). New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company.



Image 5.4 *Frontispiece titled "A Class Engaged in Reading".*

Source: Lyman Cobb, L. (1831). *A class engaged in reading* [Frontispiece]. In *Cobb's Juvenile Reader No. 3*. Baltimore: Joseph Jewett.

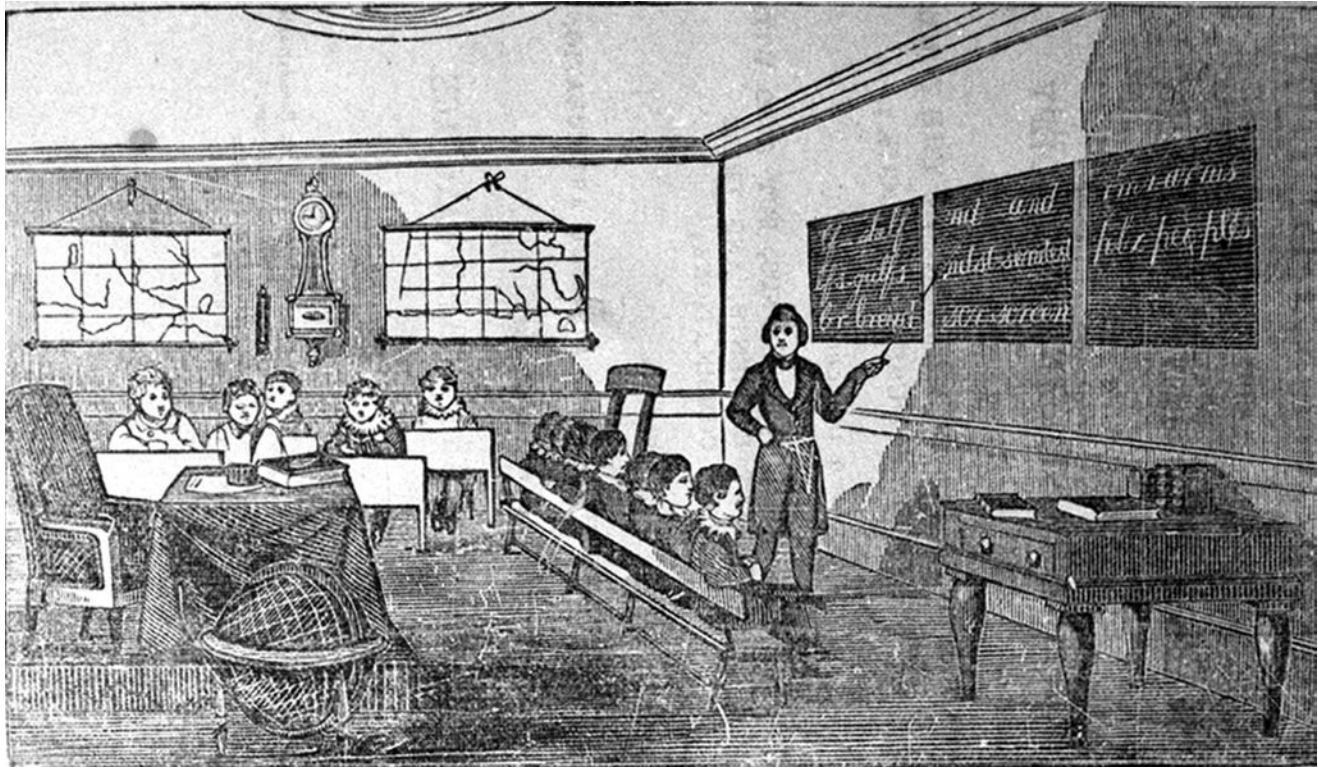


Image 5.5 *Frontispiece from B. D. Emerson's The New National-Spelling Book, and Pronouncing Tutor.*
Source: Emerson, B. D. (1833). Frontispiece. In *The new national-spelling book, and pronouncing tutor*. Claremont, NH: Claremont Manufacturing.

6. Catholic Schools and the Separation of Church and State

Not everyone embraced the idea of the common schools. Prior to and following the Civil War, Catholics—many of whom were recently arrived immigrants—perceived the public schools as institutions that imposed protestant values on their children. This perception was almost certainly accurate. Despite the principle of the separation of church and state, the common schools had infused into them a general set

of protestant values. What they did not do, however, was represent any one specific protestant sect.

As a result, it was very likely that a Catholic child would be required to read selections from the Protestant King James edition of the Bible or to recite prayers such as the Lord's Prayer, which is not part of the Catholic tradition. In addition, teachers would rarely have been Catholic; and since there was a general

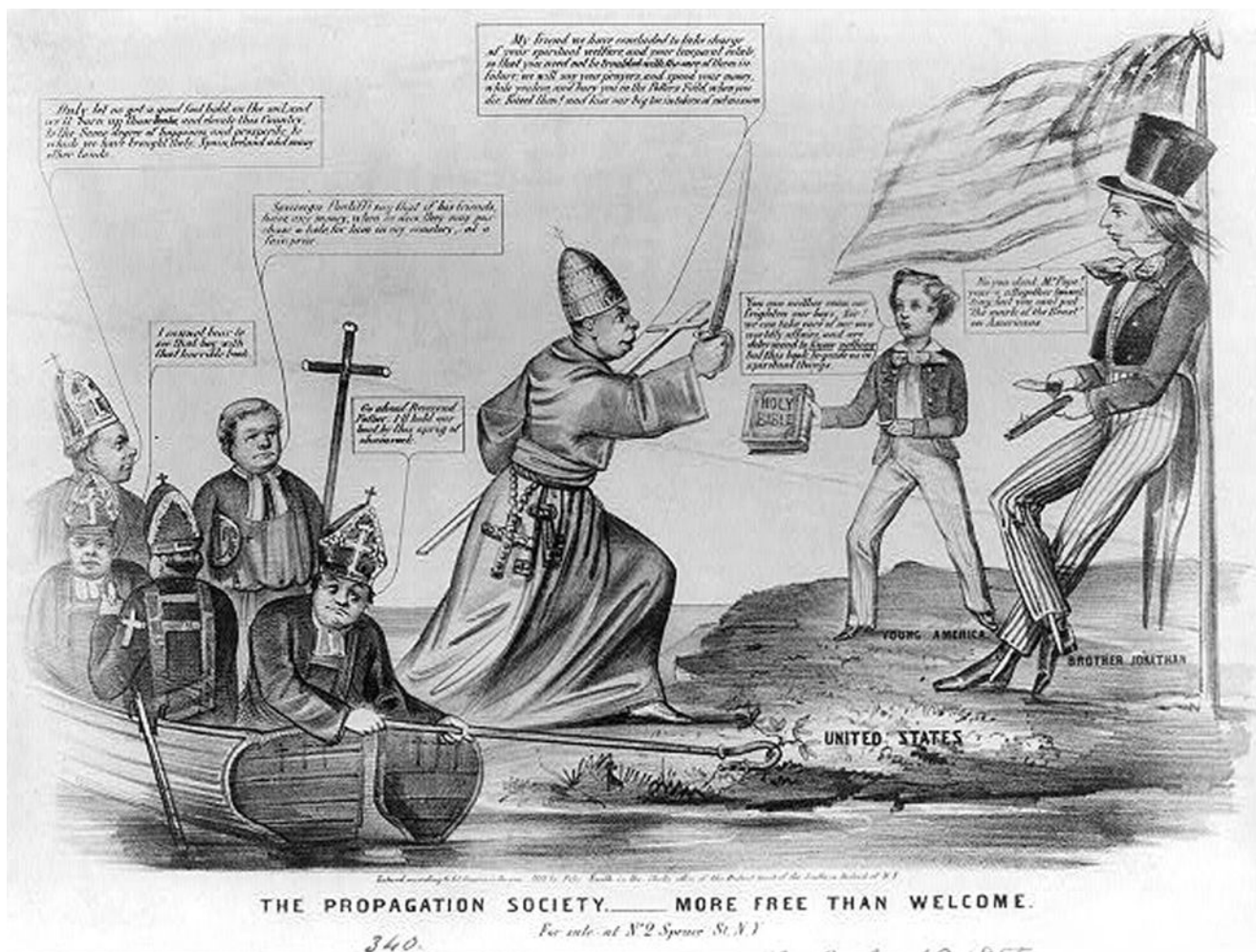


Image 6.1 *The Propagation Society. More Free Than Welcome.* This 1855 Currier & Ives print reflects the fears of many Americans during the middle of the nineteenth century who felt that the Catholic Church represented a threat to American values through Irish immigration and Catholic education.

Source: Currier, N. (Illustrator). (1855). *The Propagation Society. More free than welcome* [Illustration]. New York: Currier & Ives Printer. Available from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

anti-Catholic and anti-Papal sentiment in the country, there was a legitimate fear on the part of Catholic parents that their children would be discriminated against and drawn away from their faith by protestant instructors.

Catholic schools developed their main following in urban areas such as New York City and Boston. During the early 1840s, Catholic leadership under

Bishop John Hughes requested financial support from the state's Common School Fund to establish Catholic schools. The logic was that since Catholics paid taxes and since they believed that they could not get a fair education for their children in the public schools, they had no choice but to set up their own schools.

This request was the beginning of a debate that continues into the current era over school vouchers

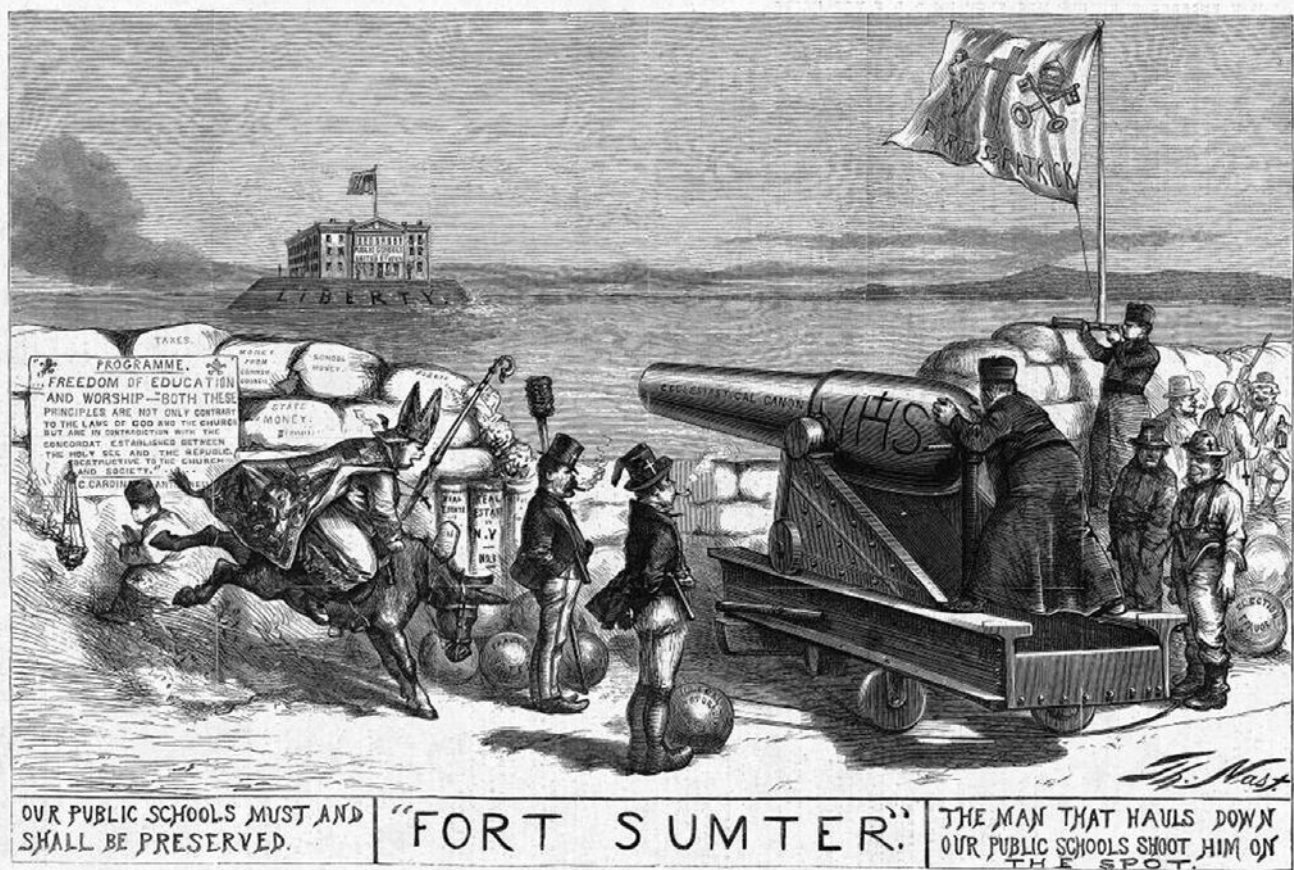


Image 6.2 *Fort Sumter.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1870, March 19). *Fort Sumter* [Cartoon]. *Harper's Weekly*, 14(690), 185.

and the use of public funds to support private education. Non-Catholics overwhelmingly opposed such efforts to gain public funding. Nowhere are their sentiments clearer than in the brilliant series of cartoons illustrated by Thomas Nast and published in *Harper's Weekly* magazine shortly after the Civil War.

Nast's cartoons were part of a larger debate about the separation of church and state that extended back to the Revolutionary period. In a letter written in 1802, Thomas Jefferson had stated that the First

Amendment of the American Constitution created a "wall of separation" between church and state. He felt that because religion was such an important and divisive issue and the American people came from such diverse backgrounds, no religion could be allowed to dominate the government's institutions. This model of the church–state relationship gradually became the law of the land as legislation was enacted to maintain the barrier between state and church functions.

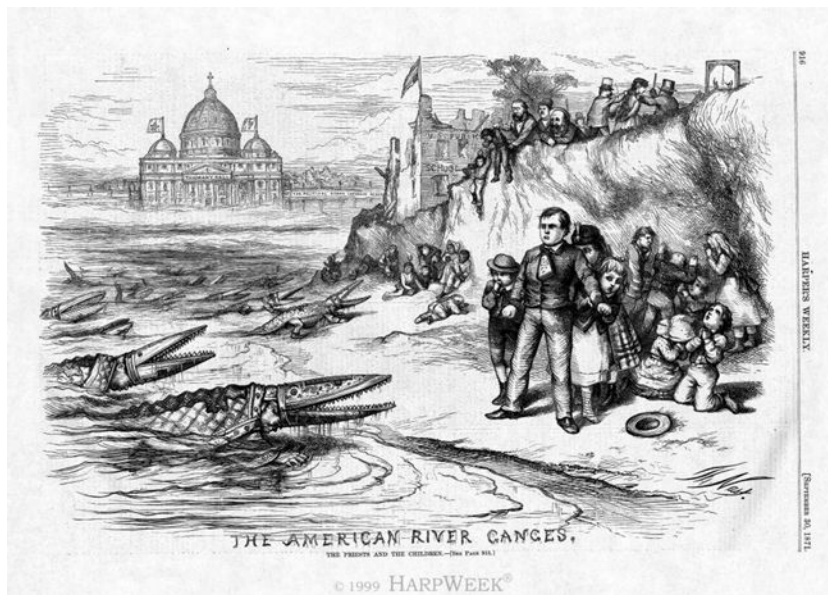


Image 6.3 *The American River Ganges.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1871, September 30). *The American river ganges* [Cartoon]. *Harper's Weekly*, 15(770), 916.



Image 6.4 *Don't Believe in That.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1871, December 23). *Don't believe in that* [Cartoon]. *Harper's Weekly*, 15(782), 1197.

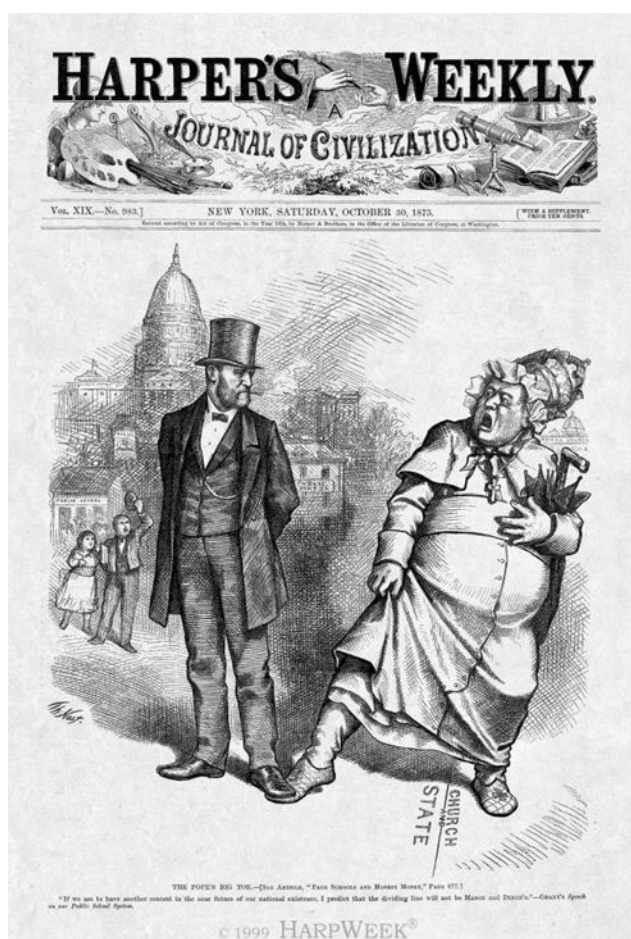


Image 6.5 *The Pope's Big Toe.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1875, October 30). *The pope's big toe* [Cartoon]. *Harper's Weekly*, 19(983), 873.



Image 6.6 *Tilden's Wolf at the Door, Gaunt and Hungry—Don't Let Him In.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1876, September 16). *Tilden's wolf at the door, gaunt and hungry—Don't let him in* [Cartoon]. *Harper's Weekly*, 20(1029), 756–757.

7. The Education of African Americans

Following the slave revolts in the early 1830s, laws were passed throughout the South that made it illegal for slaves to learn how to read. When groups of slaves began to be freed during the Civil War, there soon developed a concern about educating them. As early as 1862, White teachers were sent into captured

Southern territory to educate former slaves. By the end of the war, approximately three thousand teachers had been sent South.

The earliest educational experiment took place in Port Royal, Georgia, in 1862. Union troops had driven Confederate planters from the Sea Islands of Georgia



Image 7.1 *Uncle Tom and His Grandchild*. This sentimentalized image is an obvious reference to the main character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Source: *Uncle Tom and his grandchild* [Illustration]. (1866, November 3). *Harper's Weekly*, 10(514), 449.



Image 7.2 *"Colored" Scholars on Their Way to School (Richmond, Virginia)*.

Source: *"Colored" scholars on their way to school (Richmond, Virginia)* [Illustration]. (1866, June 23). *Harper's Weekly*, 10, (495), 392.

and from the immediate area surrounding Port Royal. General Thomas W. Sherman, the leader of the occupying forces, found himself having to develop a plan for resettling recently liberated slaves. Besides receiving money for food and clothes, they were to be taught to read by teachers sent from the North. It is estimated that by 1872, the Freedman's Bureau had educated 250,000 former slaves in 4,000 schools.

The process of teaching freed slaves to read was often sentimentalized in popular magazines such as *Harper's*

Weekly. Drawings done on site in freedmen's schools following the war show the complexity of the classes of new learners, many of them adults, not just children.

The Freedman's Bureau Schools represented an important effort to provide newly freed African Americans with the rudiments of literacy. More sophisticated schools, including colleges and universities, were soon established. Fisk in Nashville, Tennessee; Talladega in Alabama; and Atlanta University were all started in 1865. At first, their



Image 7.3 *Interior of Primary School for Freedmen in Charge of Mrs. Green at Vicksburg, Mississippi.*

Source: *Interior of primary school for freedmen in charge of Mrs. Green at Vicksburg, Mississippi* [Illustration]. (1866, June 23). *Harper's Weekly*, 10(495), 392.

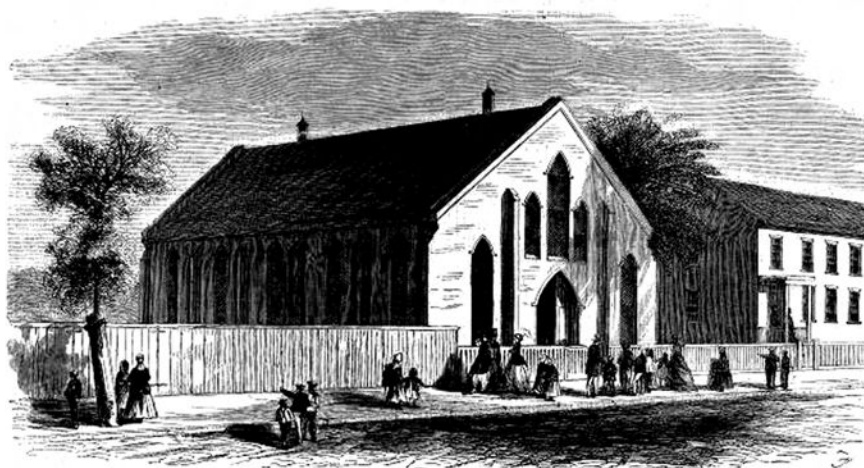


Image 7.4 *St. Philips Church, Richmond, Virginia, School for Colored Children.*

Source: *St. Philips Church, Richmond, Virginia, school for colored children* [Illustration]. (1867, May 25). *Harper's Weekly*, 40(543), 321.

curriculums were limited, functioning more as secondary academies and teacher training or normal schools than as colleges. As resources and experience grew, so did the sophistication of their curriculums.

In 1866, Howard University was established in Washington, D.C. It was the first African American school to offer a full college curriculum. The most influential school as a model for other early Black colleges and universities was Hampton Normal and Agricultural School of Virginia, which was established in 1868 by the American Missionary Association. Under the leadership of Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839–1893), who had commanded a Black regiment during the Civil War, the school was consciously based on missionary models of education intended to uplift “primitive” people. The school emphasized what was referred to as *industrial education*, which was a combination of agricultural courses, domestic skills, and elementary teacher training. It

was assumed that education beyond this level was something most African Americans could not achieve.

What became known as the Hampton model was used by the school’s most famous graduate, Booker T. Washington (1856–1915), in 1881 to establish Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Washington considered the pursuit of equality on the part of African Americans as “extremist folly.” He believed that African Americans were an emerging race, one which was destined for secondary service rather than leadership positions in American society.

The most complete visual record of Hampton and the Hampton or Tuskegee model at work can be seen in the photographs of the school taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952). Johnston was the most prominent woman photographer in the United States at the turn of the century. Originally trained as a painter, she came to Washington in the mid-1880s



Image 7.5 *Colored Scholars Learning Their Lessons on the Street (Richmond, Virginia).*

Source: *Colored scholars learning their lessons on the street (Richmond, Virginia)* [Illustration]. (1867, May 25). *Harper's Weekly*, 40(543), 321.

and opened a professional photography studio about 1890. Within a few years, she was the city's main photographer of the rich and famous including the family of Theodore Roosevelt.

Johnston's photographs of Hampton were taken in December 1899 for display as part of the exhibit of the American Negroes at the Paris 1900 International Exposition. When Johnston arrived at

Hampton to take her photographs in December 1899, there were approximately 1,000 students attending the school, including about 135 Native Americans. According to Hampton's newspaper, the *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record*, Johnston's photographs were supposed to contrast the new life between the Negroes and the Native Americans that the school was creating along with

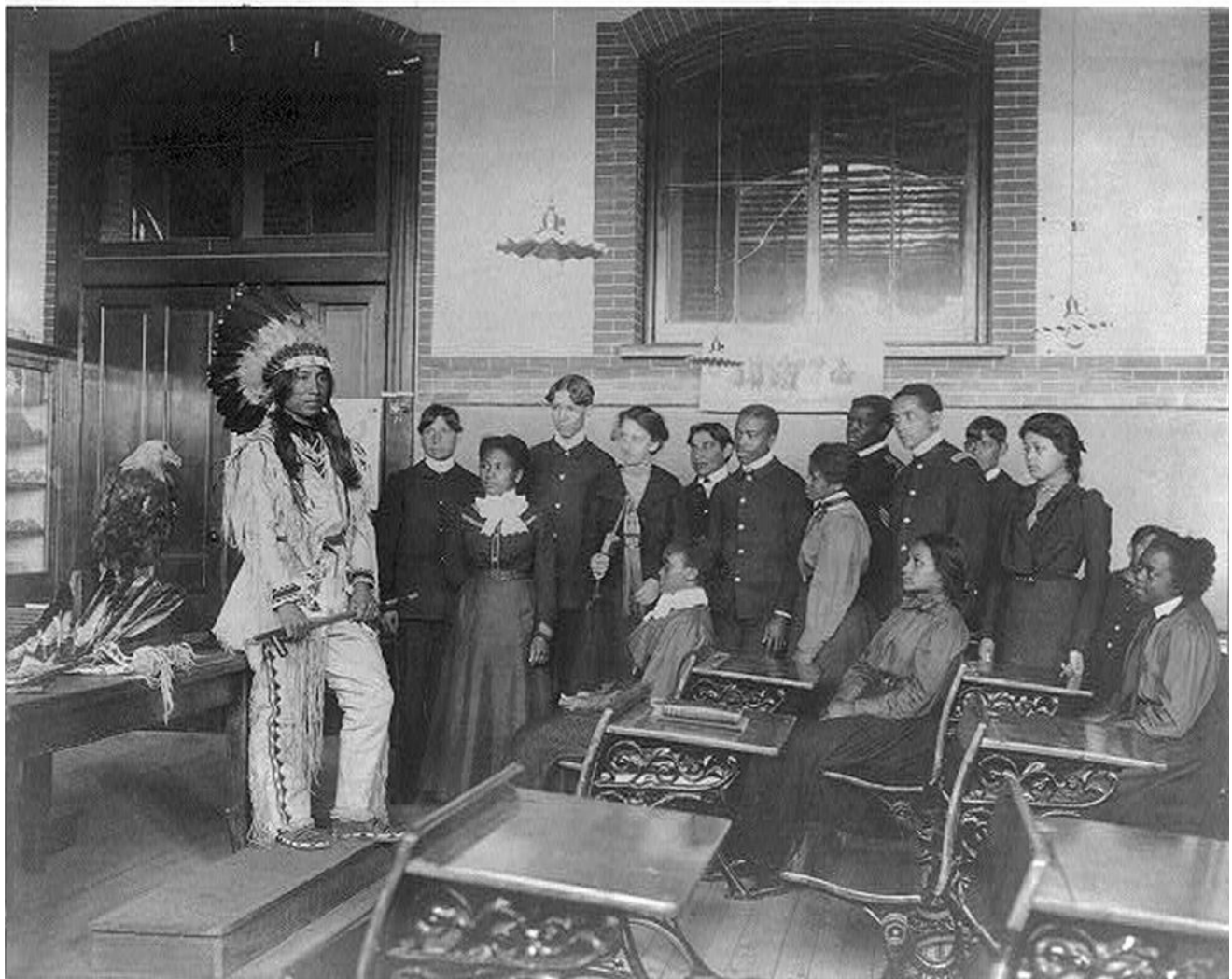


Image 7.6 *A class in American history.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 11051. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

the old and then show how Hampton had helped produce this change. They are beautiful images that record the history of an institution that is important in the history of American education. However, critics have also noted that they represent a type of visual propaganda, which assigned African

Americans and Native Americans to a secondary and discriminatory status while seemingly advancing their needs as a people.

In addition to being exhibited as part of the Exhibit of American Negroes, Johnston's images of Hampton were widely disseminated in a series of articles about the



Image 7.7 *A cooking class in the Domestic Science Building at Hampton Institute.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 11051-4. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

school published by Albert Shaw and Booker T. Washington in *The American Review of Reviews*. In Shaw's article "'Learning by Doing' at Hampton," published in the review (1900, vol. 21), Shaw argued that the students attending Hampton, having emerged out of a culture and tradition of slavery, "needed to be taught

and trained in good conduct, the rudiments of book knowledge, and the plain tasks that go with farming, the ordinary handicrafts, and the duties of home and family" (p. 420). Students educated at Hampton, and subsequently at Tuskegee, were taught manual trades, which included classes in tailoring, harness making, plastering, shoe



Image 7.8 *Mixing fertilizers in an agricultural class at Hampton Institute.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 11501-1. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

making, blacksmithing, cabinetry, bricklaying, printing and modern agriculture for the men, and dressmaking, cooking, cotton spinning, and rug weaving for the women. Johnston also made visits to Tuskegee Institute, where she recorded models of education similar to those found at Hampton.

On occasion, Johnston would go out into the community around Tuskegee to photograph schools such as the Annie Davis School. Photographs of schools such as the Annie Davis School are different from other pho-

tographs of rural Black schools during this period that survived (Image 7.12). Most show a high degree of poverty, reflected in crude furniture and limited educational materials. Typical is the photograph of a “Negro” school near Albany, Georgia, that was included in an article written by W. E. B. Du Bois that appeared in the magazine *The World’s Work* (Image 7.13).

Similar conditions to those found by Du Bois in Georgia in 1901 were also found by Lewis Hine in schools in rural Kentucky fifteen years later.



Image 7.9 History class, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1902). LOT 2962. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 7.10 *African American students in mattress-making class, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (1902). LOT 2962-1. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 7.11 *Tuskegee Institute faculty with Andrew Carnegie, Tuskegee, Alabama. Shown from left to right, seated in front row: R. C. Ogden, Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington, Andrew Carnegie, and an unidentified person.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1906). LOT 2962-4. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 7.12 *African American children and teacher in a classroom studying corn and cotton at the Annie Davis School near Tuskegee, Alabama.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1902). LOT 2962-5. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 7.13 *A Negro School Near Albany, Georgia (Where Children Go After "Crops Are Laid By.")*

Source: Dugmore, R. (Photographer). (1901, June). *A negro school near Albany, Georgia (where children go after "crops are laid by"* [Photograph]. In W. E. B. Du Bois, "The negro as he really is." *The World's Work*, 851.



Image 7.14 *Colored school at Anthoston, Kentucky. According to the official school census, twenty-seven students were enrolled in the school. When Lewis Hine visited the school, the enrollment was actually twelve students with only seven students attending (one thirteen-year-old student, two ten-year-olds, two eight-year-olds, one seven-year-old and one two-year-old). According to the school's teacher, nineteen students would be in the school once the crop was in. As the teacher explained, "Tobacco keeps them out and they are short of hands."*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1916). LOT 7475. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

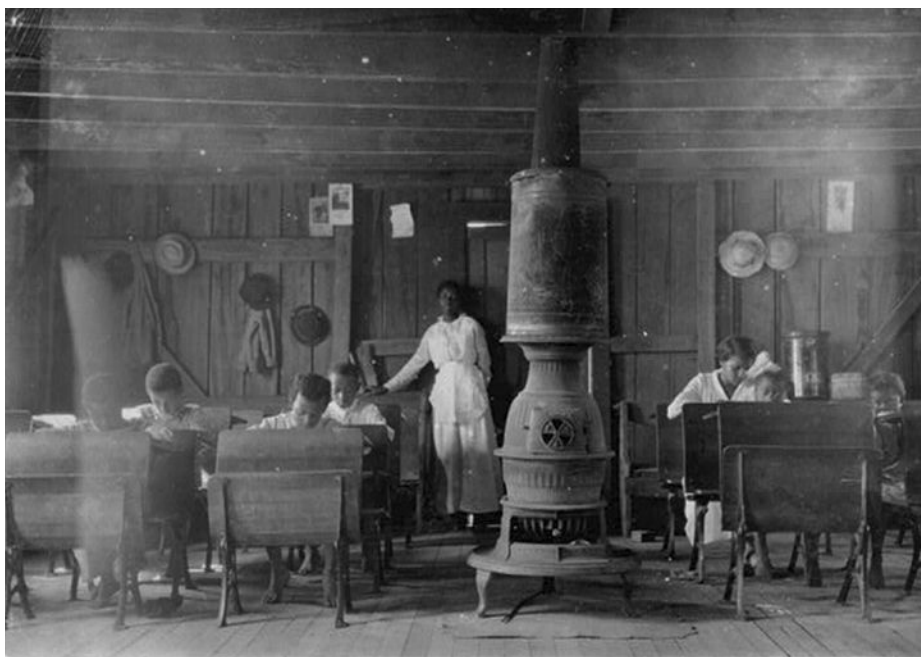


Image 7.15 *Interior of the "colored" school in Anthoston, Kentucky.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1916). [Photograph of the interior of a school in Anthoston, Kentucky]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

8. The Education of Native Americans

Discrimination was not limited to African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Native Americans were often treated as a lesser people who needed to be acculturated.

Between the time of the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War, nearly 400 treaties were made by the federal government with tribal

groups. These treaties involved the government taking control of 1 billion acres of land (roughly four-tenths of the total of the United States). A total of 155 million acres were reserved for reservations, a number that eventually would be cut in half. As part of the treaty agreements, the federal government would provide education, medical help, and agricultural

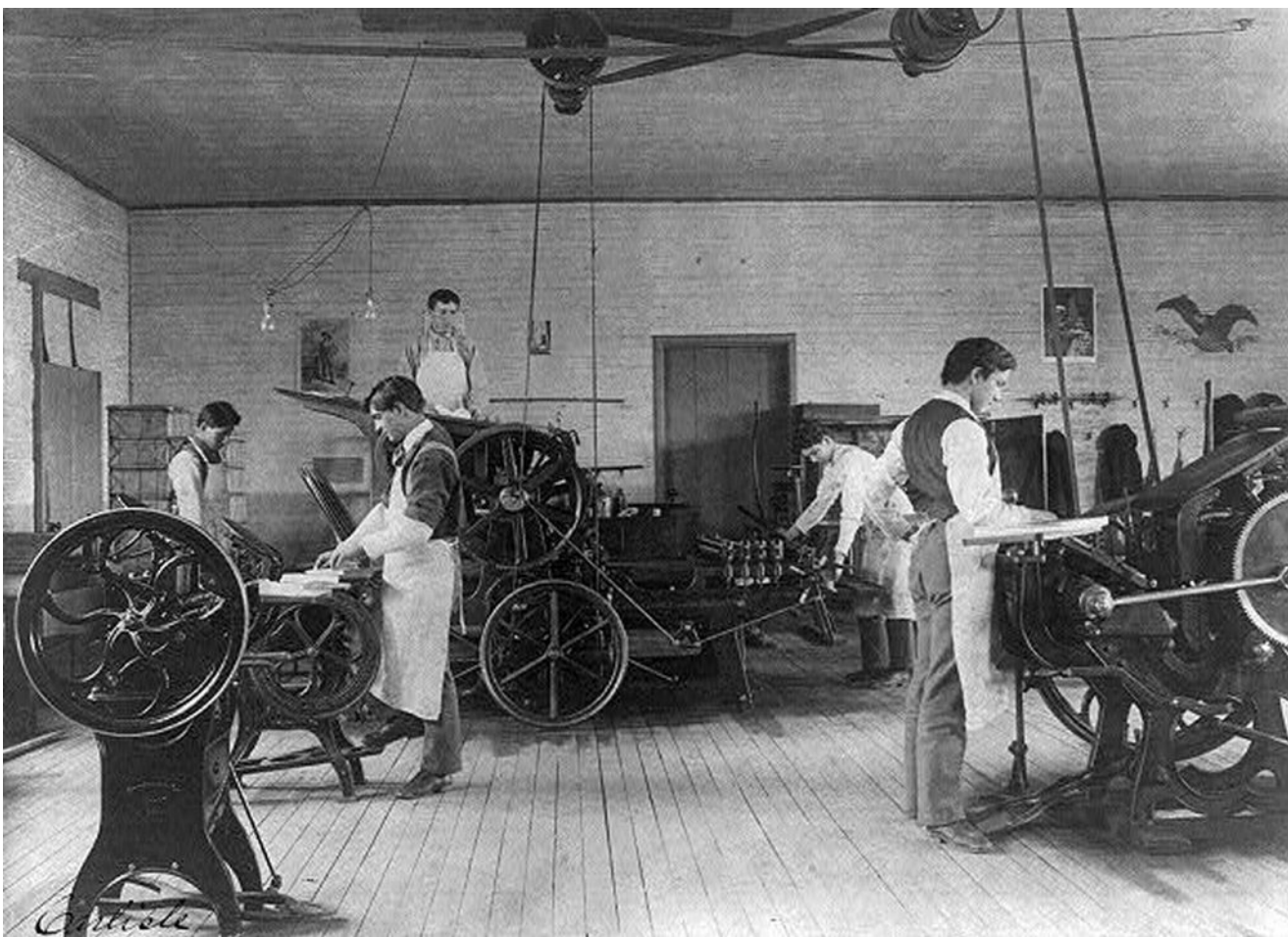


Image 8.1 *Printing press room, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

and land management services to the Native American populations.

Schools were supposed to educate and assimilate Native American tribes. Funds for Native American schools first became available in 1819 with the establishment of the Office of Indian Affairs. Between 1819 and 1824, eighteen Native American schools were established across the country, primarily as part of religious missions.

Prior to the Civil War, tribal groups provided significant resistance to the educational efforts of missionaries.

Many of the approaches used with African Americans were applied to Native Americans as well. This is particularly the case with the Hampton or Tuskegee model, which was taken directly from Hampton Institute and applied to schools such as the Carlisle Indian Barracks School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.



Image 8.2 *Breakfast lesson in the home economics class for women, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

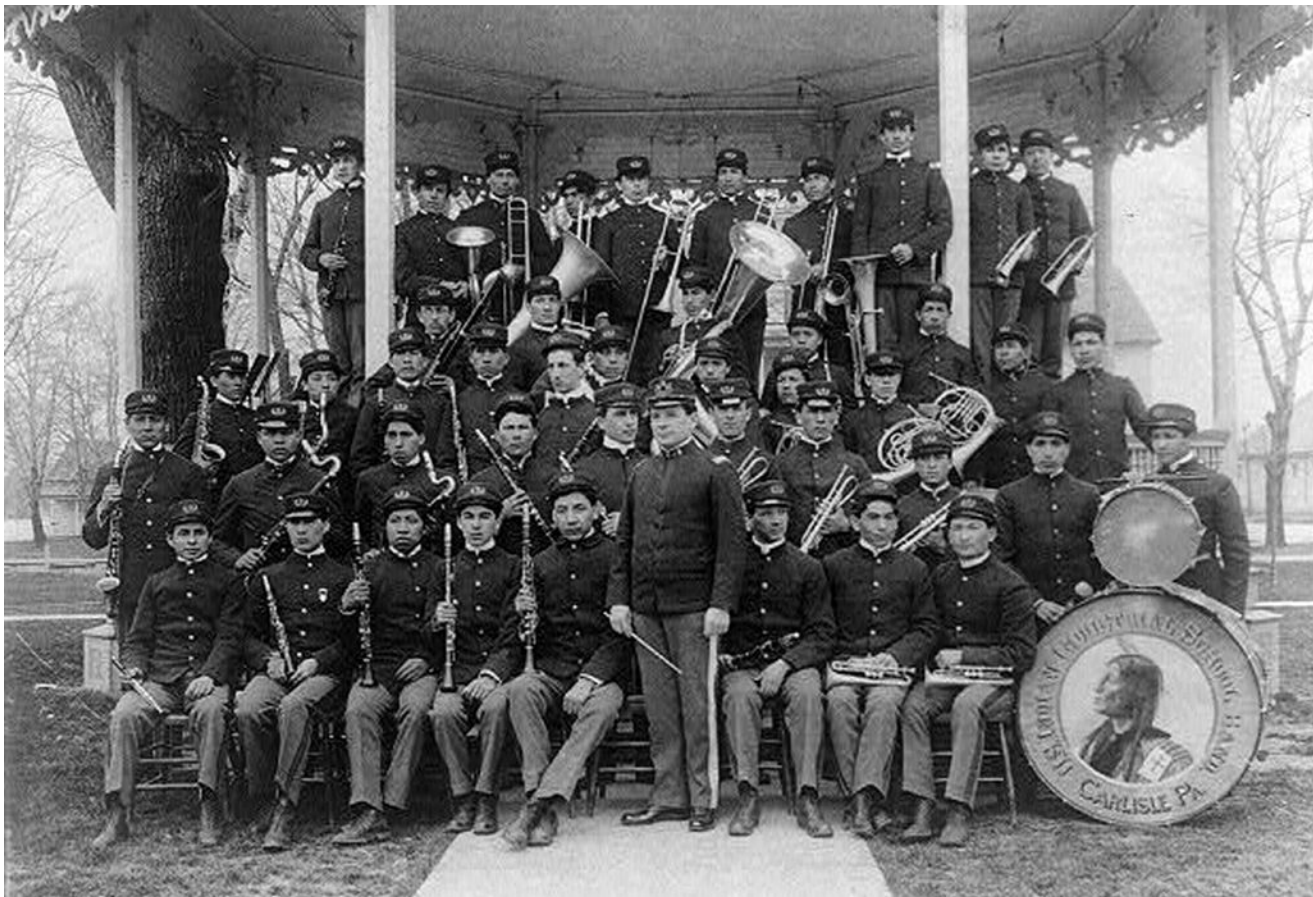


Image 8.3 *Carlisle Indian School band posed at the bandstand, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

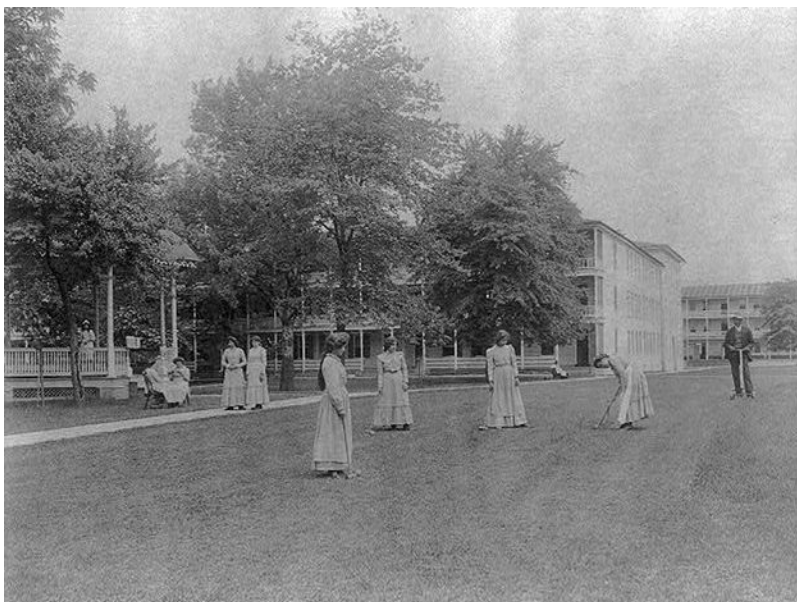


Image 8.4 *Women playing croquet, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.

The Carlisle Indian Barracks School was founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1924) in 1879. It is no surprise that Pratt's model was based directly on Hampton since he had worked at the school with groups of Native American students prior to his founding Carlisle. Johnston visited the school sometime between 1900 and 1903 and, as was the case with Hampton and Tuskegee, left behind an important set of images depicting the activities of the school.

How were students transformed as a result of attending a school such as Carlisle? On a superficial

level, a sense of some of the personal changes that must have taken place can be gained by looking at images from illustrated newspapers and popular magazines such as *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (Images 8.8 and 8.9). The transformation of one Native American girl can be seen in an 1884 illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (Image 8.10).

The diversity of Native American populations attending government schools can be seen in images taken of locations from Alaska to the Everglades.



Image 8.5 Classroom instruction in art, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901–1903). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 8.6 *Native Americans during mathematics class at the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

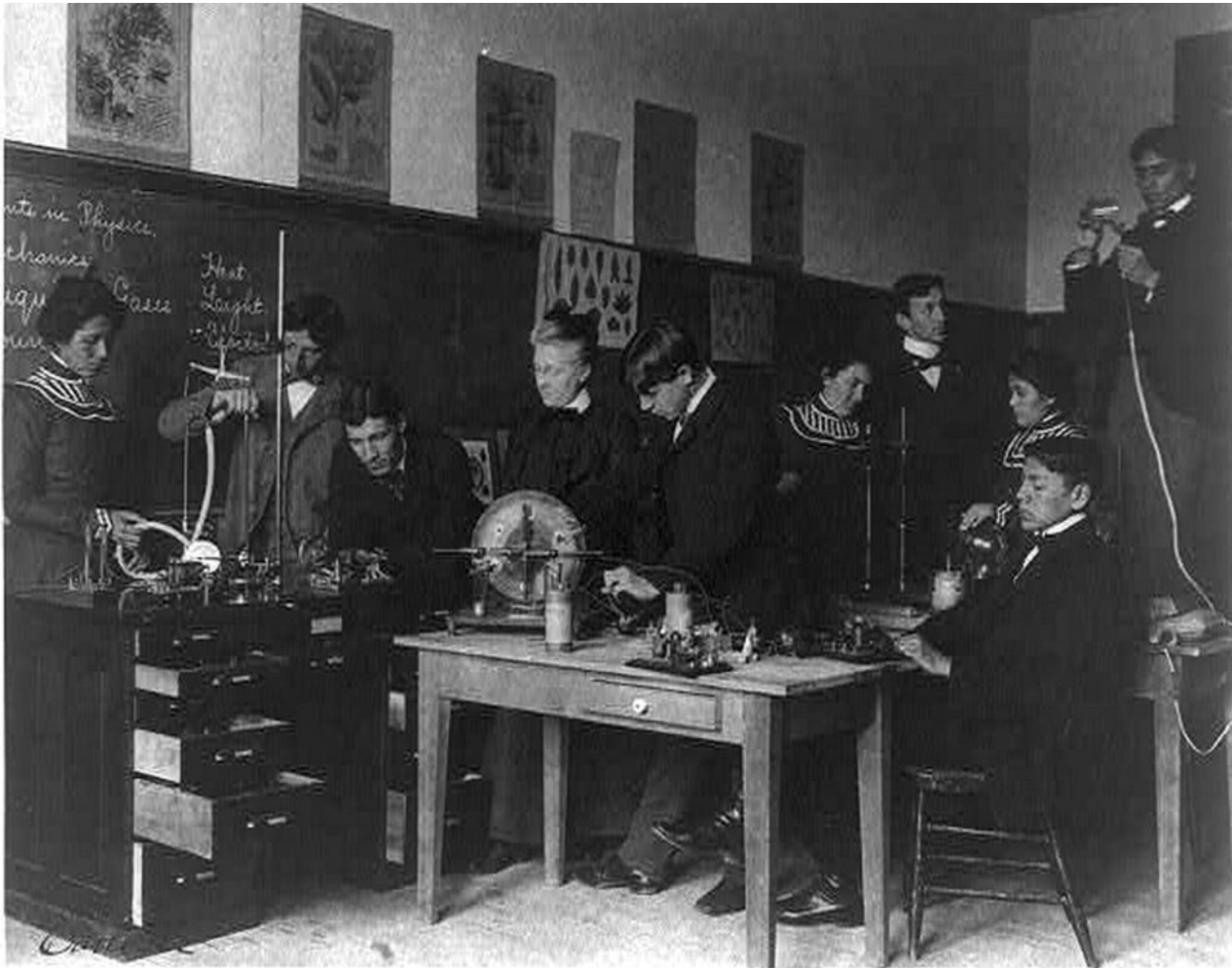


Image 8.7 *Experiments in physics class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1901). LOT 12369. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 8.8 *Group of Native American young men on their arrival at Hampton.*

Source: Indian education at Hampton and Carlisle [Illustration]. (1881). Harper's Monthly Magazine, 62, 660.



Image 8.9 *Group of American Indian young men after completing their education at Hampton.*

Source: Indian education at Hampton and Carlisle [Illustration]. (1881). Harper's Monthly Magazine, 62, 661.



Image 8.10 *A female pupil of the Government School at Carlisle visits her home at Pine Ridge Agency.*

Source: Cover. (1884, March 15). *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, p. 49.



Image 8.11 *Eskimo school children in front of their school, Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska.*

Source: *Eskimo schoolchildren* [Photograph] (LOT 11453-7, No. 11). (1900–1930). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 8.12 *Eskimo schoolchildren in front of their school, Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska.*

Source: United States Public School for Eskimos [Photograph] (LOT 114353-7, No. 3). (1900–1930). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 8.13 *A class in blacksmithing in Forest Grove School, Oregon, 1882.*

Source: Davidson (Photographer). (1882). American Indian Select List No. 157. Available from National Archives.



Image 8.14 *An art class in the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona, June 1900.*

Source: Messinger (Photographer). (1900). American Indian Select List No. 161. Available from National Archives.

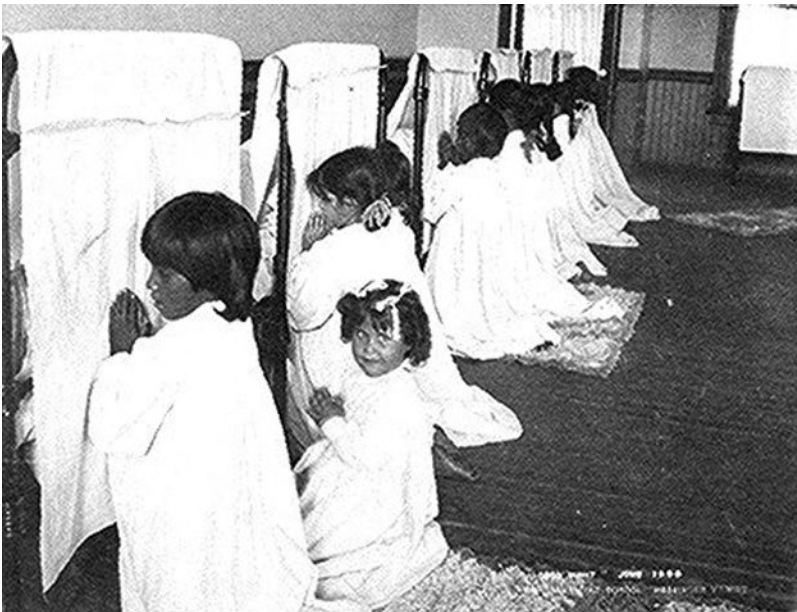


Image 8.15 *Little girls praying beside their beds, Phoenix Indian School, Arizona. Photographed by Messinger, June 1900.*

Source: Messinger (Photographer). (1900). American Indian Select List No. 162. Available from National Archives.



Image 8.16 *Students branding Cattle at the Seger Colony School in Oklahoma, 1900.*

Source: American Indian Select List No. 163. (1900). Available from National Archives.

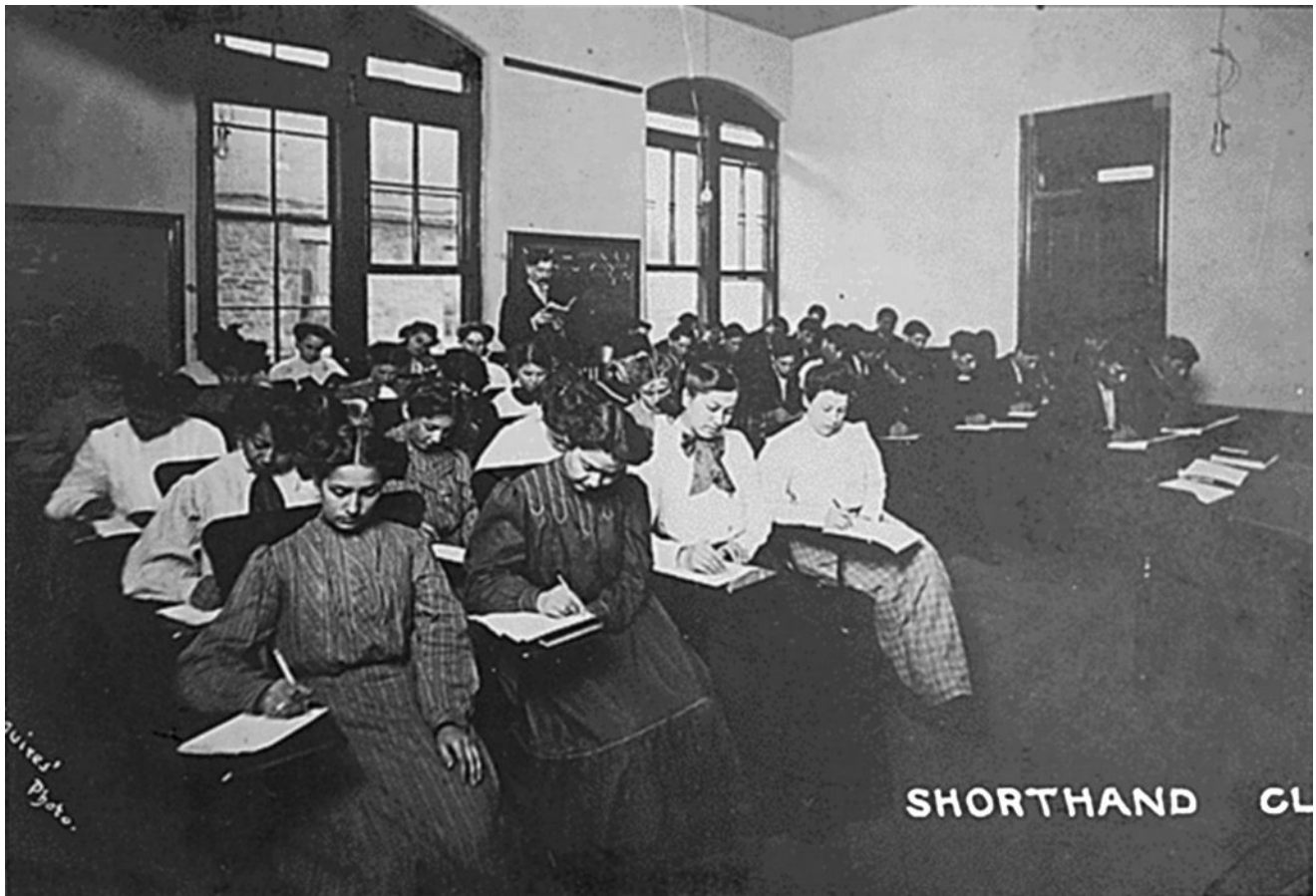


Image 8.17 *A girls' shorthand class at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, 1910.*

Source: Squires (Photographer). (1910). American Indian Select List No. 159. Available from National Archives.



Image 8.18 *The football team on the field at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, 1914.*

Source: American Indian Select List No. 158. (1914). Available from National Archives.



Image 8.19 *Mary Parker, a young Seminole girl, using a sewing machine at the Brighton Day School on the Glades County Reservation in Florida, 1941.*

Source: Alexander (Photographer). (1941). American Indian Select List No. 151. Available from National Archives.

9. Frontier Teachers and Schools

As Native Americans were increasingly moved onto reservations and sent to government-sponsored schools, pioneer settlers began to move into the frontier regions of the United States. Normally, frontier settlements are thought of as being limited to the western part of the country, but frontier settlements were also found in places such as Florida. In fact, the first public school in Miami-Dade County did not open until 1886. The school was in Lake Worth, now part of modern Palm Beach County. At that time, the

county was much larger, extending from Lake Okeechobee south to the Monroe County line, an area roughly the size of Massachusetts. Only 332 people were listed in the 1885 state census, including 47 families with children.

Conditions were primitive in all of the frontier schools. It is the one condition they held most in common, along with a preponderance of youthful teachers and often unusual methods of transportation for getting students to school.



Image 9.1 *The Coconut Grove School. The first class in a school in Miami-Dade County, Florida, 1889.*

Source: [Photograph of the Coconut Grove School]. (1885). Available from Florida State Archives: <http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection>

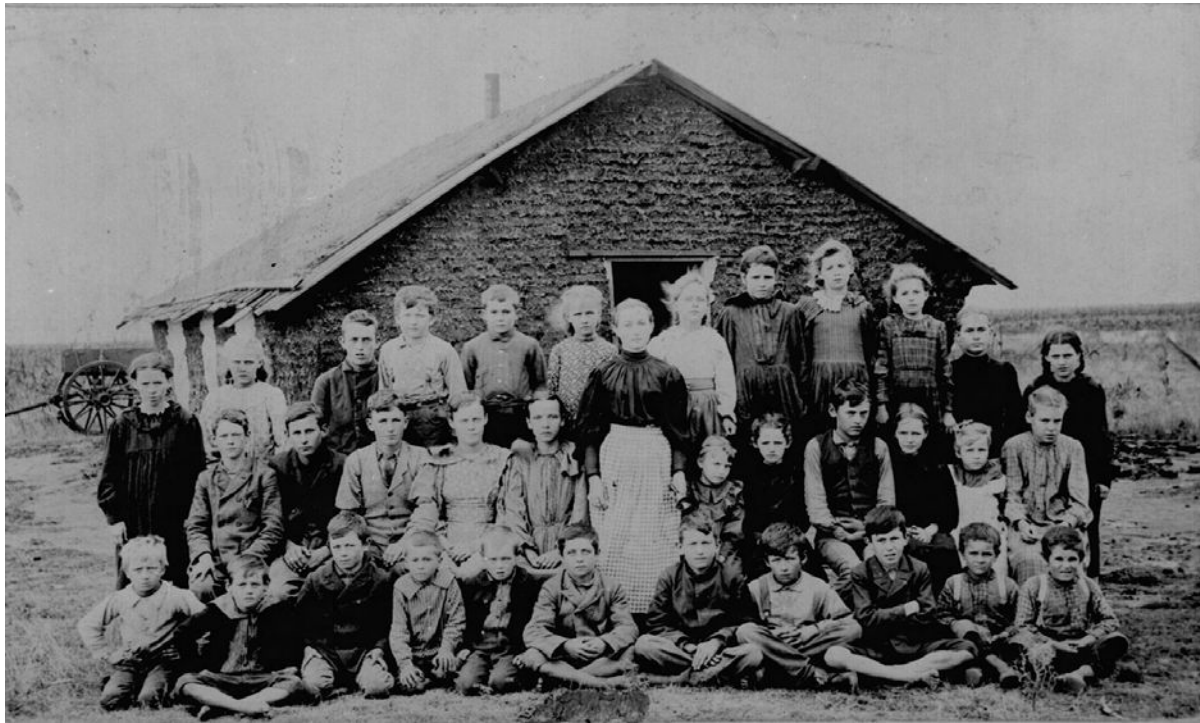


Image 9.2 *Teacher and children in front of sod schoolhouse, 1895.*

Source: Photographs of the American West: 1861–1912, No. 181. (1895). Available from National Archives.



Image 9.3 *A Mesa Creek Valley rancher's daughter en route to school in Battlement Mesa Reserve, Colorado, 1898.*

Source: Photographs of the American West: 1861–1912, No. 183. (1898). Available from National Archives.

Image 9.4 *Her Daily Duty.* Cow with seven small boys on her back poses in front of schoolhouse in Okanogan, Washington, 1907.

Source: *Her daily duty* [Photograph] Photographs of the American West: 1861–1912, No. 188. (1907). Available from National Archives.



Image 9.5 *Blanche Lamont and her students in Hecla, Montana, October 1893.* The most famous picture of a pioneer or frontier teacher is of Blanche Lamont taken in 1893 in Hecla, Montana. Lamont came to a tragic end just a short time after the photograph was taken. In 1895, her nude mutilated body and that of a female friend were found in the belfry of the Emmanuel Baptist Church in San Francisco. A mutual friend of the two women, Theodore Durrant, was eventually tried for their murders, found guilty, and executed for the crime.

Source: [Photograph of Blanche Lamont with her students]. (1893). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

10. Kindergartens

While new physical frontiers were being explored and conquered during the nineteenth century, similar intellectual and educational territory was opened up as well. One of the most interesting of these new educational regions was the kindergarten.

The idea of kindergarten was conceived by the German educator, Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) and was a reflection of his belief that education should help children realize their natural, inner potential. The first English-speaking kindergarten in

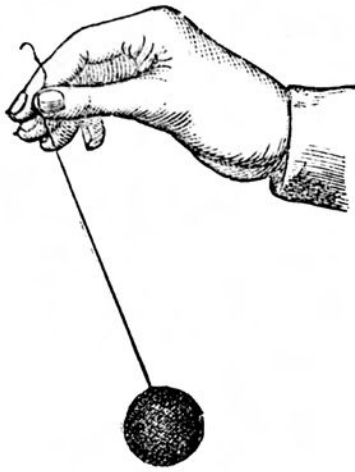


Image 10.1 *The First Gift, colored fabric balls.*

Source: Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1877.

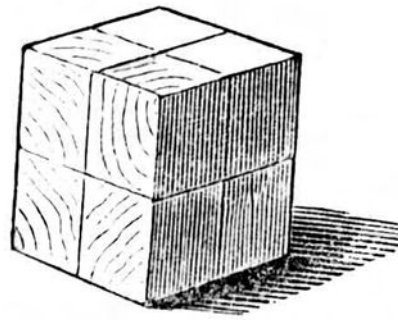


Image 10.3 *The Third Gift, basic building blocks.*

Source: Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1877.

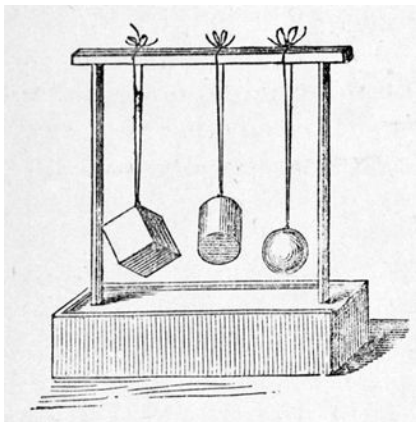


Image 10.2 *The Second Gift, wooden shapes for comparison (cube, sphere and cylinder).*

Source: Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1877.



Image 10.4 *A young boy playing with the Tenth Gift, an early version of Tinkertoys.*

Source: Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1877.

the United States was opened in Boston in 1860 by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804–1894). Milton Bradley (1836–1911), the board game manufacturer learned about the kindergarten through Peabody and began to manufacture kindergarten and art materials that could be used by teachers. Of particular

importance was the dissemination of the twenty “gifts and occupations,” which are the foundation of the kindergarten curriculum. The ten initial Gifts were objects such as blocks, which the child could manipulate to learn about how things functioned and worked in the world. The ten Occupations were more



Image 10.5 *A young girl engaged in Froebel's paper-weaving activity.*

Source: Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1877.



Image 10.6 *The kindergarten building at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.*

Source: LOT 7756. (1876). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs.

typically tasks and activities using simple materials and tools such as paper and scissors or wax and clay for molding and sculpting, although at times the difference between the Gifts and Occupations is obscure.

The Froebel concept of Gifts and Occupations was not only educationally sophisticated, but also profoundly philosophical in nature. In the case of the second Gift, Froebel had the child feel a cube, a sphere, and a cylinder while blindfolded. In doing so, he was



Image 10.7 *The interior of the kindergarten building at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.*

Source: LOT 7756. (1876). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division.



Image 10.8 *Students tending a garden at the Des Peres Kindergarten, the first public kindergarten in the United States. Photograph from the St. Louis School Exhibit, Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876.*

Source: Photograph of students tending a garden. (1876). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

following the philosopher Georg Friedrich Hegel's (1770–1831) dictum that thesis versus antithesis yields synthesis. According to Froebel, the cube has totally flat sides (thesis); the sphere, round sides (antithesis); and the cylinder, flat and round sides (synthesis).

Froebel believed that a cylinder demonstrated the existence of a universal spirit—one that unified the opposites of the thesis and antithesis.

The first public school kindergarten was opened in 1873 by Susan Blow (1843–1916) in St. Louis,



Image 10.9 *The kindergarten in the North-End Industrial Home, Boston.*

Source: Photograph of a kindergarten in the North-End Industrial Home. (1881, June 4). *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 52(1340), 229.



Image 10.10 *Kindergarten at Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Georgia, 1900.*

Source: Kindergarten at Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Georgia [Photograph] (LOT 11300). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Missouri. Dissemination of the kindergarten concept was greatly aided by the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Two demonstration kindergartens were on display at the exposition in 1876. Extensive photographs displayed at the exposition provided details

on the work that was being done in the St. Louis Public Schools.

Kindergartens became widespread throughout much of the United States during the 1880s and 1890s. Many of them were associated with orphan asylums and



Image 10.11 *Kindergarten Children in Horace Mann School Working on Doll Houses, 1917.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). Kindergarten children in Horace Mann School working on doll houses [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 10.12 *Washington, D.C. Free Morning Lunch in the Kindergarten of a Negro School, 1942.*

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). *Washington, D.C. free morning lunch in the kindergarten of a Negro school* [Photograph] (Call No. LC-USW3- 000904-E). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

settlement houses and were seen as a means of improving the lives and experiences of poor children.

African American kindergartens were begun in various settings, including one that was part of the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in Augusta, Georgia.

Progressive educators such as John Dewey embraced the kindergarten as an important educational innovation and included kindergarten instruction in progressive schools. By the time of World War I, kindergartens were becoming common in public education throughout the United States.



Image 10.13 *Children are taught good eating habits at a nursery established by the Health for Victory Club in a new project of the club's nutrition program at the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, at Mansfield, Ohio, 1943.*

Source: Rosener, A. (Photograph). (1943). Call No. LC-USE6 D-010151. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division.

11. International Expositions

The dissemination of many of the major educational innovations developed in the second half of the nineteenth century occurred through the international expositions. As mentioned earlier, the first wide-scale display of innovative kindergarten programs

and kindergarten material took place at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Manual systems of industrial training from Russia were also introduced and were widely adopted in American schools.

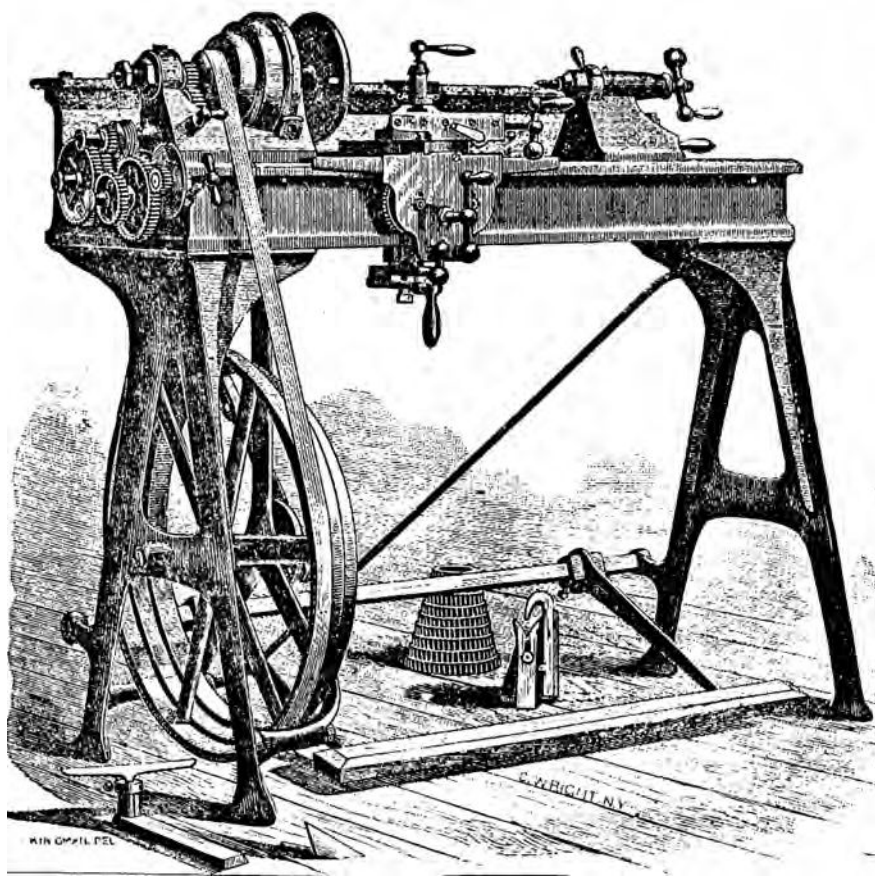


Image 11.1 A lathe included in the exhibit of the Moscow Imperial Technical Institute, Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876.

Source: [Image of a lathe]. (1876). *The Scientific American Supplement*, No. 46, p. 721.

The U.S. exhibits in the government building included models of school buildings and extensive collections of statistical data. Individual school districts sent extensive collections of photographs,

student papers, and other materials related to the classroom.

Major educational displays were included at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and at the 1904

Image 11.2 *Exhibit in the government building showing model buildings, including the Franklin School, Washington, D.C., at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876.*

Source: Gov't. building, dep't. of education [Photograph] (LOT 7756). (1876). Philadelphia: Centennial Photographic. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

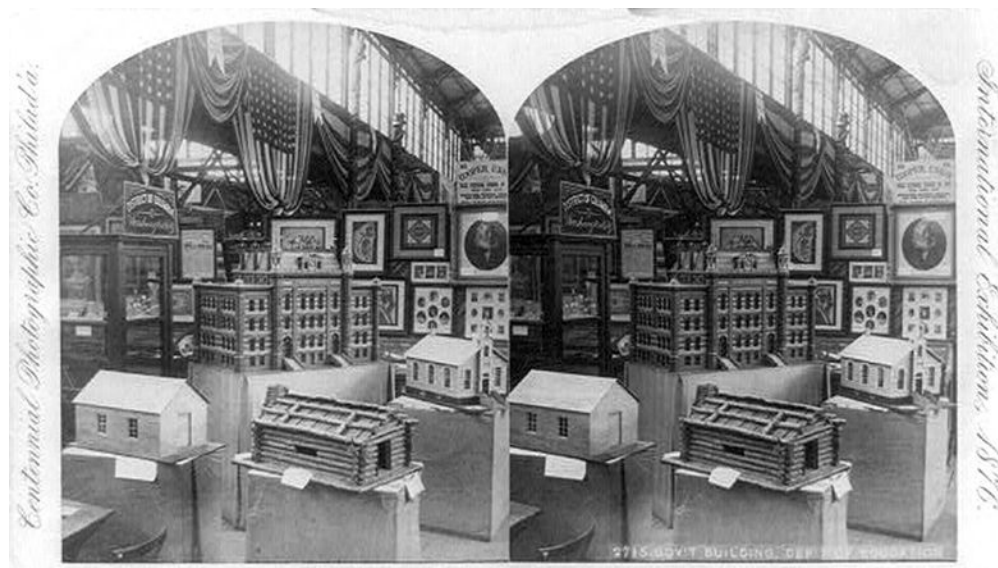
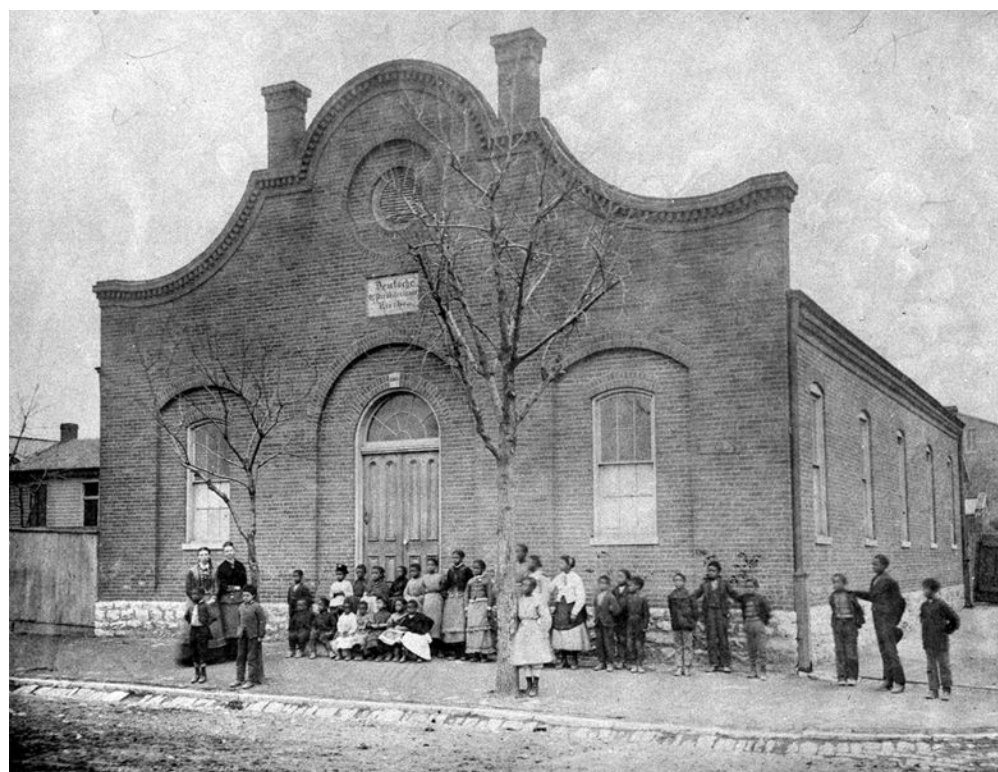


Image 11.3 *No. 5 Colored School. This was a two-room school with 165 pupils (75 boys and 90 girls). This building was originally a German immigrant church built in 1867. Part of the St. Louis Public School Exhibit, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.*

Source: No. 5 colored school [Photograph]. (n.d.). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Louisiana Purchase Exposition. In fact, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition had education as its main theme.

As the host of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the St. Louis Public Schools made a particular

effort with their exhibit. It included not only extensive photographs of traditional classrooms, but also photographs of students with special needs as well as photographs of gymnastic training and immigrant education classes.



Image 11.4 *Carr Lane School. Eight rooms, 688 pupils (300 boys and 388 girls). Part of the St. Louis Public School Exhibit, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.*

Source: Photograph of the Carr Lane School. (1876). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 11.5 *Smithsonian Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Buel, J. W. (Ed.). Louisiana and the fair: An exposition of the world, its people and their achievements (Vol. 8, p. 2810). St. Louis, MO: World's Progress.

One of the most interesting results of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the attempt to perpetuate its exhibits through the creation of a schoolwide educational museum and audiovisual department—the first of its type in American public schools. The theme

of the Educational Museum of the St. Louis Public Schools was “Bring the World to the Child” and was begun shortly after the exposition closed. The museum is widely considered the first schoolwide audiovisual program in American schools. In addition to the actual



Image 11.6 *Entrance of the Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Photograph of the entrance of the Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools. (1904). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 11.7 *Interior of the Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Photograph of the interior of the Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools. (1904). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

museum, the program sent out materials to classrooms, first in a horse-drawn wagon and later in motorized vehicles. Stereopticon slide packages that involved the

use of a three-D optical viewer for each student were particularly popular and were used widely in the period before World War I.

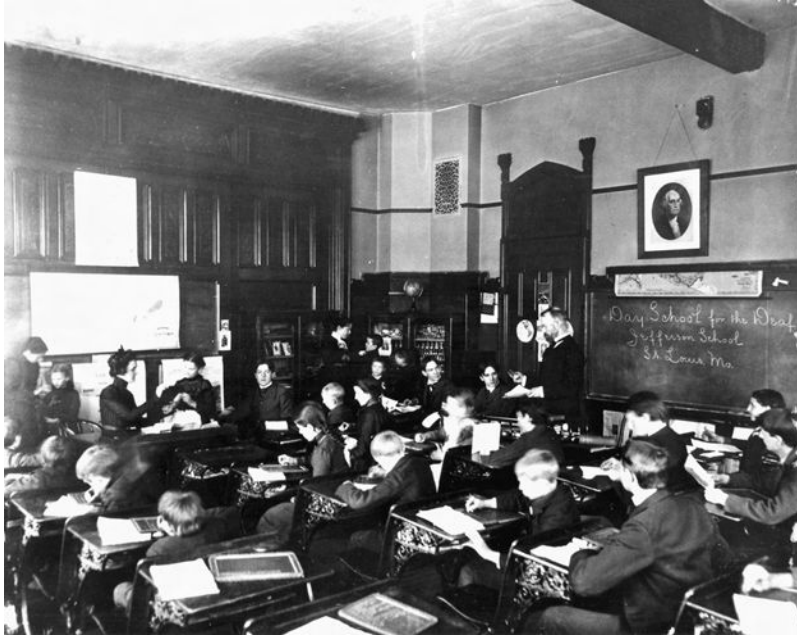


Image 11.8 *Photograph of a class for the deaf included as part of the Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Photograph of a class for the deaf. (1904). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 11.9 *Photograph of students doing gymnastic exercises at the Wyman School, 1904. Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Photograph of students doing gymnastic exercises. (1904). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

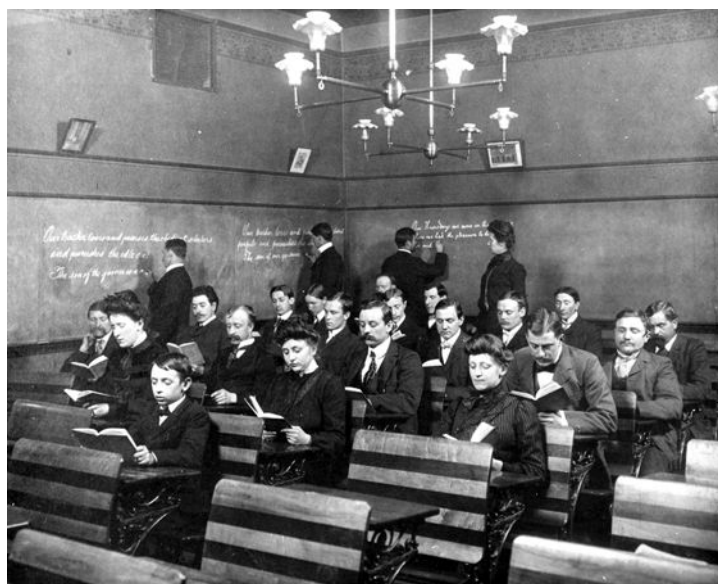


Image 11.10 *A class for immigrant students, Exhibit of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.*

Source: Photograph of a class for immigrant students. (1904). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

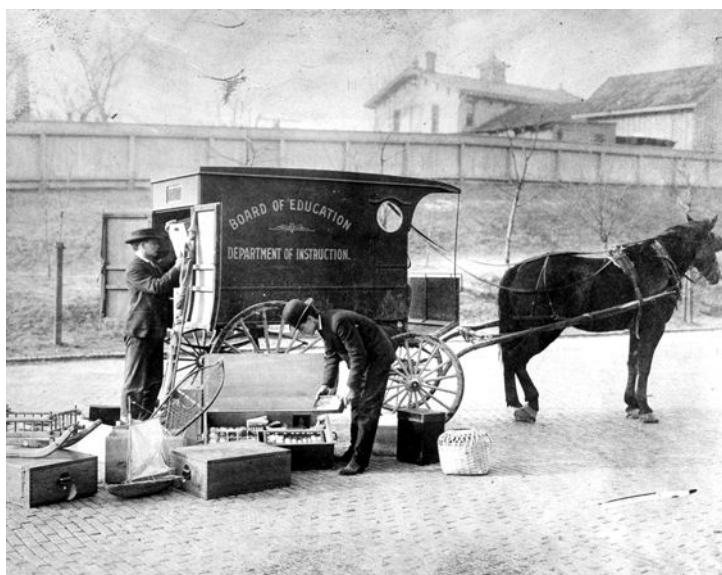


Image 11.11 *The delivery wagon for the Educational Museum of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1906.*

Source: Photograph of the delivery wagon for the Educational Museum. (1906). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 11.12 *Stereopticans in a 1910 classroom in the St. Louis Public Schools.*

Source: Photograph of stereopticans. (1910). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

12. Frances Benjamin Johnston and the Washington, D.C., Schools

The international expositions were responsible for producing a remarkable number of outstanding photographs dealing with the subject of education. Frances Benjamin Johnston, for example, in addition to her photographs of Hampton Institute for the 1900 Paris Exposition, also created a detailed portfolio of images

of the Washington, D.C., schools. These images are particularly interesting. They were intended to highlight innovations and new progressive models that were being integrated into the curriculum. Included in the photographs were students in art classes, science classes, and on field trips.



Image 12.1 *Eastern High School, Washington, D.C. Girls in art class, drawing at easels.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer) (1900). LOT 2749, No. 095. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 12.2 *Girls in a science laboratory at Eastern High School, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer) (1900). LOT 2749, No. 086. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 12.3 *Kennebec Ice horse-drawn wagon parked in front of Birney Public School. Schoolchildren line up with the teacher behind the wagon as a man shows them a large chunk of ice suspended by tongs, in Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 367. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 12.4 *Third Division, Washington, D.C., public schools field trip, children examining rocks.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 236. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 12.5 *A field trip to the Smithsonian Institution.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 210. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

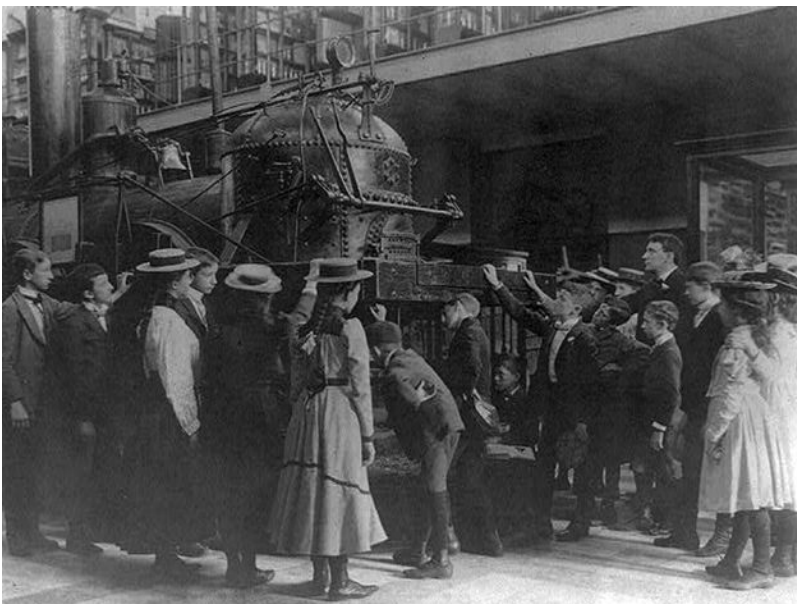


Image 12.6 *Viewing a locomotive at the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 178. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 12.7 *Woman schoolteacher and a group of young pupils examining fruits and vegetables at a market on field trip (Washington, D.C., Fifth Division).*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). 1900. LOT 2749, No. 279. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 12.8 *Assembly in the auditorium for a lecture with slides on art.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 250. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 12.9 *Washington, D.C., high school students from Second Division studying paintings in art gallery, 1899.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 2749, No. 179. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

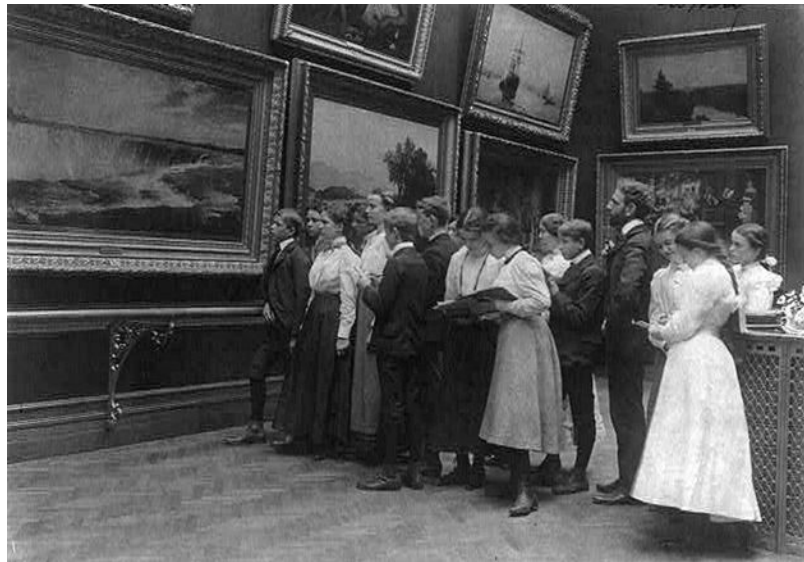


Image 12.10 *Public school students in an art class sketching a live model wearing stars-and-stripes dress and holding the U.S. flag, Third Division, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 214. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 12.11 *Elementary school-children watching a teacher write at a blackboard, Washington, D.C., 1899.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 2749, No. 136. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.





Image 12.12 *Western High School girls' basketball, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). *Western High School girls' basketball, Washington, D.C.* (LOT 2749). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

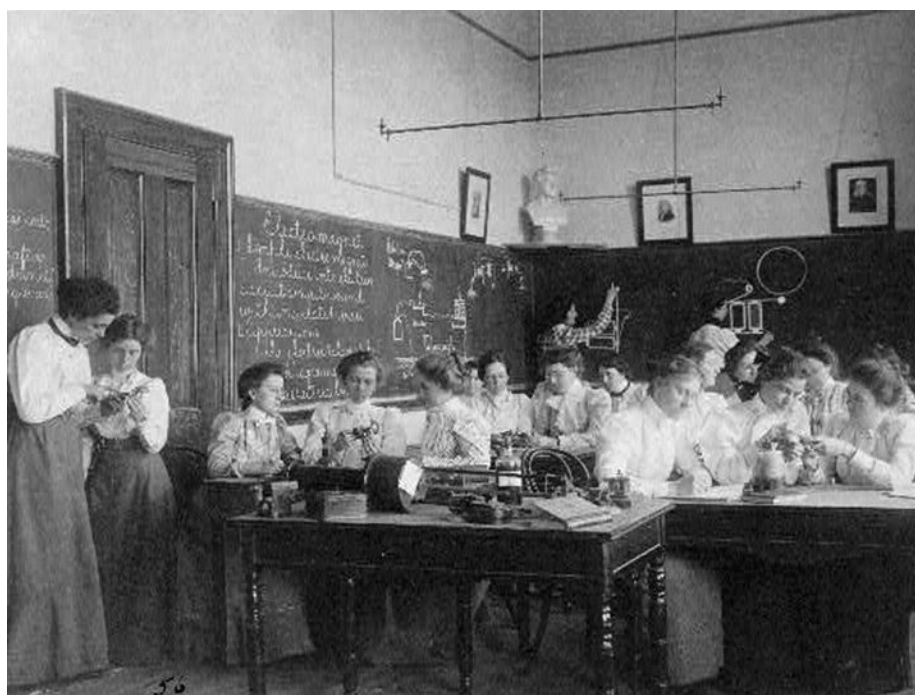


Image 12.13 *Group of young women studying electromagnets in a normal school, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. . (Photographer). (1900). LOT 2749, No. 056. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

13. Exhibit of American Negroes: *Exposition Universelle de 1900*

The 1900 Paris Exposition included a display titled *The Exhibit of American Negroes*, which was a collaborative creation of the Black colleges and universities and the Library of Congress. The driving forces behind the

exhibit were the Black sociologist and historian W. E. B. Du Bois and Thomas J. Calloway, a prominent lawyer and educational administrator. The exhibit had four purposes, as noted in Du Bois's 1900 "The American

Image 13.1 *Practice school at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1900.*

Source: Practice school at Howard Univ., Wash., D.C. [Photograph] (LOT 11294). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.2 *Graduating law class at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1900.*

Source: Law graduating class at Howard University, Washington, D.C. [Photograph] (LOT 11294). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Negro at Paris” (*The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, vol. 2, no. 5, p. 576): First, it was concerned with showing the history of the American Negro; second, it attempted to describe “his present condition”; third, “his education”; and fourth, “his literature.”

The Exhibit of American Negroes was awarded numerous medals by the organizers of the exposition, including a Grand Prix for the overall collection. The materials in the exhibit were highly diverse and included hundreds of pictures from Black colleges,

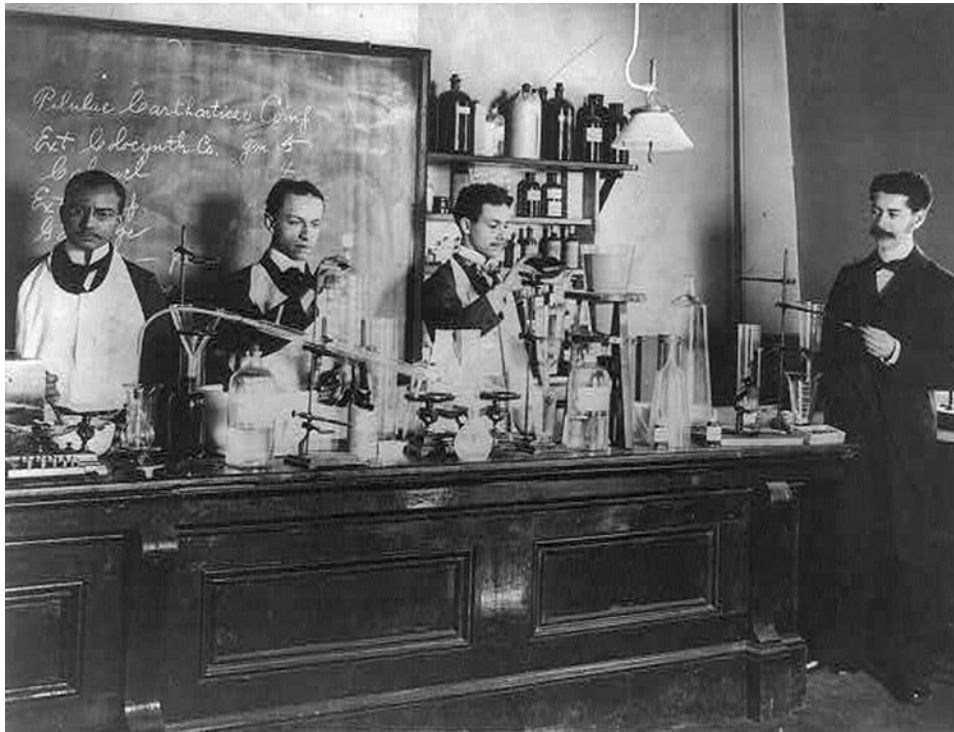


Image 13.3

Pharmaceutical laboratory at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1900.

Source: Pharmaceutical laboratory at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1900 [Photograph] (LOT 11294). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

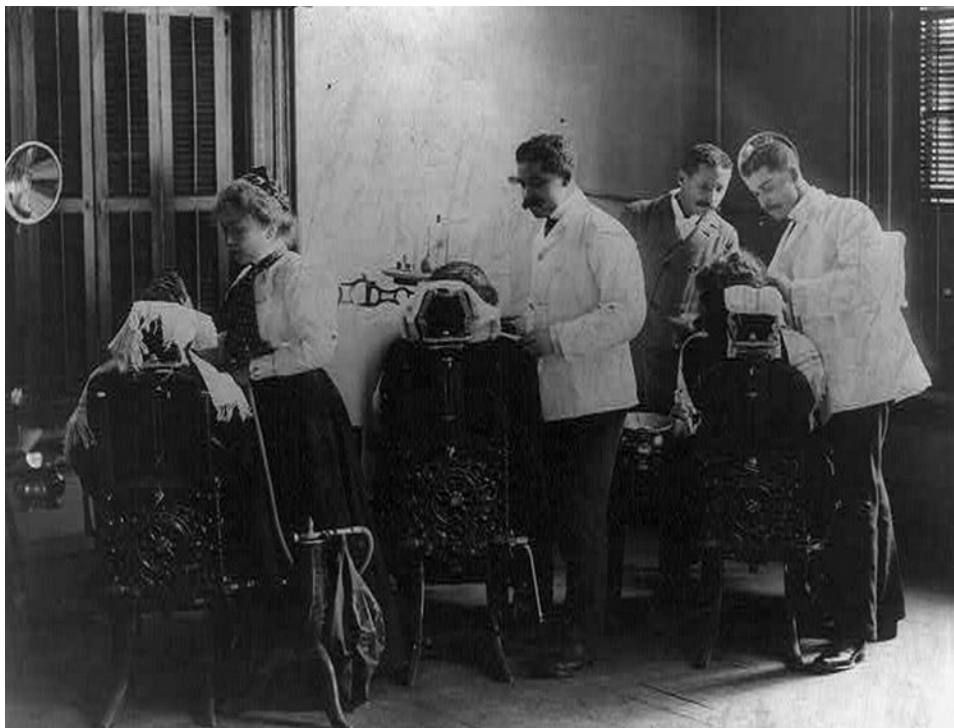


Image 13.4 *Dentistry at Howard University, Washington, D.C., ca. 1900.*

Source: Dentistry at Howard University, Washington, D.C., ca. 1900 [Photograph] (LOT 11294). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

which included Howard University; Tuskegee Normal and Agricultural Institute; Fisk University; the Agricultural and Mechanical College, Greensboro, North Carolina; Berea College; and Atlanta University; as well as collections of books and pamphlets by Black

authors from the Library of Congress and a wide range of sociological data on the conditions of Black life in America.

Photographs of Howard University in Washington, D.C., included images of teachers and students in the

Image 13.5 *Theological Hall, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1900.*

Source: Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 1900—Theological Hall [Photograph] (LOT 11299). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.6 *Group of children from the Model School, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1900.*

Source: Group of children from the Model School, Fisk University, Nashville Tenn. [Photograph] (LOT 11299). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



university's practice school, as well as law students, pharmacy students, and dental students.

Photographs of Fisk University, which was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1806,

were similar to those sent by Howard University. They included pictures of the school's buildings, students and teachers in the training school, and students at morning prayers and in the dining room.

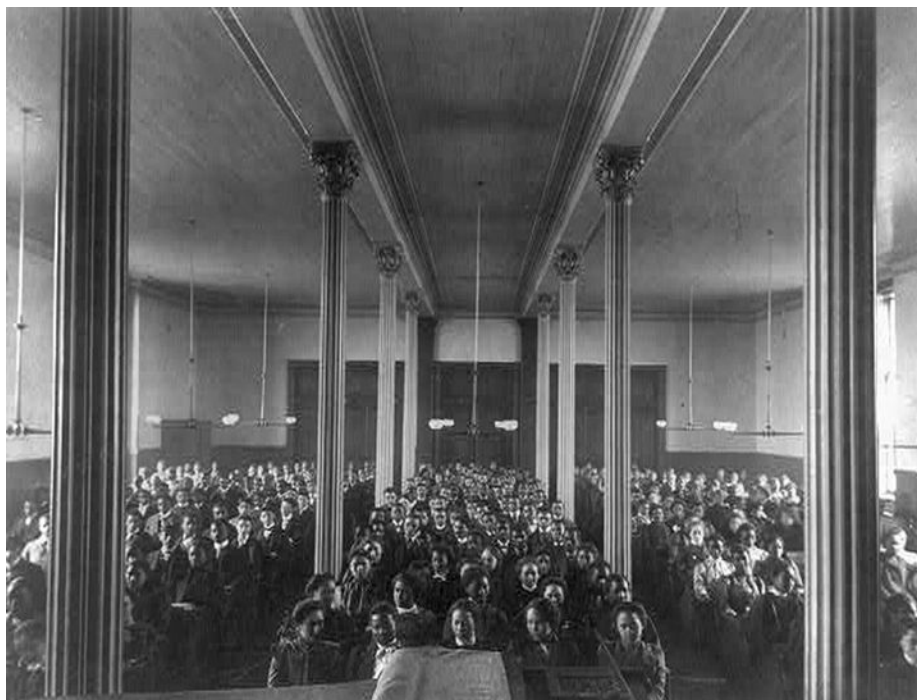


Image 13.7 *Morning prayers, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1900.*

Source: Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 1900—Morning prayers [Photograph] (LOT 11299), (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

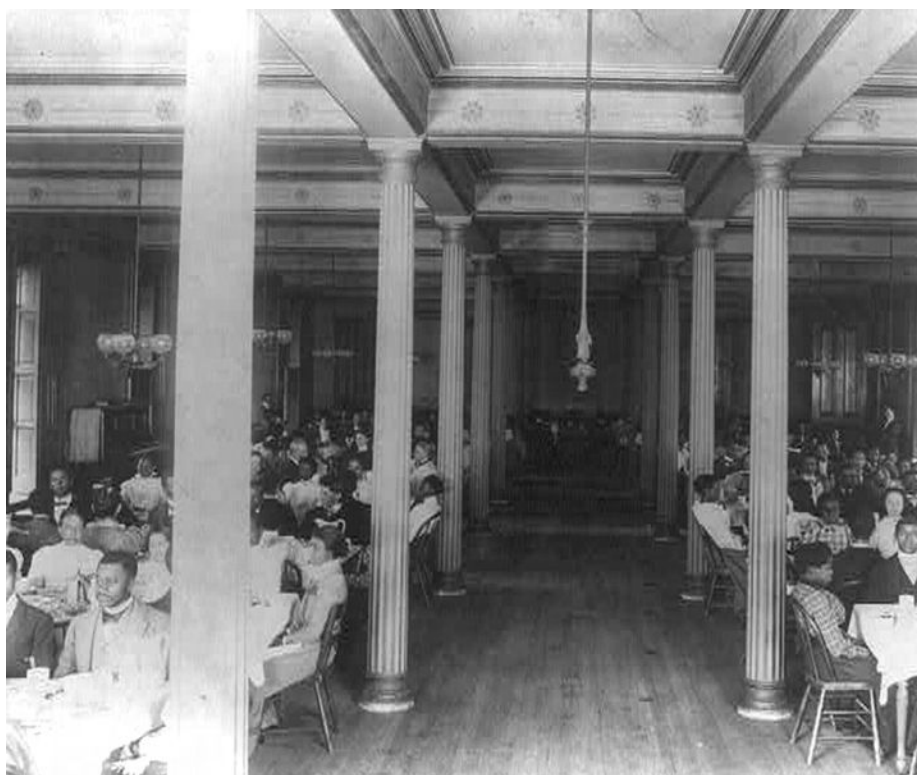


Image 13.8 *Dining hall, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1900.*

Source: Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 1900—Dining hall [Photograph] (LOT 11299). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Smaller schools such as Berea College in Kentucky, Claflin University in South Carolina, and Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in Augusta, Georgia were included in the exhibit.

Tuskegee Institute in Alabama sent detailed poster-sized photo montages that described their programs.

Among the most interesting photographs included in the exhibit was a group portrait of Black teaching nuns from New Orleans.

Image 13.9 *Students at Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, 1900.*

Source: Students at Berea College, Berea, Kentucky [Photograph] (LOT 11297). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.10 *Main building of Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, 1899.*

Source: LOT 11298. (1899). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



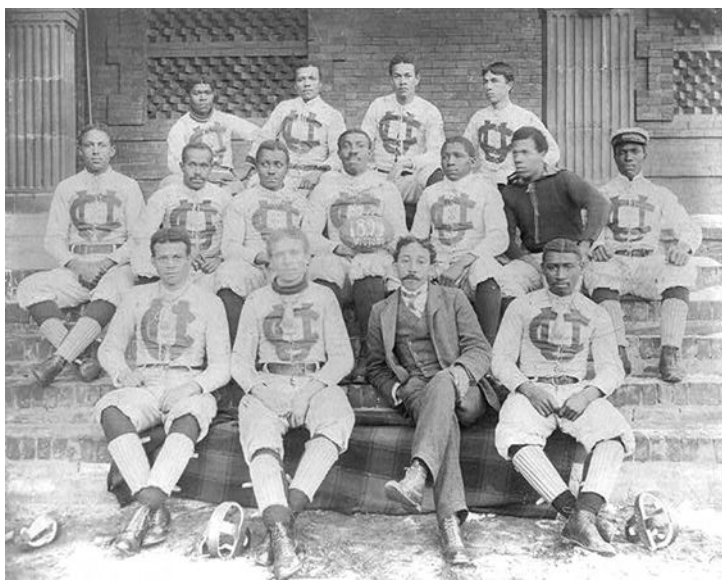


Image 13.11 *Football team, Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, 1900.*

Source: Claflin Univ., Orangeburg, S.C. ca. 1900 [Photograph] (LOT 11298). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

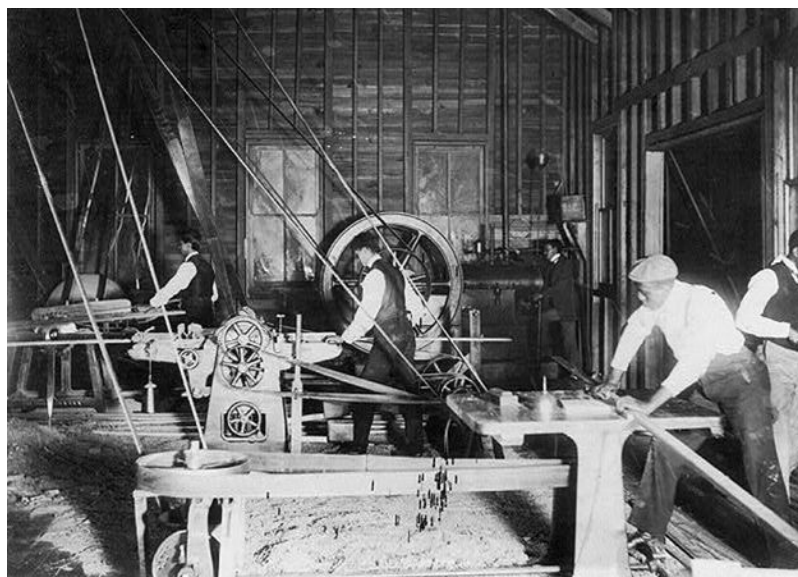


Image 13.12 *Woodwork shop at Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina.*

Source: Woodwork shop of Claflin University, Orangeburg, S.C. [Photograph] (LOT 11298). (1899). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.13 *Kindergarten at Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Georgia, 1900.*

Source: Kindergarten at Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Georgia [Photograph] (LOT 11300). (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.14 *Tuskegee Institute and Its Industries, 1900.*

Source: Tuskegee Institute, and its industries [Photograph] (LOT 11293). (1900). St. Paul, MN: Shepherd Photo. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 13.15 *Sisters of the Holy Family, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1899.*

Source: Sisters of the Holy Family, New Orleans, LA. [Photograph] (LOT 11308). (1899). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

14. Immigration and Education

Immigration has been constant throughout American history. Two million new Irish immigrants came to the United States during the years before the Civil War. Between 1860 and 1890, the population more than doubled from 31 million to 63 million people. Fourteen

million of these people—one quarter of the population growth—were immigrants.

Immigrants brought with them new languages and customs. The public schools were seen as a means of assimilating and Americanizing the country's new



Image 14.1 *German immigrants embarking for New York on a Hamburg steamer.*

Source: [Engraving of German immigrants]. (1874, November 7). *Harper's Weekly*, 18(932), 916–917.



Image 14.2 *The Good-for-Nothing in Miss Columbia's Public Schools.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1871, September 30). *The good-for-nothing in Miss Columbia's Public Schools* (Cartoon). *Harper's Weekly*, 15(777), 916.

arrivals—particularly their children. Figures such as Horace Mann believed that the future of the republic depended on the assimilation and Americanization of the immigrant child.

There was a constant fear that uneducated children, particularly those of the Irish who were overwhelmingly Catholic, would divert their political allegiance to the Pope. The overt bias at work against immigrant

Image 14.3 *The Great Fear of the Period That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners: The Problem Solved.*

Source: *The great fear of the period that Uncle Sam may be swallowed by foreigners: The problem solved* [Cartoon] (1860–1869). San Francisco: White & Bauer. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

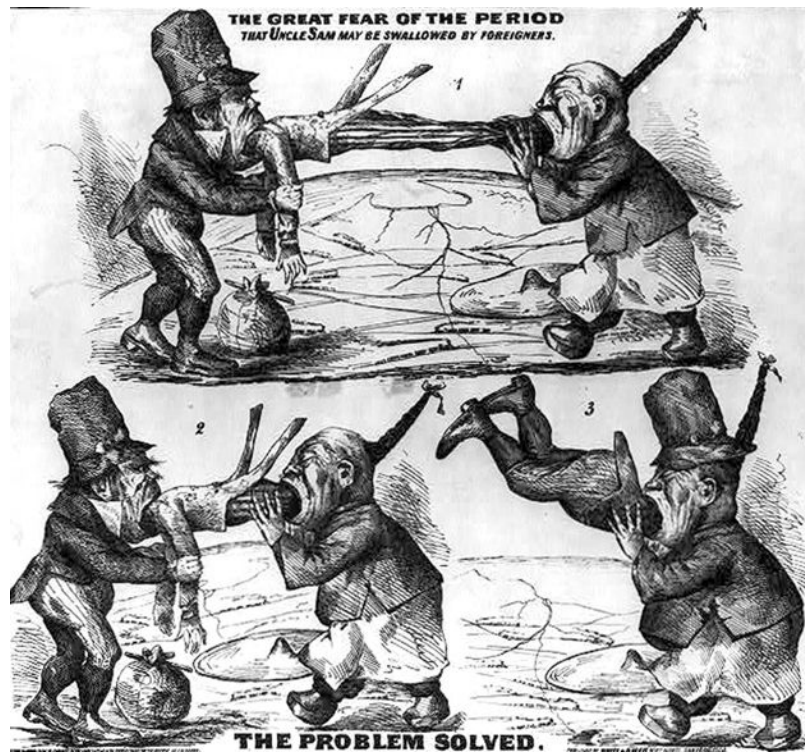


Image 14.4 *Which Color Is to Be Tabooed Next? Cartoon by Thomas Nast.*

Source: Nast, T. (Cartoonist). (1882, March 25). *Which color is to be tabooed next?* (Cartoon). *Harper's Weekly*, 35(318), 192.



children is quite evident in the work of Thomas Nast and his 1871 cartoon, *The Good-for-Nothing in Miss Columbia's Public Schools*.

Major immigration restrictions were put on many groups by the end of the nineteenth century. The

Chinese, for example, who had been encouraged to come to the United States as workers beginning in the 1840s, were excluded by law from entry into the country in 1882 as a result of congressional legislation. The great fear was that American culture would



Image 14.5 *The Chinese school on Mott Street, New York City.*

Source: [Illustration of the Chinese school on Mott Street]. (1879, July 19). *Harper's Weekly*, 23(1177), 73.



Image 14.6 *Anti-immigrant sentiments were often highly racist and worked across multiple racial and ethnic groups, as can be seen in this cartoon from a 1913 issue of the humor magazine Puck: As to Japanese Exclusion. Perhaps if They Came in Kimonos, the Real Undesirables Might Be Kept Out.*

Source: As to Japanese exclusion. Perhaps if they came in kimonos, the real undesirables might be kept out [Cover]. (1913, March). *Puck*.

literally be swallowed and consumed by newly arrived immigrant groups.

A glimpse into a classroom of Chinese immigrants in New York City in 1879 is found in the etching (Image 14.5) from *Harper's Weekly*.

Yet despite frequent expressions of prejudice, immigrant groups continued to come to the United States, embracing their new nation and its traditions.

Literacy increasingly became the criterion by which people were accepted into the country—the literacy test



Image 14.7 *They Sang of America ... Jewish immigrant children at the central school of the Educational Alliance waving tiny U.S. flags while repeating the oath of allegiance, East Broadway, New York City, 1906.*

Source: *They Sang of America ...* [Illustration]. (1906). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 14.8 *The Americanese Wall—As Congressman [John Lawson] Burnett Would Build It. Burnett was the chair of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and the main legislative force behind the Immigration Act of 1917, which restricted immigrants from entering the United States. Puck magazine, where this cartoon was illustrated, was the most popular satirical publication in the United States during this period.*

Source: *The Americanese wall—As congressman [John Lawson] Burnett would build it.* [Cartoon]. (1916, March 25). *Puck*, 10.

became a hurdle to be overcome in order to realize the American dream. It is not surprising that, at least in the first half of the twentieth century, newly arrived immigrants emphasized education for their children and saw it as an important means to gaining acceptance.

Pluralism, the idea of one people from many (*e pluribus unum*), became a widely supported ideology—one that assumed, however, that the immigrant would become assimilated into the mainstream of American culture. Assimilating agencies for



Image 14.9 *Many Peoples—One Nation. Let Us Unite to Americanize America. The Flag Speaks*, by Franklin K. Lane. Issued by National Americanization Committee, 29 West 39th St., City of New York, 1917.

Source: Lane, F. K. (1917). *Many peoples—One nation. Let us unite to Americanize America. The flag speaks* [Poster]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

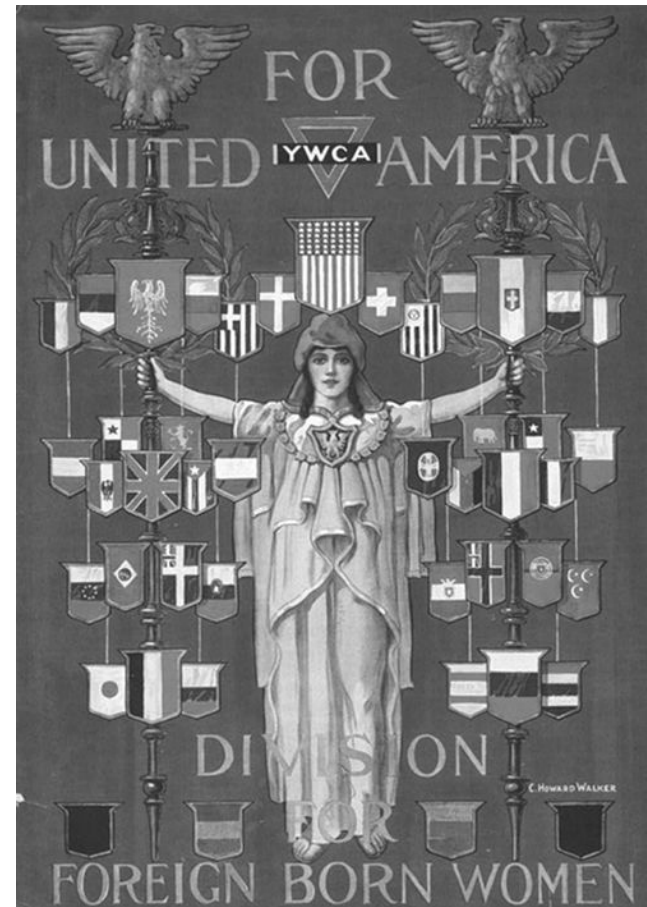


Image 14.10 *For United America, YWCA Division for Foreign Born Women*.

Source: Walker, C. H. (Artist). (1919). *For united America, YWCA division for foreign born women* [Poster]. New York: Carey Print Lith. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

immigrant children were by no means limited to the public schools but also included organizations such as the YMCA and the YWCA.

Photographs of immigrant children look much the same as those of traditional classes. Lewis Hine, for example, documented many immigrant classes around the country.



Image 14.11 *Steamer class in Hancock School, Boston, Massachusetts. These English-only classes were called steamer classes in reference to immigrant passenger ships.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). "Steamer class" in Hancock School, Boston. *Immigrant children*. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

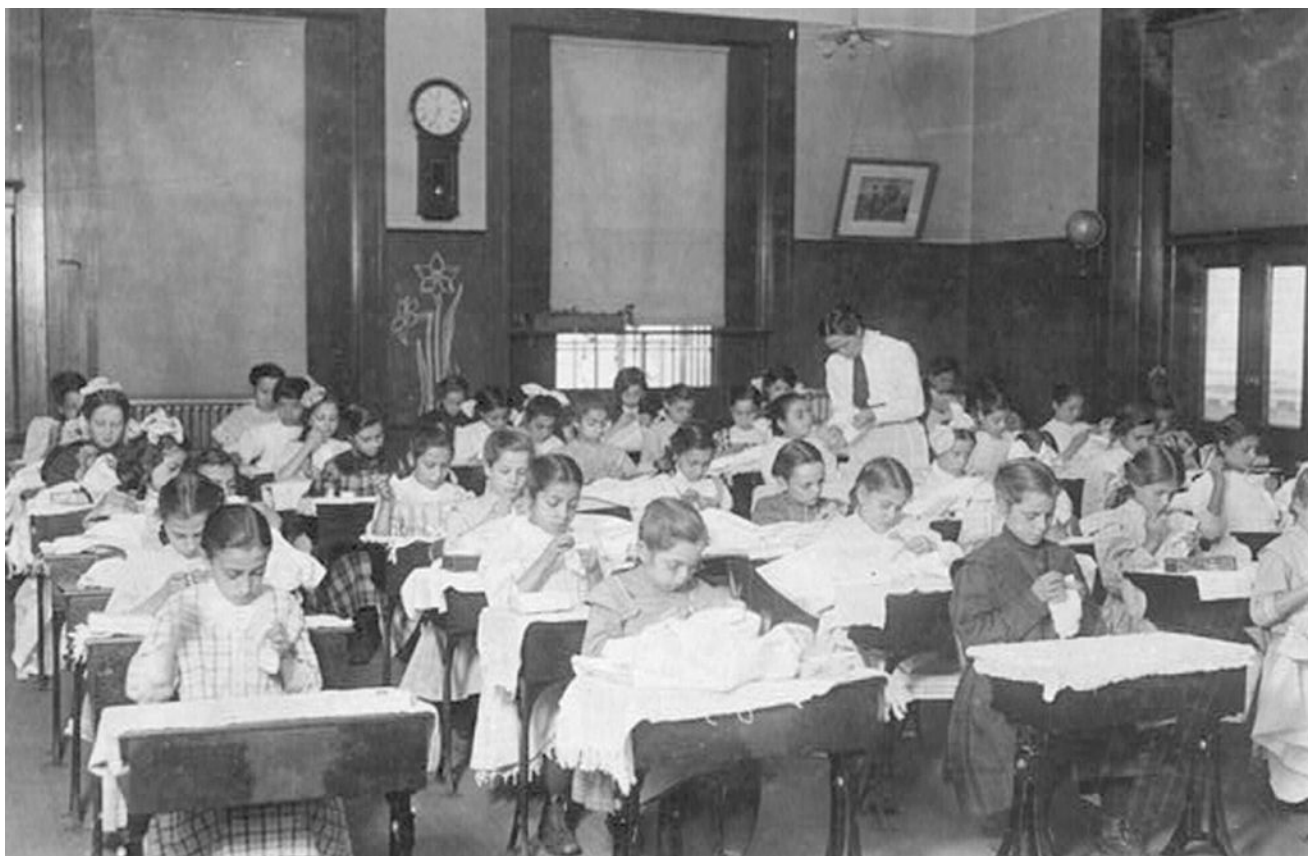


Image 14.12 *A busy hour—The steamer class in the Hancock School, 1909.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909).

A busy hour—The steamer class in the Hancock School. Boston 1915 exhibit. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 14.13 *Immigrant children, Washington School, in Boston, Massachusetts, 1909.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909).

Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 14.14 *Immigrant children playing on the roof garden of the Washington School in Boston, Massachusetts.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). *Immigrant children, Washington School*. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

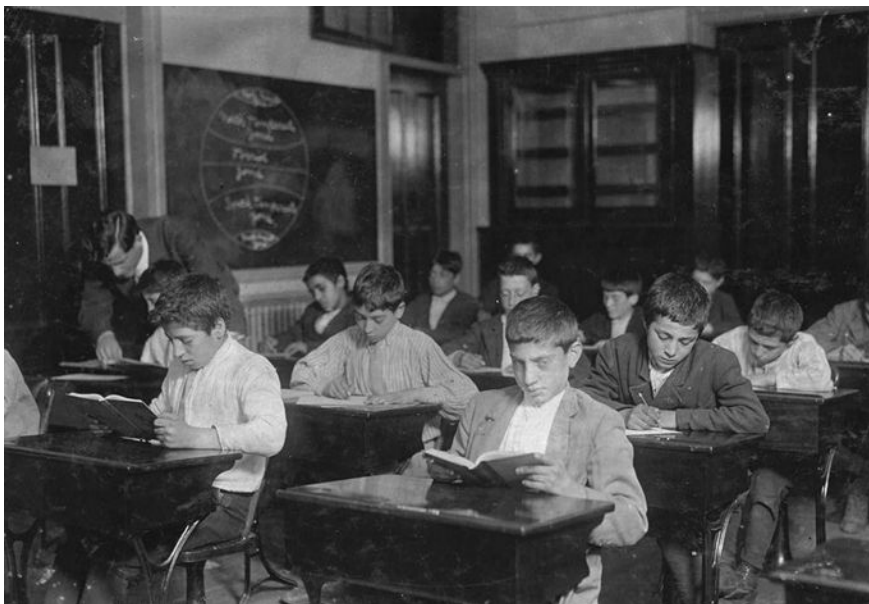


Image 14.15 *School often took place at night for immigrant children, many of whom worked during the day, particularly prior to the enacting of child labor laws shortly before the beginning of World War I. Shown here are immigrants in night school, Boston, Massachusetts.*

Source: Hines, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). *Immigrants in night school*. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 14.16 *Pupils and teacher of the steamer class at the Washington School in Boston, Massachusetts, 1909.*

Source: Hines, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). Pupil, teacher of the steamer class in the Washington School. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 14.17 *Working girls of all nationalities making the best of the spare evening hours. Boston 1915 Exhibit. Location: Boston, Massachusetts.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). Working girls of all nationalities making the best of the spare evening hours. Boston 1915 exhibit. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

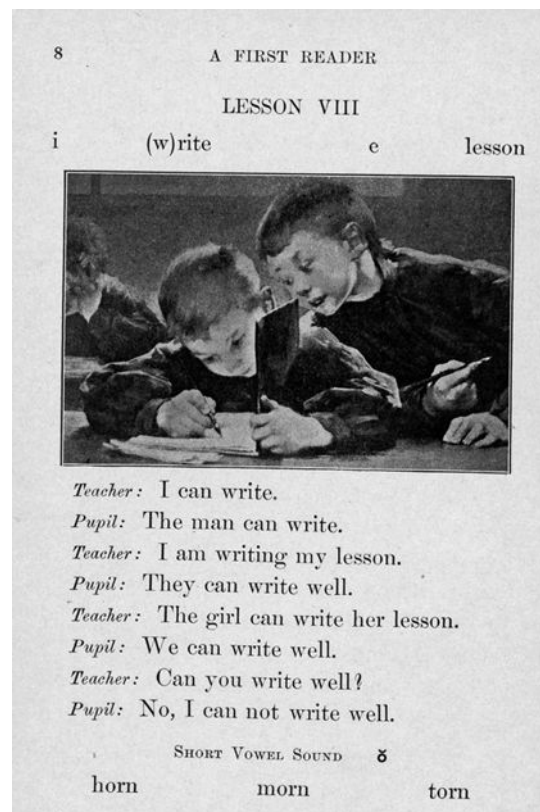


Image 14.18 Although researchers cannot reconstruct what actually occurred in classes for immigrant students, they can look at many of the things these children were taught, particularly by looking at their textbooks. This image is a sample page from a reader designed for immigrants.

Source: Mintz, F. S. (1910). *A first reader for new American citizens: Conversational and reading lessons* (p. 8). New York: Macmillan.



Image 14.19 Department of Labor, training service. Italian class receiving instruction in English and citizenship, Newark, N.J. Y.M.C.A., between 1920 and 1930.

Source: National Photo Co. (1920–1930). Department of Labor, training service. Italian class receiving instruction in English and citizenship, Newark, N.J. Y.M.C.A. [Photograph] (LOT 12341-5). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

15. Progressive Reform and Schooling

The historian Frederick Turner argued in a famous speech (“The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” 1893), on the role of the American frontier in the development of the United States that by the

early 1890s the Western frontier was both physically and psychologically closed—a fact partially confirmed by population statistics from the 1890 Census. It was clear that growth in the United States was

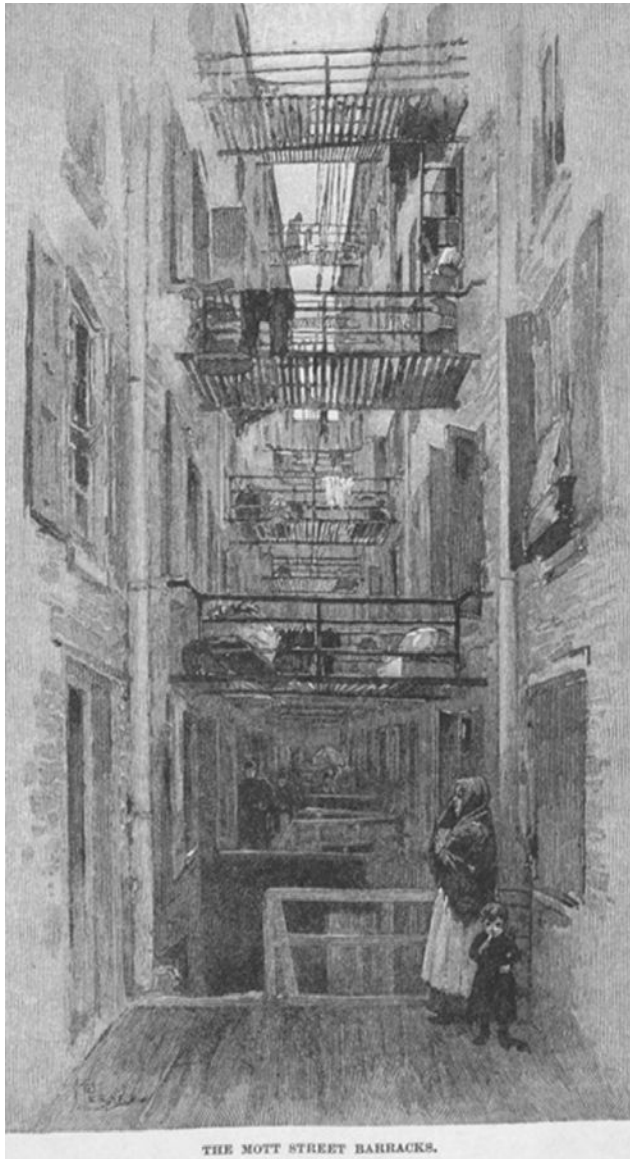


Image 15.1 *A tenement alley, The Mott Street Barracks, in the Bowery District of New York City. This engraving and the ones that follow are based on photographs taken by Jacob Riis.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). The Mott Street Barracks [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 16). New York: Scribner's Sons.



Image 15.2 *A child of the dump.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). A child of the dump [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 28). New York: Scribner's Sons.

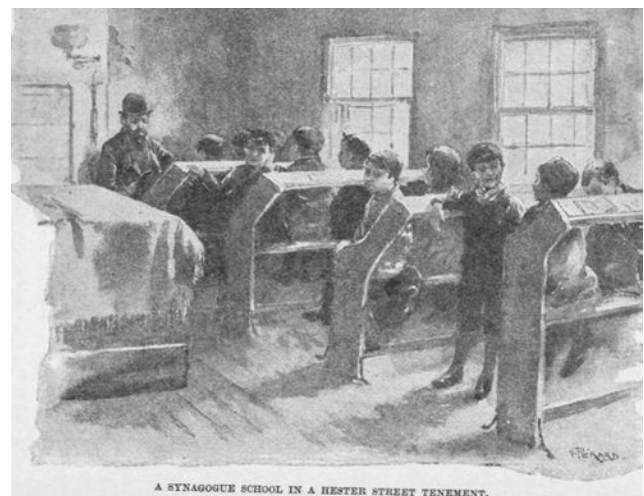


Image 15.3 *Education in the tenement district was not limited to the public schools. Privately run synagogue schools also provided instruction. Shown in this image is a synagogue school in a Hester Street tenement.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). A synagogue school in a Hester Street tenement [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 46). New York: Scribner's Sons.

taking place in the cities. New waves of immigrants were coming to the United States, and schools were their main means of entry into the culture. In the urban parts of the country, such as in New York and Chicago,

there was concern for greater social justice and civic improvement. Encompassing many different models and philosophies, this movement came to be known as the Progressive Reform Movement.



Image 15.4 *Poverty Gappers Playing, Coney Island.* Illustration included in Jacob Riis's *The Children of the Poor*.

Source: Riis, J. (1902). *Poverty gappers playing Coney Island* [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 183). New York: Scribner's Sons.



Image 15.5 *Playgrounds were not the only safe place created for children as part of the Reform Movement. Boys' Clubs provided children a refuge at night from the harsh environment of the street. Shown here is a Boys' Club reading room.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). *A Boys' Club reading room* [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 222). New York: Scribner's Sons.

In New York City, images such as Jacob Riis (1849–1914), a Danish immigrant and journalist, crusaded for the improvement of housing conditions and education for the immigrant poor. In his most famous book, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), Riis wrote about

the actual living conditions of people in the worst neighborhoods in the city, often photographing the conditions under which they lived. Believing that better housing conditions were essential, he also argued that schools played a vital role in improving the lives of the children.

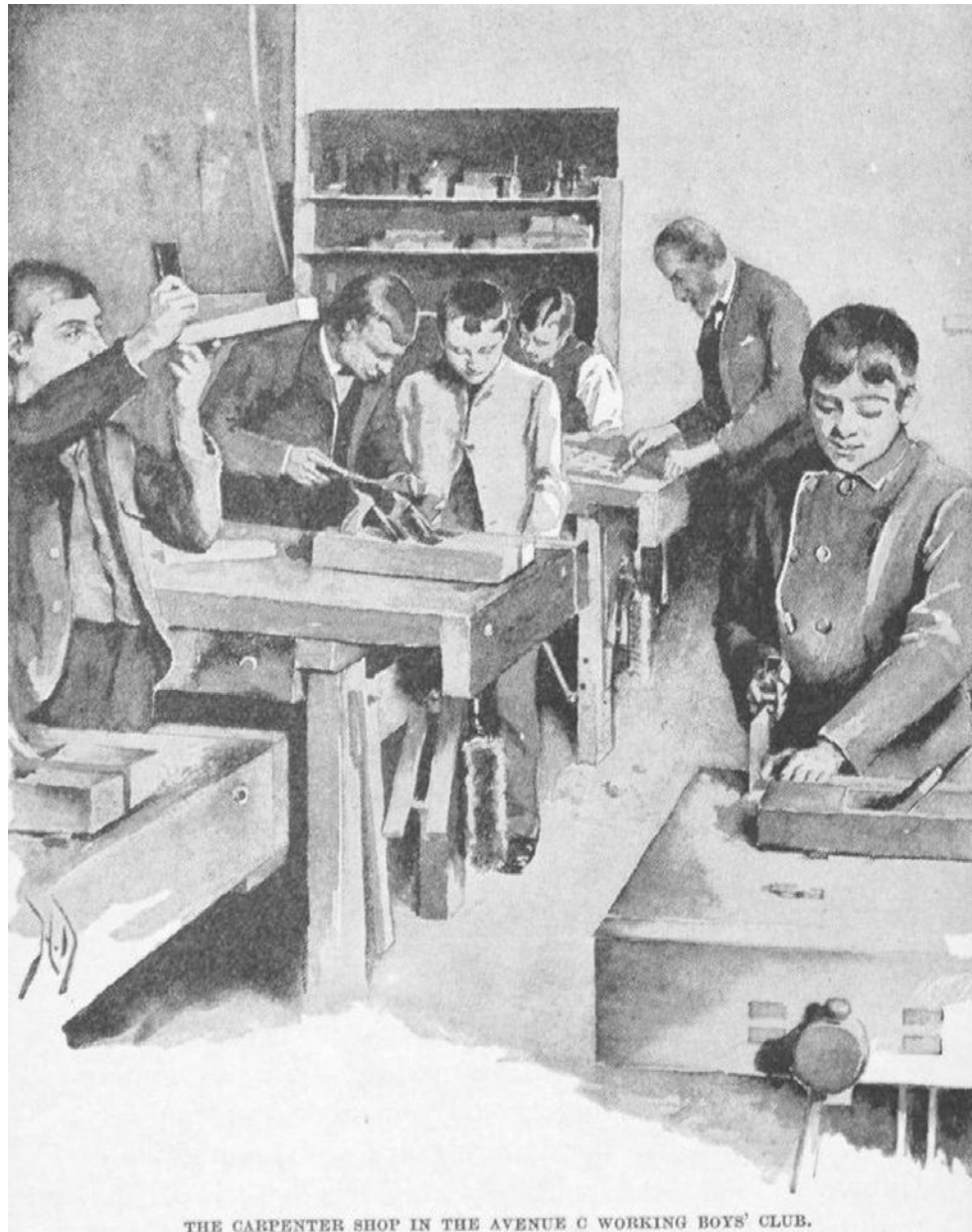


Image 15.6 *Carpenter's shop in the Avenue C Working Boys' Club.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). *The carpenter's shop in the Avenue C Working Boys' Club* [Illustration]. In *The children of the poor* (p. 226). New York: Scribner's Sons.

Publicly supervised urban playgrounds were among the most important innovations for children to emerge from the Progressive Reform Movement. The Poverty Gap playground on 28th Street between 9th and 19th Avenue in Lower Manhattan, while very primitive by

modern standards, was among the first urban playgrounds in the United States. Riis recalled visiting the playground one Saturday. Over 200 children were “digging, swinging, see-sawing, and cavorting about,” while quietly protected by a policeman and various playground attendants.



Image 15.7 *Frontispiece showing children saluting the flag.*

Source: Riis, J. (1902). Frontispiece. In *The children of the poor*. New York: Scribner's Sons.

Hine was concerned not only with the lives of poor children and the conditions under which they lived but also with the process by which they were made Americans. This concern can be seen clearly in Image 15.7, an image of young children saluting the flag in an elementary school in New York City.

In Chicago, Jane Addams (1860–1935), a leader of the Settlement House Movement, also was interested in improving the living conditions of immigrants and the urban poor. The Settlement House Movement had its origins in England. The idea was that social activists working in impoverished communities would

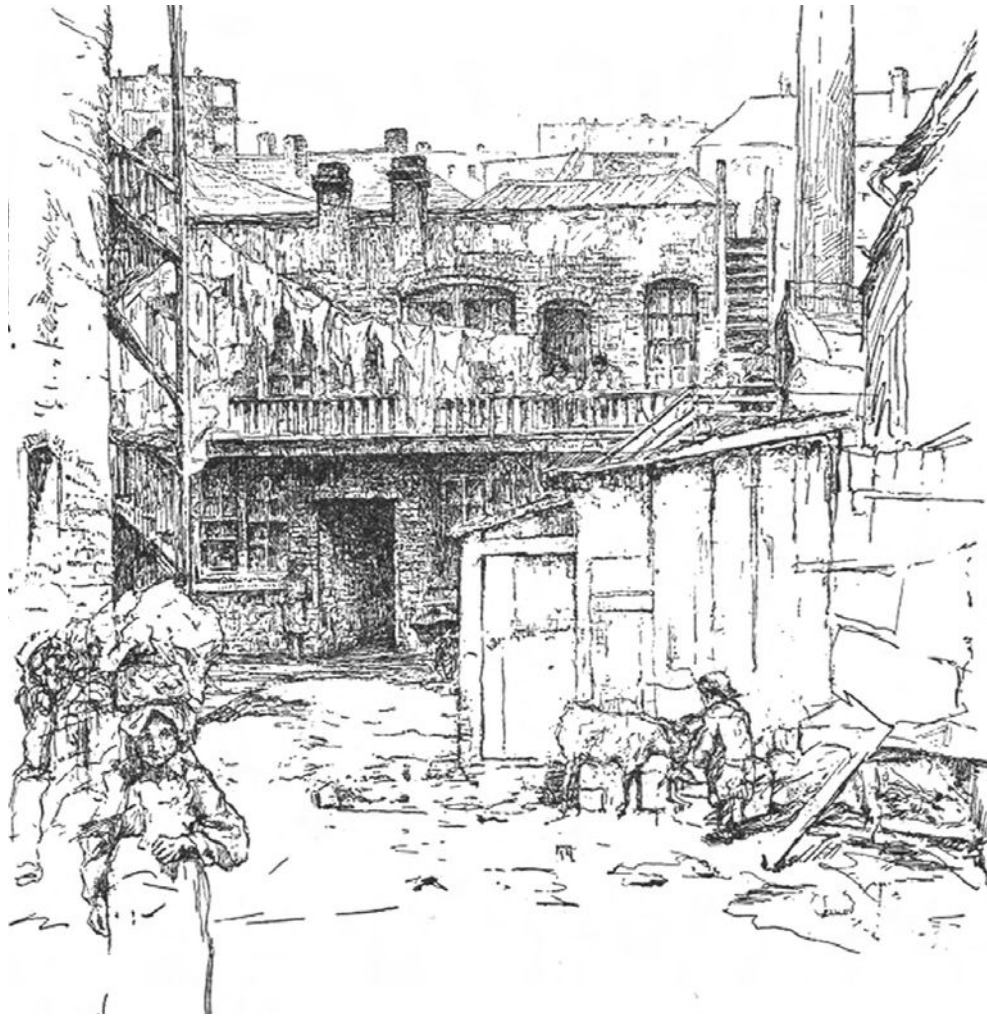


Image 15.8 *A back alley in the Hull House neighborhood of Chicago.*

Source: Addams, J. (1912). *Twenty years at Hull-House, with autobiographical notes* (p. 95). New York: Macmillan.

provide help and services as part of a process of social uplift. At Hull House, Addams undertook activities such as helping parents improve the health of their children, finding them meaningful work, and helping them improve the physical conditions in which they lived. Her program was educational in the broadest sense, providing an important alternative to traditional public schooling, as well as being one of the first systematic efforts to provide adult and lifelong education in the United States.

Philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952), a good friend of Addams, was also working in Chicago. Dewey was the single most important educational image to emerge from the Progressive Reform Movement. He was trained as a philosopher at Johns Hopkins University. His first academic position was in the Philosophy Department at the University of Michigan. In 1894, he took a position at the University of Chicago to head a combined Department of Psychology, Philosophy and Education. While at Chicago, Dewey established an

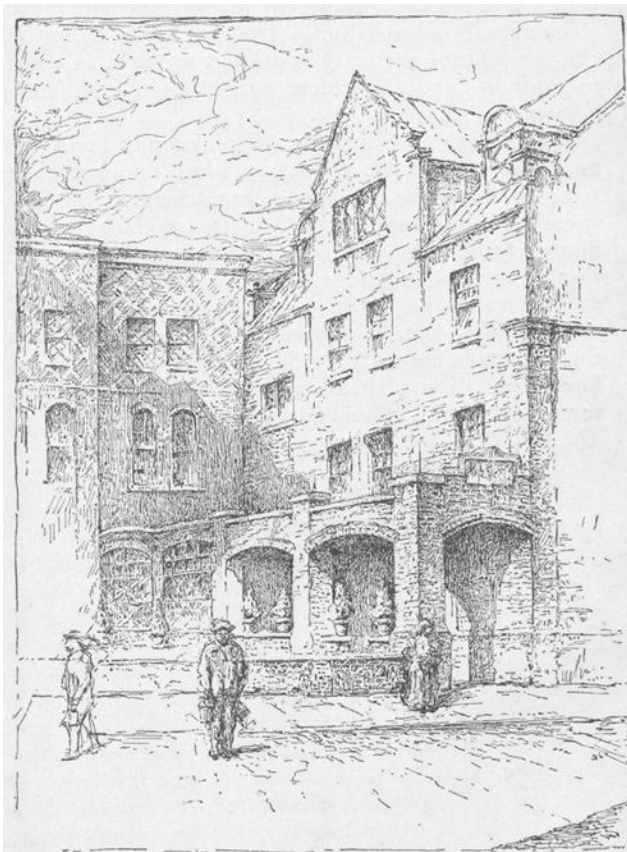


Image 15.9 *Hull House.*

Source: Addams, J. (1912). *Twenty years at Hull-House, with autobiographical notes* (p. 128). New York: Macmillan.



Image 15.10 *Immigrant mothers and children at Hull House.*

Source: Addams, J. (1912). *Twenty years at Hull-House, with autobiographical notes* (p. 453). New York: Macmillan.

experimental school that eventually became known as the Laboratory School. The school was a center for educational innovation and emphasized the idea of learning by doing. Dewey was trying to integrate the school with the actual interests and experiences of the children who attended it and with the community in which they lived.

The textile room and the garden are two examples of experiential learning at the school. In the textile room, children learned about spinning, dying, weaving, and

the production of cloth. Samples of different types of clothes were available for the students to work with and to study. Activities involving reading, writing, and the use of mathematics were integrated into the textile curriculum. Children kept animals on the grounds of the school and planted gardens. Learning was directly related to things that inherently interested them.

Related to Dewey's idea of learning by doing was the idea of replicating or modeling structures in one's community. Children at the Laboratory School also

Image 15.11 *The textile laboratory at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, 1896.*

Source: [Photograph of the textile laboratory at the University of Chicago Laboratory School]. (1896). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 15.12 *Children constructing an animal pen on the grounds of the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, 1900.*

Source: [Photograph of Children construction an animal pen]. (1900). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



constructed tabletop villages. In New York, at Teachers College's Horace Mann School, this involved the creation of a block city by children in the nursery grades showing the major features of the island of Manhattan. In Chicago, children constructed medieval villages as part of the fifth-grade Community Life Project.

Children at the fourth-grade level created detailed reports on ancient civilizations, which included posters on Greek ships and their development.

Many schools—particularly private progressive schools such as the Park School of Buffalo, New York; the John Burroughs School in St. Louis; and the Shady Hill School in Boston—began to adopt Dewey's model. At the Park School in Buffalo, efforts were made to have the school be as farm-like or park-like as possible, making outdoor learning connected to nature a major emphasis.

Progressive education was not limited to private schools but gradually made its way into public school venues as well. In Gary, Indiana, important innovations were undertaken by the system's superintendent, Willard A. Wirt. Wirt had been a student of John Dewey at the University of Chicago and was interested in providing not only a positive learning environment for children, but also one that was efficient in terms of the use of the school plant and facilities. His approach involved grouping students into "platoons" that would learn together in the most engaging and efficient ways possible. Known as the Gary Plan, Wirt's model received widespread support from both liberals and conservatives and was influential during the period prior to World War I in many school systems around the country.



Image 15.13 *The reconstruction of a miniature medieval village as part of the fifth-grade Community Life Project at the University of Chicago Laboratory School in the early 1900s.*

Source: [Photograph of the reconstruction of a miniature medieval village]. (n.d.). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 15.14 *The study of Greek ships was included as part of John Dewey's history curriculum at the fourth-grade level as indicated in this 1923 photograph from the Chicago University Laboratory School.*

Source: [Photograph of posters with Greek ships]. (1923). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

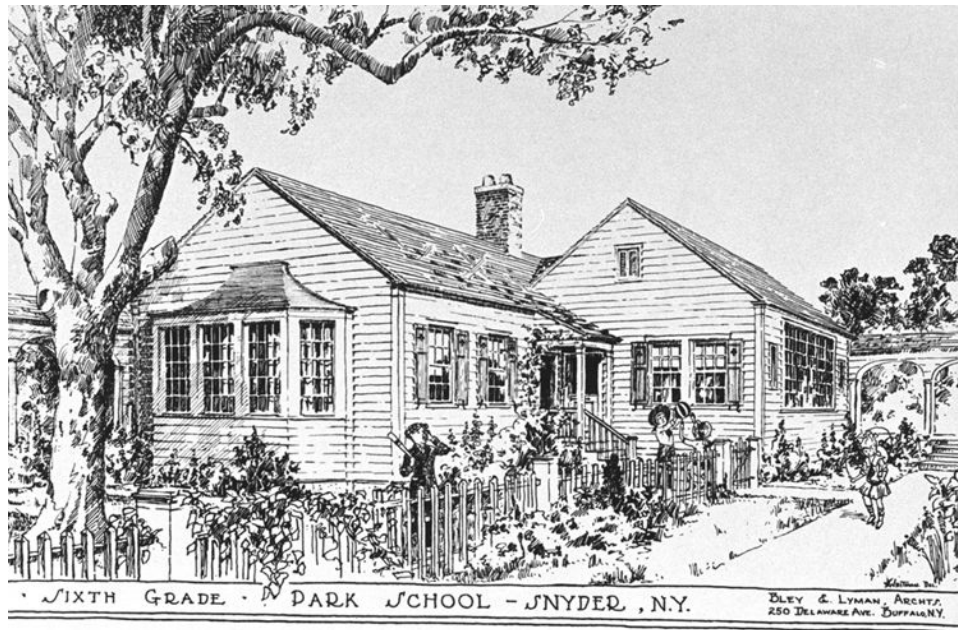


Image 15.15 Architect's rendering for the sixth-grade classroom at the Park School of Buffalo, 1925.

Source: [Illustration of a sixth-grade classroom]. (1925). Personal Collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

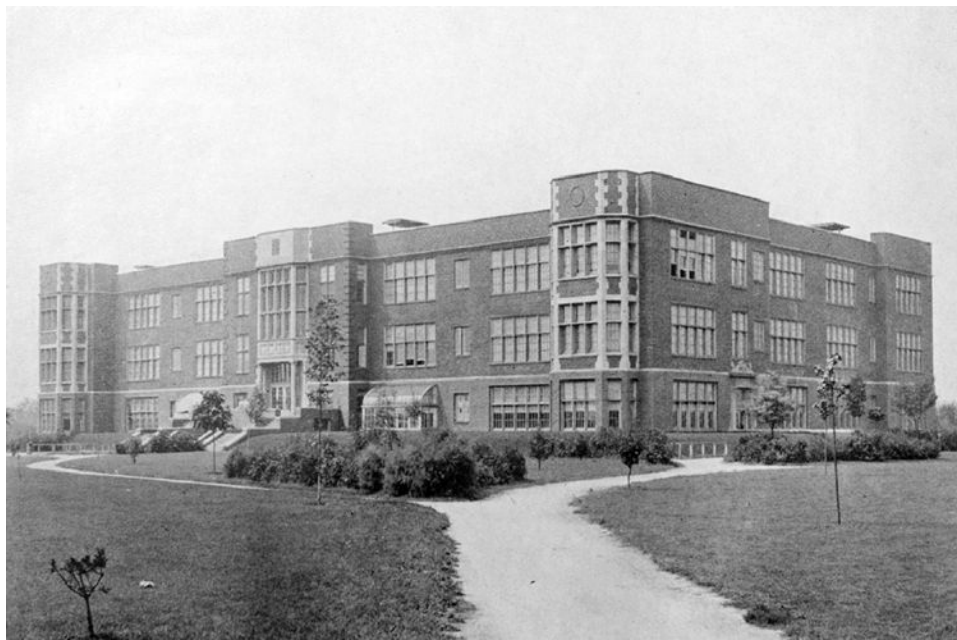


Image 15.16 The exterior of Froebel School, Gary, Indiana.

Source: Bourne, R. S. (1916). Frontispiece. In *The Gary Schools*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

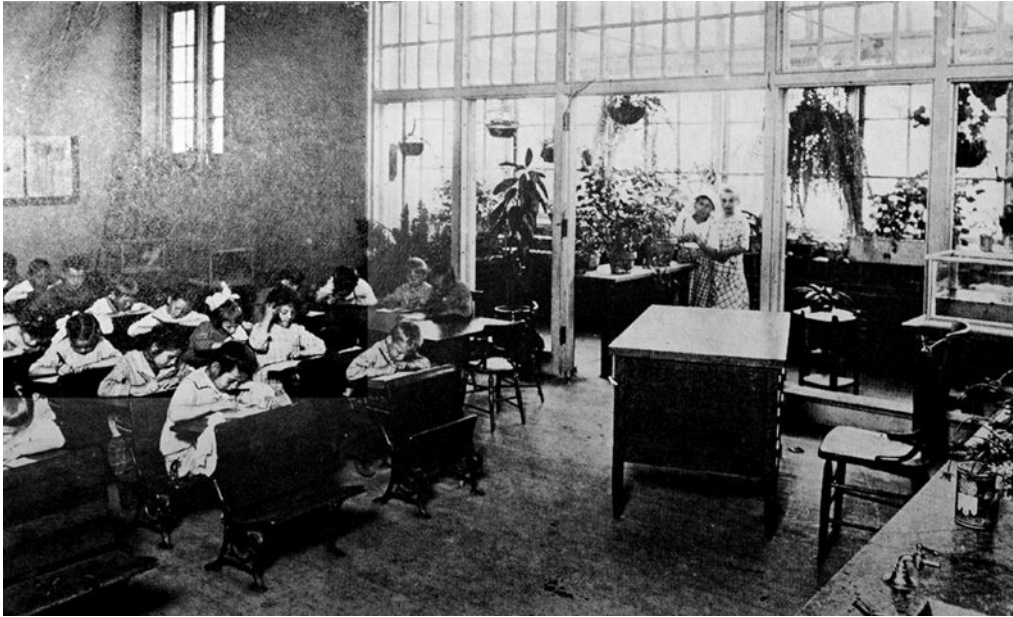


Image 15.17 *The nature study room, Froebel School, Gary, Indiana.*

Source: Flexner, A., & Bachman, F. P. (1918). *The Gary School: A general account* (p. 60). New York: The General Education Board.

16. Lewis W. Hine and the Child Labor Movement

The Progressive Reform Movement took on many forms and had many advocates. One of the most interesting progressive reformers was Lewis W. Hine (1874–1940). Hine is most well-known for his photographs of child labor, which were taken for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) in the period immediately prior to

World War I. His interest in photography developed while he was a teacher at the Ethical Culture School in New York City. He believed that photography could be used effectively by students while on field trips to create a permanent record that could then be further studied and reviewed in the classroom.



Image 16.1 *“Mrs. Dora Stainers, 562 1/2 Decatur St. 39 years old. Began spinning in an Atlanta mill at 7 years, and is in this mill work for 32 years. Only 4 days of schooling in her life. Began at 20 cents a day. The most she ever made was \$1.75 a day & now she is earning \$1 a day when she works. She is looking for a job. Her little girl Lilie is the same age she was when she started work, but the mother says, ‘I ain’t goin to put her to work if I can help it. I’m goin’ to give her as much education as I can so she can do better than I did.’ Mrs. Stainers is a woman of exceptional ability considering her training. In contrast to her is formed [?] another woman (this name was withheld) who has been working in Atlanta mills for 10 yrs. She began at 10 yrs. of age, married at 12, broke down, and may never be able to work again. Her mother went to work in the cotton mill very young.” March 1915.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1915). LOT 7479. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 16.2 *“Spinner in Vivian Cotton Mills, Cherryville, N.C. Been at it 2 years. Where will her good looks be in ten years? Location: Cherryville, North Carolina.”*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1908). LOT 7479. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

In 1907, Hine started working part time for Paul Kellogg and the social reform magazine, *Charities and Commons*. In 1908, he went to work for the NCLC as a writer and photographer. The NCLC was concerned with investigating the abuse of children in factories, farms, and other work sites; with the enforcement of existing child labor laws; and with the

passage of better laws to protect children from being exploited in the workforce.

The NCLC was started in 1904 by Felix Adler, head of the Ethical Culture School in New York City—the same school where Hine taught. The NCLC was primarily concerned with establishing stringent child labor laws. The committee, particularly with the aid of Hine's



Image 16.3 “A view of Ewen Breaker of the Pa. [Pennsylvania] Coal Co. The dust was so dense at times as to obscure the view. This dust penetrates the utmost recesses of the boy's lungs. A kind of slave driver sometimes stands over the boys, prodding or kicking them into obedience. Location: South Pittston, Pennsylvania.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1911). LOT 7477. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

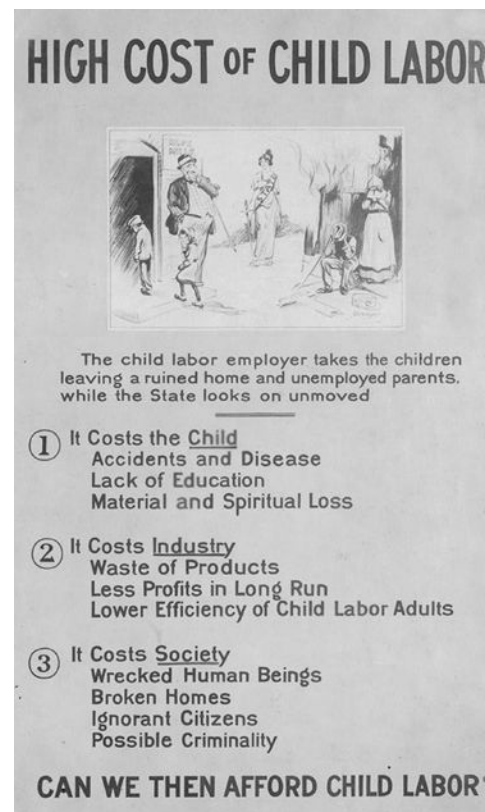


Image 16.4 *The High Cost of Child Labor.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Creator). (1913–1914). *The high cost of child labor* [Exhibit panel]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 16.5 “Shaw Cotton Mills. An accident case. Alfred Padgett a doffer says he is 13 years old now, but worked when he was 12, and in other mills for 2 years before that. ‘I got my hand caught in the cogs of the spinning machine last week, and lost part of my finger. It stopped the machine, and I tell you it hurt. It pains me a lot now. Don’t you think they orter pay me wages while I’m out with this bad hand? No, I can’t read or write, but I think my mammy knows how to spell my name.’ Not a member of the family could read or write. Location: Weldon, North Carolina.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1914). LOT 7479. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

photographs, brought to the attention of the nation the unhealthy working conditions that existed for many children. As a result of the NCLC's efforts, laws began to be passed at the state level. By 1914, thirty-five states had a minimum working age of fourteen. Federal laws restricting child labor soon followed.

Hine traveled around the country for nearly fifteen years taking photographs for the NCLC. His photographs provide clear documentation of how children were being exploited. Over 5,000 of his photographs can be found in

the Library of Congress—mostly images from his work for the NCLC. They provide a record of children working in factories, in agricultural settings, and as messengers and newsboys. They cover much of the country, particularly New England, the Midwest, and the South.

Among Hine's most famous images are photographs of boys and girls working at mechanized spinning machines in cotton factories in North and South Carolina, as well as child coal miners in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Along with his photographs in the



Image 16.6 “Addie Card, 12 years. Spinner in North Pormal [Pownal] Cotton Mill. Girls in mill say she is ten years. She admitted to me she was twelve; that she started during school vacation and now would ‘stay.’”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1910). LOT 7479. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 16.7 “Frank F. Gibson, 1305 Linden St. Western Union Telegraph Co. Messenger No. 7. 14 years of age. 1 year in service. Visits houses of prostitution. Guides soldiers to segregated district. Smokes. Still at school and works from 8:30 P.M. to 12:30 A.M. Investigator, Edward F. Brown. Location: Wilmington, Delaware. May, 1910. Lewis W. Hine, Photographer.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1910). LOT 7480. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

NCLC collection at the Library of Congress, are detailed captions, ones which transform what in some cases are seemingly static portraits. For example, see the detailed caption for a photograph of a seven-year-old girl named Lilie Stainers with her mother Dora, taken by Hine on one of his trips to Georgia in 1915.

Hine's most powerful photographs are the ones where he shows children actually at work. In 1908, for example, he went to rural North Carolina and photographed children working in cotton mills as thread

and yarn spinners and doffers, whose job it was to remove bolts of cloth or spindles full of thread from weaving and spinning machines.

Hine often photographed how children had been injured in their work in the factories. In the earlier (Image 16.5) photograph he records the case of an illiterate thirteen-year-old doffer named Alfred Pagett who had lost one of his fingers in a spinning machine the week before his photograph was taken by Hine.



Image 16.8 “75 Sixth Grade children (colored) crowded into 1 small room in an old store building near Negro High School, with 1 teacher. See Bliss report. Location: Muskogee, Oklahoma.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). LOT 7475. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 16.9 Students between fourteen and sixteen years of age on their way to school, Watson School, Flint Village, Fall River, Massachusetts.

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1916). Going to school. About 14–16 years. Watson School—Flint Village. Location: Fall River, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Hine's photographs were often incorporated into posters, which were widely circulated around the country. For example, the poster below (Image 16.13) was displayed at the NCLC meeting in New Orleans in 1914 and was also republished in the social reform magazine *The Survey Graphic*.

Poor working conditions for children and lack of educational opportunities seemed to be common across the country. Hine's photographs show similar conditions for children, whether in the rural South or in New England.

One of his most famous images of a child laborer is that of Addie Card, a twelve-year-old spinner and school dropout from North Pownal, Vermont (Image 16.6).

In towns and cities across the country, Hine found children working throughout the day and late into night, in dangerous and unwholesome environments, doing menial jobs such as delivering telegrams and selling newspapers. He was particularly fond of newspaper vendors—both boys and girls—of whom he took hundreds of photographs over the years.



Image 16.10 “Recess Games in Charge of Grade Teacher of Jefferson School. See *Miss Folks’ Report*. Location: Muskogee, Oklahoma.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). LOT 7475. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 16.11 “Antone Fontes. Said 11 years old, and worked here last year. Lives in E. Providence, R.I. Location: Makepeace near Wareham, Massachusetts.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1911). LOT 7475. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Hine was deeply bothered by the fact that so many children were out working in their communities and were often truant from school, despite compulsory education laws, which in the majority of states required elementary school attendance to at least the age of twelve. Hine recorded not only examples of children who were truant from school, but also even examples of them being brought before local courts for their absence from school.

Hine also chronicled the conditions of Black schools, and their extreme overcrowding and dilapidated condition as can be seen in Image 16.8, a photograph of a “colored” school in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Photographs of children on their way to school or participating in activities such as recess are relatively rare in the photographic record. Hine provides examples of these types of activities in the preceding photographs (Images 16.9 & 16.10).



Image 16.12 “Vera Hill, 5 years old picks 25 pounds a day. See 4580. Location: Comanche County, Oklahoma.”

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1916). LOT 7475. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

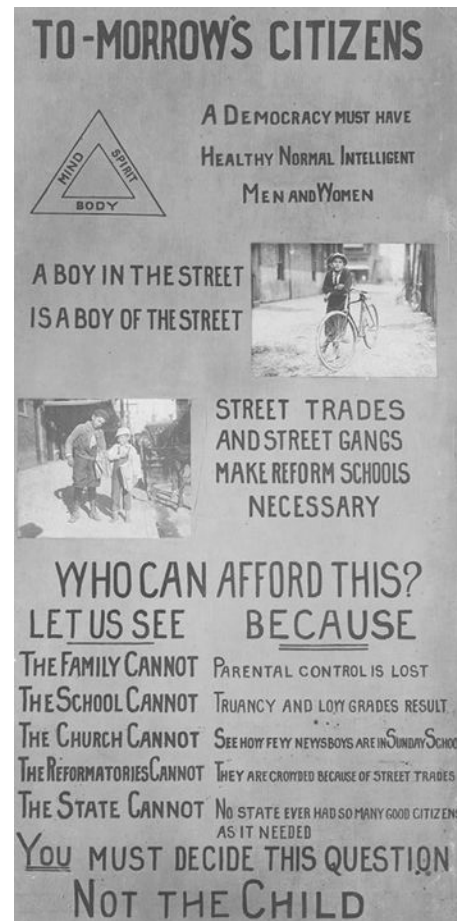


Image 16.13 Exhibit panel created by Lewis W. Hine for the National Child Labor Committee.

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1913–1914). [Exhibit panel]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Many of the abuses recorded by Hine were in the agricultural areas, where children were commonly found doing migratory labor.

Hine's photographs were used to campaign for improved education and for the passage of protective labor laws. At national meetings, his images were combined together in photomontage formats on posters. Typically, they were used to help argue that the failure of providing wholesome environments and decent education for children would follow them

throughout their lives and ultimately be to the detriment of American society.

Protests over the exploitation of children and the intolerable working conditions for them can be seen in photographs included below of immigrant children at a 1909 labor parade in New York City. Their efforts, as well as those of Hine and the NCLC, were not fully realized until the 1930s, when the first minimum wage laws were established and children under fourteen years of age were largely prohibited by law from working full time.



Image 16.14 *“Photograph shows half-length portrait of two girls wearing banners with slogan ‘ABOLISH CH[ILD] SLAVERY!!’ in English and in Yiddish, one carrying an American flag; spectators stand nearby. The photograph was probably taken during the May 1, 1909 labor parade in New York City.”*

Source: LOT 10876-2. (1909). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

17. Reading and Libraries

The desire to read for both children and adults is one of the recurring themes in the history of American schooling. Scenes showing people engaged in the process of reading or being taught to read are found throughout the visual historical record.

The first step in learning to read involves learning the alphabet, then simple syllables, and finally, the sounding out of words. The frontispieces of nineteenth-century spelling books provide us with some of the best examples of reading instruction as it occurred in the classroom.

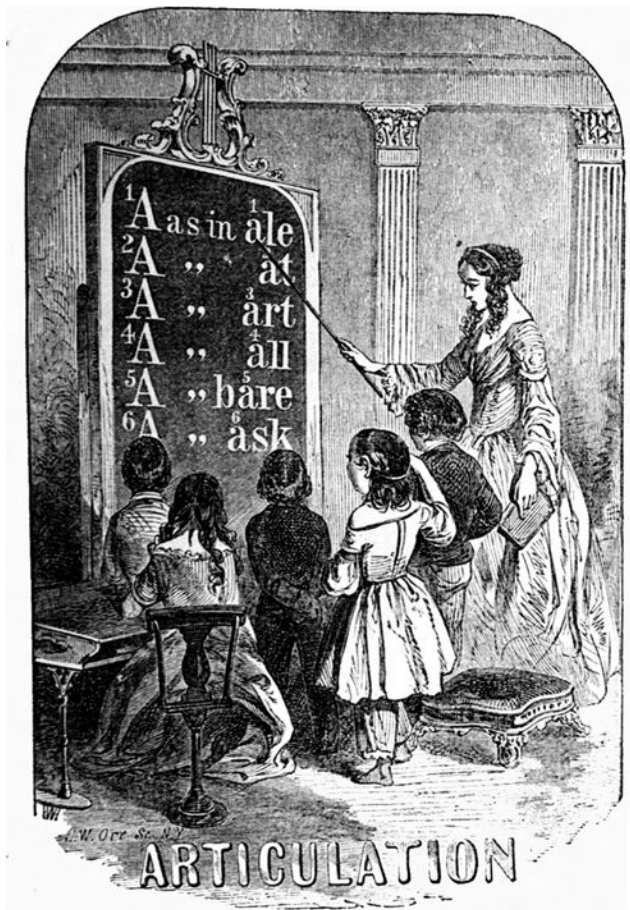


Image 17.1 *Articulation (teacher working with students on pronunciation).*

Source: Parker, R. G., & Watson, J. M. (1857). Frontispiece. In *The national pronouncing speller*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company.

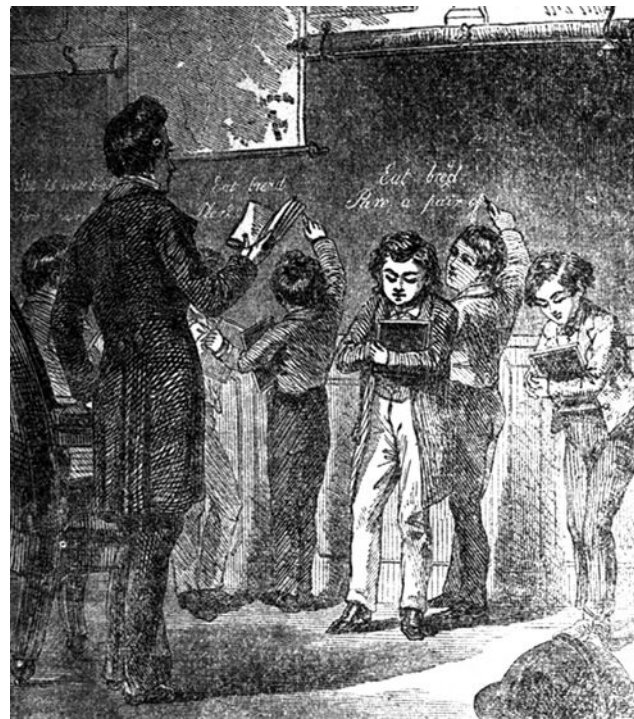


Image 17.2 *Teacher and students.*

Source: Watson, J. M. (1862). Frontispiece. In *The national elementary speller*. New York: Barnes.

Magazines such as *Harper's Weekly* often sentimentalized the process of learning to read, as is the case with an illustration of an African American boy contemplating what he has read (Image 17.5). In a similar fashion, there is a romantic tone underlying the picture of a man absorbed in reading from the rural Adirondacks shown in Image 17.6.

A striking portrait of one of the great American benefactors can be seen in the photograph of the industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie (Image 17.7). After he sold the Carnegie Steel Company to J. P. Morgan in 1901, he devoted the rest of his life to philanthropic efforts, among the most important being the establishment of public libraries throughout the United States. He



Image 17.3 *Child being taught to read.*

Source: Watson, J. M. (1862). Cover. In *The national elementary speller*. New York: Barnes.



Image 17.4 *Illustration for the cover page of A Primary Spelling Book of the English Language.*

Source: Campbell, J. L. (1862). Cover. In *A primary spelling book of the English language*. Boston: Brewer & Tileston.

did so with the idea that libraries were means of social uplift for hardworking immigrants like himself and that they could provide immigrants with the cultural knowledge necessary to become Americans.

Not all of the books contained traditional text. Braille, for example, was an alternative for the blind, as can be seen in the photograph of the deaf and blind advocate Helen Keller (Image 17.11).

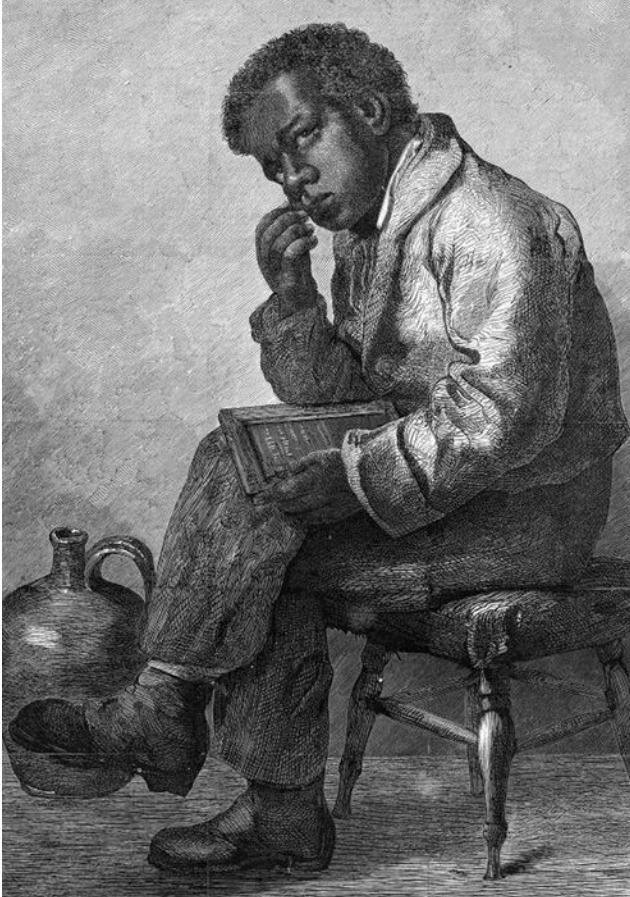


Image 17.5 *A Brown Study.*

Source: *A brown study* [Illustration]. (1870, March 5). *Harper's Weekly*,



Image 17.6 *Man absorbed in reading, Adirondack Mountains, 1888.*

Source: Stoddard, S. R. (1888). LOT 11134-4. (1888). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Others were read to, as with the tradition of the Cuban lector, who would be hired to read aloud to cigar rollers as they plied their craft in places such as New York City, Key West, and Tampa.

Libraries included not only public libraries but also institutional libraries. Although the Library of

Congress is open to the public, it is essentially the main library for the country's legislature.

Other photographs provide us with glimpses into the institutional character of libraries, as is the case with the following photographs of turn-of-the-century libraries in Los Angeles and New York City.

Image 17.7 *Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), the public library benefactor, reading, 1913.*

Source: [Photograph of Andrew Carnegie, three-quarter length portrait, seated at desk, reading, facing left]. (1913). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

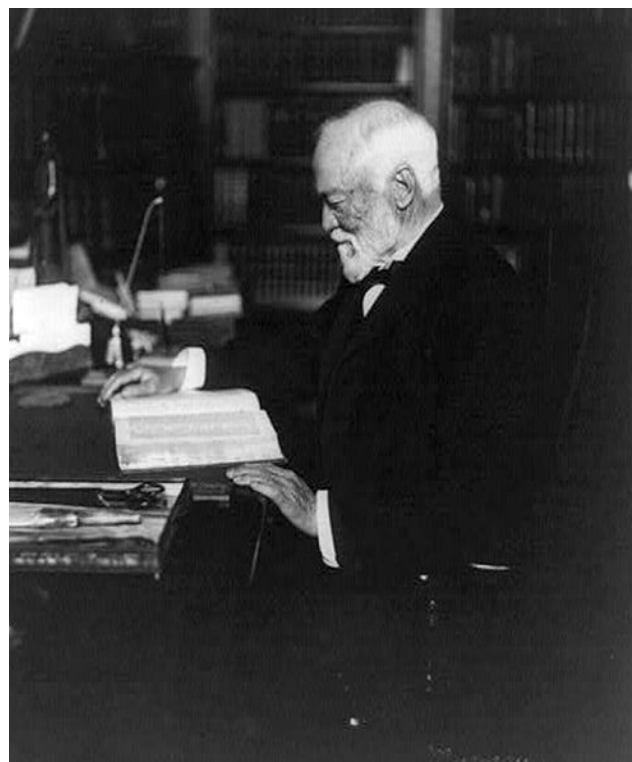


Image 17.8 *Reading room, view toward the delivery room, Carnegie Library and Music Hall, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, 1890.*

Source: LOT 8908. (1890). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Literacy campaigns were heavily promoted during the Great Depression. Posters produced by artists for the Works Project Administration were common.

Large numbers of photographs documenting children learning how to read can be found in photographs from the Farm Security Administration during the first years of World War II.



Image 17.9 *Carnegie Library, Burlington, Vermont, 1907.*

Source: Carnegie Library, Burlington, Vt. [Photograph] (1907). Detroit Publishing Co. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.10 *Adult reading room, Carnegie Library of Homestead, Munhall, Pennsylvania, 1900.*

Source: LOT 8908. (1900). Available Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.11 *Helen Keller (1880–1968) reading Braille, 1907.*

Source: Helen Keller, 1880-1968 [Photograph]. (1907). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.12 *“A ‘Reader’ in cigar factory, Tampa, Fla. He reads books and newspapers at top of his voice all day long. This is all the education many of these workers receive. He is paid by them and they select what he shall read.”*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). LOT 7483. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

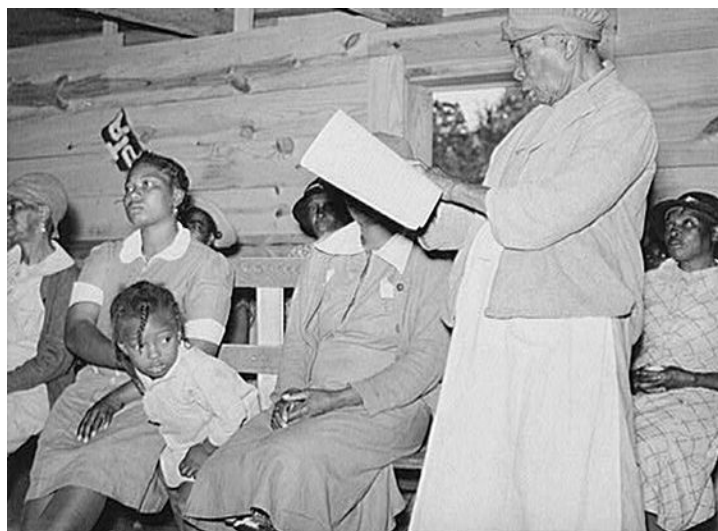


Image 17.13 *Star pupil, eighty-two years old, reading her lesson in adult class. Gee’s Bend, Alabama.*

Source: Wolcott, M. P. (Photographer). (1939). Star pupil, eighty-two years old, reading her lesson in adult class. Gee’s Bend, Alabama [Photograph] (LOT 1617). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

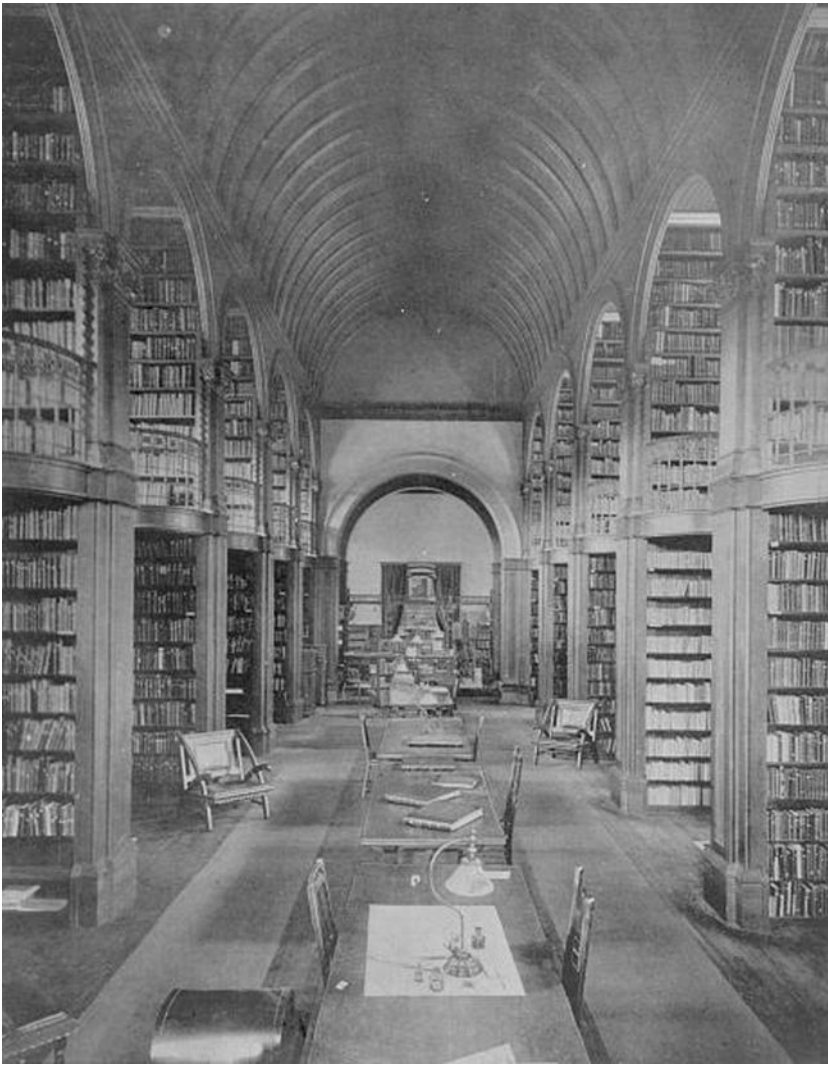


Image 17.14 *Book room, Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Massachusetts, 1880.*

Source: LOT 8908. (1880). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.15 *Students in the reading room of the Library of Congress with the Librarian of Congress, Herbert Putnam, watching, 1899.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 2749, No. 354. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 17.16 *Group of young women reading in library of a normal (teacher training) school, Washington, D.C., 1899.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 2749, No. 050. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.17 *The Library of Congress, 1900. In addition to serving as the research arm for the Congress and Senate, the Library of Congress also functioned as the primary copyright repository for the nation, perhaps its most single important historical function.*

Source: LOT 12659, No. 4. (1900). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



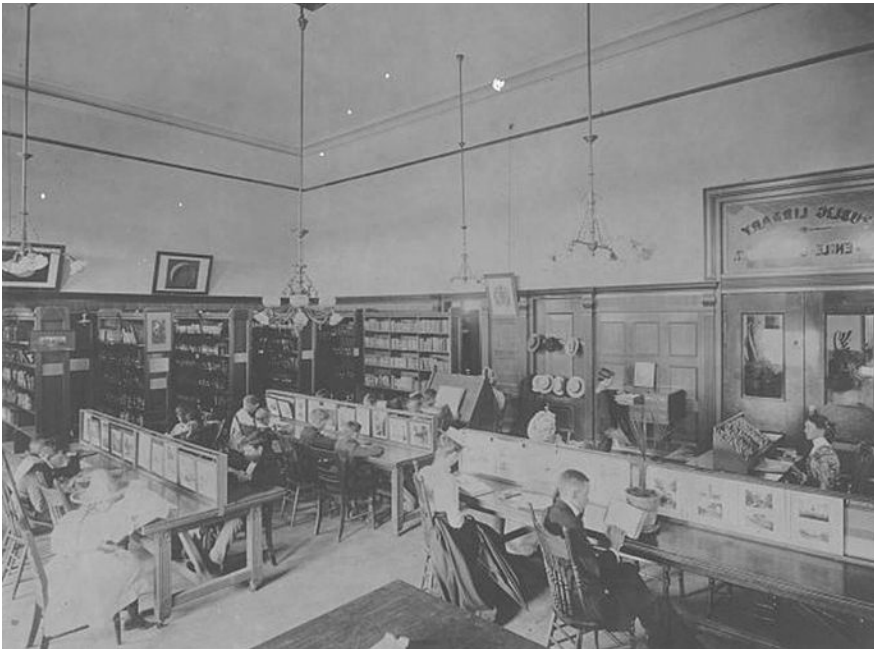


Image 17.18 *Los Angeles Public Library at Los Angeles City Hall, 1905.*

Source: LOT 8908. (1905). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.19 *Circulating Library, the New York Public Library. Between 1910 and 1920.*

Source: Circulating Library, the New York Public Library [Photograph] (Call No. LC-D4-72707) (1910–1920). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.20 *The pupil with book in hand engaged in the process of reading was a common theme in the photographs of Lewis W. Hine. In this image, a pupil in Pleasant Green School, Pocahontas County, Marlinton, West Virginia.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1921). LOT 7482, No. 5028. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.21 *Story Hour in the First Grade, 1927.*

Source: Story hour in the first grade [Photograph] (1927). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

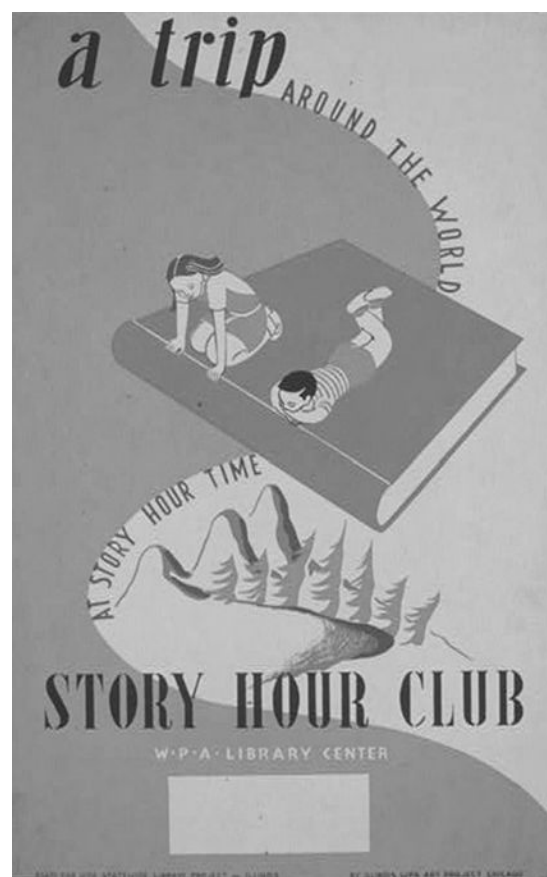


Image 17.22 “Poster for the Works Project Administration (WPA) statewide library project showing two children on a large book, looking down at mountains and trees.” Artist Shari Weiberg created this poster for the Chicago, Illinois, WPA Art Project between 1936 and 1940.

Source: Weiberg, S. (Artist). (1936–1940). *A trip around the world at story hour time. Story hour club* [Poster]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

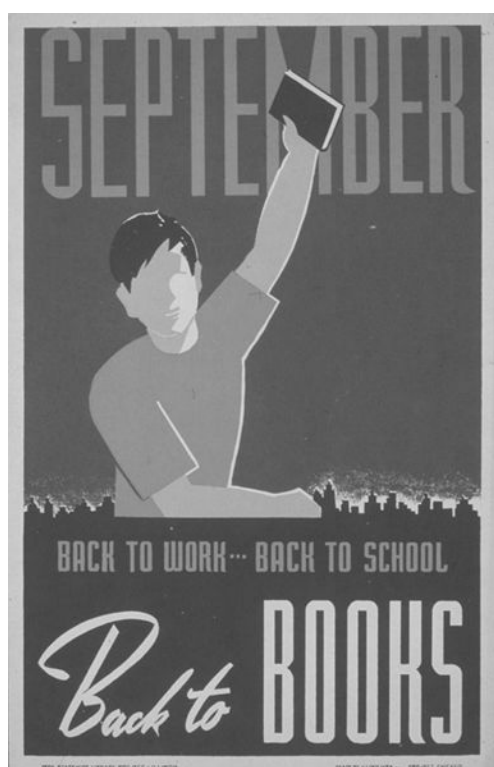


Image 17.23 “Poster for WPA [Works Project Administration] Statewide Library Project, showing a boy holding a book in his raised hand.” Created for the Chicago, Illinois, WPA Art Project between 1936 and 1940.

Source: *September—Back to work . . . back to school, back to books* [Poster]. (1936–1940). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

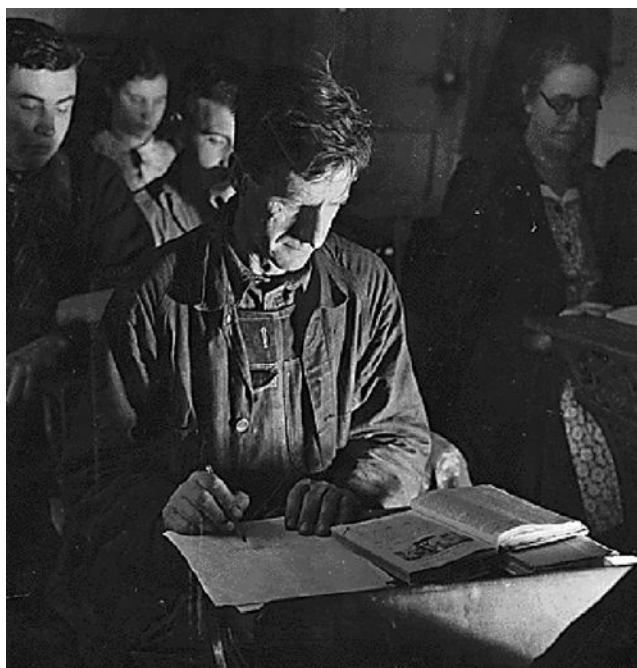


Image 17.24 *Works Project Administration photograph of a man reading, 1930s.*

Source: [Photograph of a man reading]. (1930s). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.25 “Poster encouraging citizens to use the resources at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library to learn more about African and African American history and culture.” Created by the New York City Works Project Administration War Services, between 1941 and 1943.

Source: [Poster encouraging people to use the resources at the Schomburg Collection]. (1941–1943). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.26 *Poster with the phrase, “September. Back to work. Back to school. Back to Books.”*

Source: Donaghue, V. (Artist). (1940). *September—back to work—back to school—back to books* [Poster]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 17.27 *Wyckoff Children. Two Boys and Father Reading on Couch. Photograph by Theodor Horydczak, 1930.*

Source: Horydczak, T. (Photographer). (1930). Wyckoff children. Two boys and father reading on couch [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

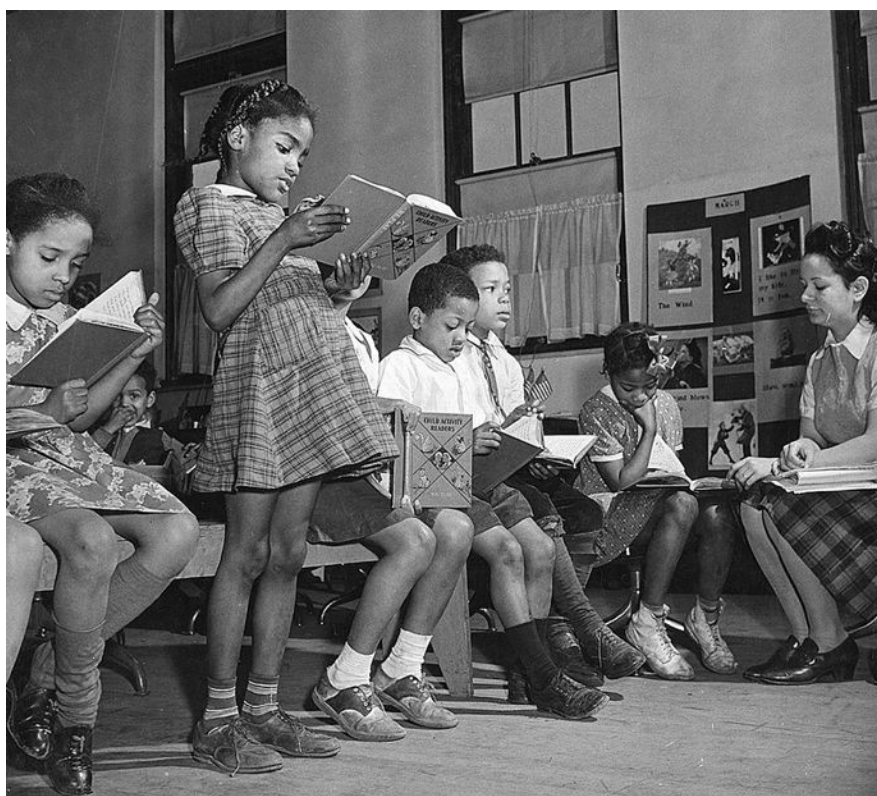


Image 17.28 *Reading lesson in a Negro elementary school in Washington, D.C. Photograph by Marjory Collins, 1942.*

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). Photograph of a reading lesson. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

18. Educational Cartoons and Advertisements

The *American School Board Journal*, which was founded in 1891, is an extremely valuable source of cartoon material on issues facing public schools in the United States. It is also a rich source of advertising material that provides historians with many examples of technical innovations and materials that were being introduced into the schools.

The magazine's editorial cartoons, which were included regularly on its covers, dealt with issues ranging from salaries for teachers to whether or not teachers should unionize. In the following 1903 cartoon, a plea is made for basing teacher salaries not on supply and demand, but on providing teachers with a fair and livable salary.



Image 18.1 *Who Is Next?*

Source: *Who is next?* [Cover cartoon]. (1903). *The American School Board Journal*, 26(7).



Image 18.2 *Why Not Both?*

Source: *Why not both?* [Cover cartoon]. (1918). *The American School Board Journal*, 57(5).

Many of the issues emphasized in the magazine's cartoons reflected current educational and social needs. Teacher shortages resulting from men going off to fight in World War I led the magazine to suggest that having married women enter the classroom (prohibited in many

states) was a solution to the teacher shortage along with hiring less-experienced teachers.

The issue of unionism was addressed in a 1920 cartoon that suggested that if teachers were to follow the route of organized labor, they would be taking the "low road."



Image 18.3 *Teachers at the Cross Roads.*

Source: *Teachers at the cross roads* [Cover cartoon]. (1920). *The American School Board Journal*, 60(1).



Image 18.4 *The Better Way.*

Source: *The better way* [Cover cartoon]. (1923). *The American School Board Journal*, 47(5).

The journal reflected a conservatism that was almost certainly consistent with its readership of school board members. A 1923 cartoon suggested that a principal who was dismissed by the school board and the superintendent should simply leave his job, politely accepting the school system's decision.



Image 18.5 *The School Strike and Its Remedy.*

Source: *The school strike and its remedy* [Cover cartoon]. (1924). *The American School Board Journal*, 69(2).

Other cartoons are highly authoritarian in their philosophy and suggest that it is the responsibility of principals and school boards to keep students from exercising power.

Lines of authority are also clearly drawn. Teachers who complain and who do not follow the rules of the hierarchy are to be ignored.

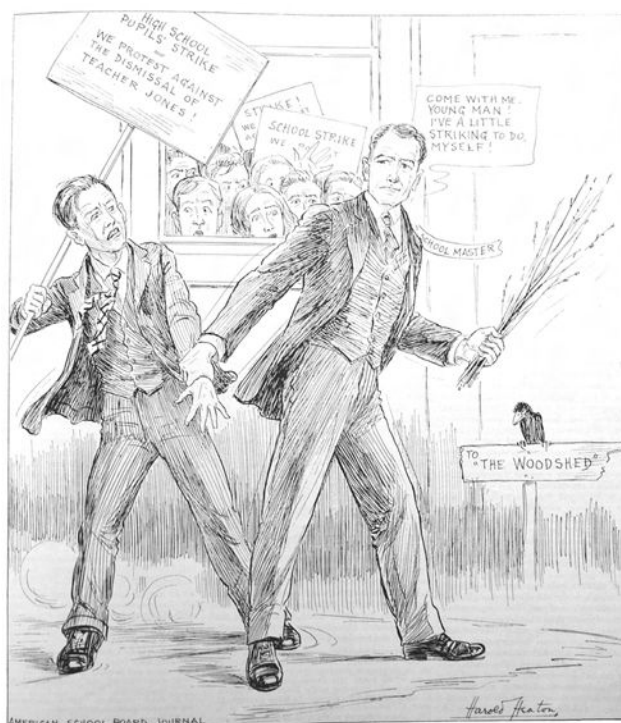


Image 18.6 *One Strike Deserves Another.*

Source: *One strike deserves another* [Cover cartoon]. (1927). *The American School Board Journal*, 74(6).

Other editorial cartoons celebrate simple duties and responsibilities such as the work of the student traffic guard. In doing so, they function more as idealized illustrations than as actual cartoons.

In addition to its own cartoons, *The American School Board Journal* regularly included cartoons

dealing with educational issues from newspapers around the country.

Advertisements included in *The American School Board Journal* include everything from slide projectors to pencil sharpeners, fire alarms to playground equipment, and even school lockers.



Image 18.7 *The Teacher Who "Jumps Over" Her Superiors.*

Source: The teacher who "jumps over" her superiors [Cover cartoon]. (1927). *The American School Board Journal*, 75(3).



Image 18.8 *The Boy Traffic "Man" Rendering a Useful Civic and School Service.*

Source: The boy traffic "man" rendering a useful civic and school service [Cover cartoon]. (1924). *The American School Board Journal*, 78(3).



Image 18.9 *A Long Journey.* Original published in the *Columbus Journal*.

Source: *A long journey* [Cartoon]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45 (1), p. 29.



Image 18.11 *The Rainbow and the Pot of Gold.* Originally published in *Baltimore American*.

Source: *The rainbow and the pot of gold* [Cartoon]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45(6), p. 23.

Your pupils enjoy pictures

Picture demonstrations add a fascinating touch to lessons. They arouse the pupils' imagination and hold their interest as the printed or spoken word cannot do. In this picture field no instrument so successfully meets the requirements of teachers as the

Bausch and Lomb Balopticon

This perfect stereopticon enjoys a wide popularity in educational circles everywhere. Distinguished for the brilliant, sharp, clear picture it throws on the screen. Uses ordinary lantern slides and may be arranged also for opaque objects—post cards, photographs, etc. Extremely simple in operation—conveniently portable—and very durable. Model G Balopticon now ONLY \$25. Opaque Attachment \$30. Write us TODAY for Descriptive Circular 100 sent postpaid.

Bausch & Lomb Optical Co.
NEW YORK WASHINGTON CHICAGO SAN FRANCISCO
LONDON ROCHESTER, N.Y. FRANKFORT

Image 18.10 An ad for the Balopticon, a projector designed for schools by Bausch and Lomb.

Source: [Ad for Balopticon]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45(4), p. 41.



Image 18.12 An ad for the Roneo pencil sharpener.

Source: [Ad for Roneo pencil sharpener]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45(4), p. 33.

The Minnesota School Code
requires that all school buildings of four or more rooms shall be provided with an efficient fire alarm system.

MARCHED OVER BLAZING STAIRS
Panic Prevented at the Rice School.
About 700 Pupils Leave the Building in Two Minutes.

The Holtzer-Cabot Fire Alarm System
is not only efficient—it is the *most* efficient fire alarm system for schools.

It will insure permanently the safety of every child in buildings where it is installed.

Let us give you substantial proof of its efficiency in schools where fires have occurred.

Send for Bulletin 15101J

THE HOLTZER-CABOT ELECTRIC CO.
Boston Chicago New York Baltimore



That for a school has been a success in a fire and photo has shown the success of the system. A group of pupils go to a picture of a fire alarm system. The principal saw the alarm. The teachers saw the alarm. The pupils saw the alarm. The fire alarm system is the most efficient fire alarm system for schools. It will insure permanently the safety of every child in buildings where it is installed. Let us give you substantial proof of its efficiency in schools where fires have occurred. Send for Bulletin 15101J THE HOLTZER-CABOT ELECTRIC CO. Boston Chicago New York Baltimore

Image 18.13 An ad for the Holtzer-Cabot fire alarm system.

Source: [Ad for the Holtzer-Cabot fire alarm system]. (1915). *The American School Board Journal*, 50(5), p. 58.

TOTHILL'S PLAYGROUND APPARATUS

Strongest,
Safest,
Most Durable
Apparatus
Manufactured

Most Popular
Amusement Apparatus
ever Invented

Used
in every
Playground

Pat. Jan. 12, 1909
Tothill Playground Apparatus adopted and used exclusively by the City of Chicago. Send for Catalogue.
W. S. TOTHILL (Established 1875) 1807 Webster Ave., Chicago, Ill.



Image 18.14 An ad for Tothill's Playground Apparatus.

Source: [Ad for Tothill's Playground Apparatus]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45(6), p. 29.

DANN'S NOISELESS ERASER

comes nearer to the ideals of an absolutely sanitary and noiseless eraser than any other.

It is now used in the leading cities of the country. Thousands of smaller cities use no other.

The only sewed eraser on the market. The only noiseless felt eraser that cannot get out of shape.

Write today for samples and prices

E. W. A. ROWLES, A. 327-331 So. Market St. CHICAGO, ILL.




Image 18.15 An ad for Dann's Noiseless eraser. Manufactured by the E. W. A. Rowles Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Source: [Ad for Dann's Noiseless eraser]. (1912). *The American School Board Journal*, 45(1), p. 54.

19. Pledge of Allegiance

Depictions of the American flag and of children pledging allegiance to the flag are common in the images that survive of schooling. The pledge was created as a means of encouraging children—particularly immigrant students—to be more patriotic. It was introduced on a national basis in 1893 as part of the Columbus Day celebrations at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

The pledge, and its accompanying reverential treatment of the flag, became a standard part of American school culture within a few years.

Frances Benjamin Johnston included a photograph of students at the Eighth Division School pledging

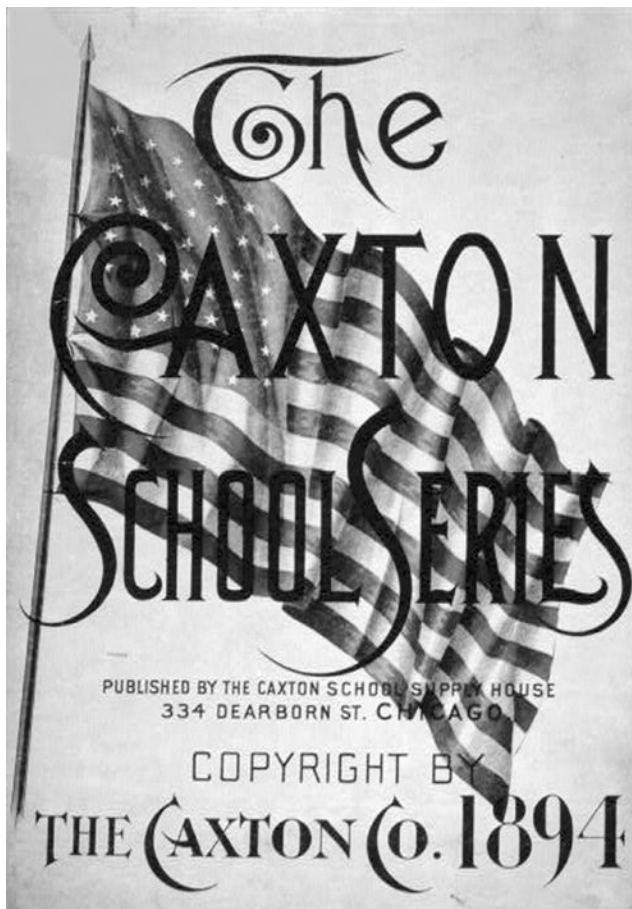


Image 19.1 An 1894 advertisement for *The Caxton School Series*. Published by the Caxton School Supply House. These textbooks reflect the increasing emphasis on the American flag as a patriotic symbol for the schools and American children.

Source: [Ad for *The Caxton School Series*]. (1894). Caxton School Supply House. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 19.2 *Standards of America*. Copyrighted 1897 by Henry Heiderich, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Source: Heiderich, H. (1897). *Standards of America* [Poster] (Reproduction No. LC-USZ62-3738). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

allegiance to the flag in her photographs of Washington, D.C., schools for the Paris 1900 International Exposition.

Groups who were often discriminated against by American society are often portrayed in flag ceremonies,

pledging their allegiance. This can be seen in photographs of Asian American students about to be sent to detention camps during World War II, as well as African Americans who had to deal with issues of racial segregation and discrimination.

Image 19.3 *Pledge of allegiance to the flag, Eighth Division, 1899. Photographed by Frances Benjamin Johnston.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1899). LOT 2749, No. 366. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 19.4 *Saluting the flag at the Whittier Primary School. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1900.*

Source: Johnston, F. B. (Photographer). (1900). *Saluting the Flag at the Whittier Primary School* [Photograph] (LOT 11051-4). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 19.5 *“San Francisco, Calif., April 1942. Children at the Weill public school for the so-called international settlement and including many Japanese-Americans, saluting the flag.” They include evacuees of Japanese descent who would eventually be housed in internment camps for the duration of the war.*

Source: [Photograph of Japanese Americans saluting the flag] (LOT 1801). (1942). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 19.6 *Mrs. Claire Cumberbatch leads oath of allegiance with school students, September 12, 1958.*

Source: Mrs. Claire Cumberbatch, of 1303 Dean St., leader of the Bedford-Stuyvesant group protesting alleged “segregated” school, leads oath of allegiance [Photograph]. (1958). Available from Library Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

20. Printed Records and Photographs of School Activities and Personnel

There are many traditions and practices in schools that are not formally recorded in the traditional histories of schooling. These activities involve objects such as rewards of merit, report cards, graduation certificates,

and teacher licenses. Rewards of merit, for example, were commonly given to children during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to reward special talent, attendance, or high academic performance. Some



Image 20.1 *An early-nineteenth-century reward of merit.*

Source: Johnson, C. (1904). *Old time schools and school-books*. New York: Macmillan.



Image 20.2 *School reward cards issued by Gibson & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Source: [Image of a school reward card]. (1873). Cincinnati, Ohio: Gibson. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

rewards are simply printed cards, while others are more elaborate and sophisticated examples of the printer's art.

Also of interest, and part of the tradition of schools, are comic photographs showing students being disciplined or chastised, group photographs of classrooms

and teachers, and images documenting special events such as Arbor Day.

Comic images of students and teachers at school were not limited to cartoons, but were often found in stereoptic (i.e., 3-D) pictures that were popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

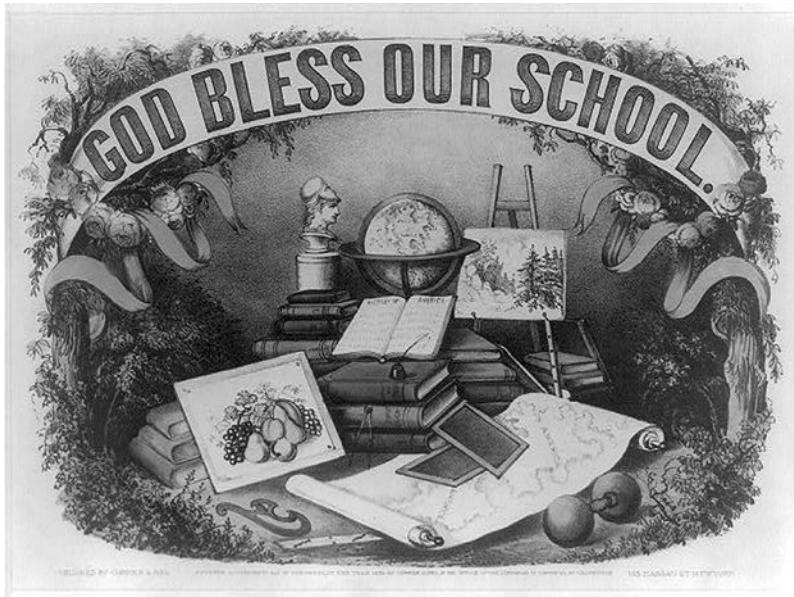


Image 20.3 *God Bless Our School.*

Source: *God Bless Our School* (1874). Currier & Ives. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

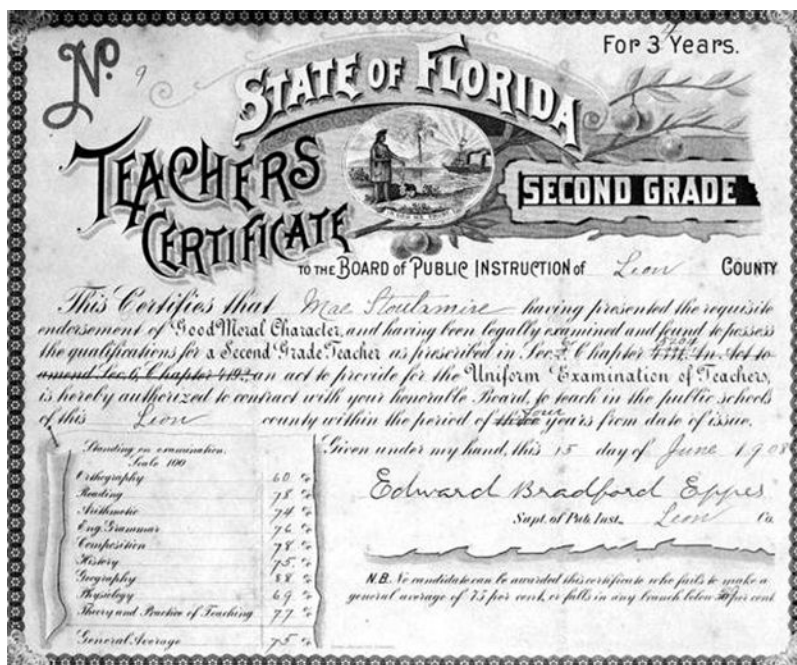


Image 20.4 *State of Florida second-grade teacher certificate for Mae Stoutamire.*

Source: [Image of a teacher certificate]. (n.d.). Available from Florida State Archives: <http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection>

Class photographs of students with their teachers have been a tradition since the late nineteenth century and continue today. The following examples from St. Louis are typical of the types of photographs that

survive. Group photographs of teachers are obviously less frequent than are of student photographs.

In addition to class photographs, pictures showing school holidays and field trips were also common themes.



Image 20.5 *In disgrace at school—a comic stereoptic image, 1875.*

Source: *In disgrace at school* [Stereoptic image] (LOT 3523). (1875). Available from Library Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

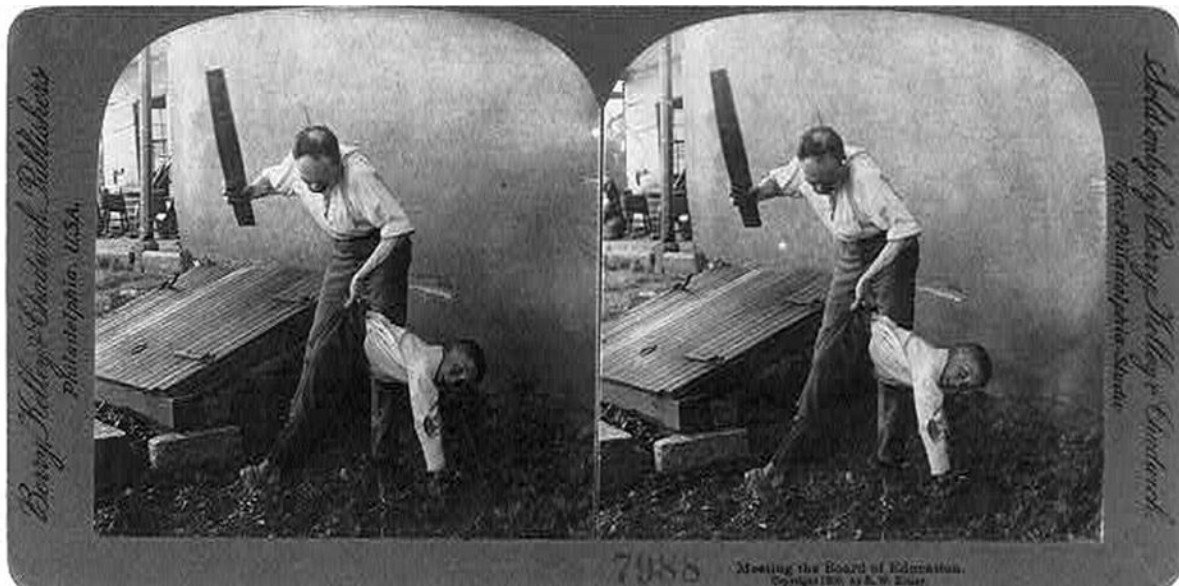


Image 20.6 *Meeting the Board of Education, 1906.*

Source: *Meeting the Board of Education* [Stereoptic image] (LOT 7142). (1906). Available from Library Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

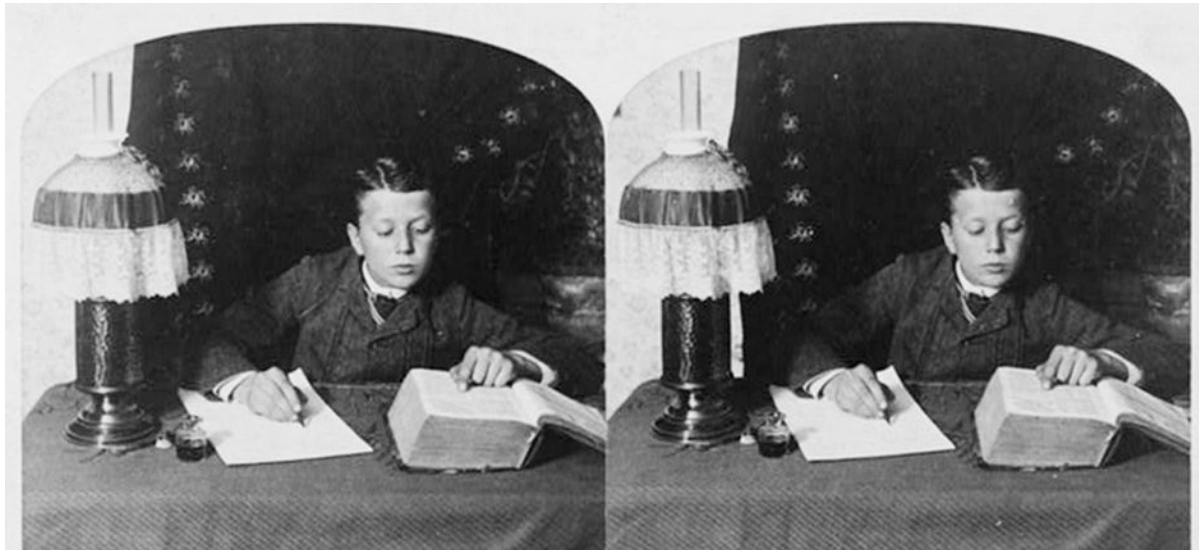


Image 20.7 *A Hard Student, a stereoptic image of a student carefully at work, 1891.*

Source: *A hard student* [Stereoptic image] (LOT 7143). (1891). Philadelphia, PA: The Fellows Photographic. Available from Library Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 20.8 *The kindergarten class at the Irving School, St. Louis, Missouri, 1890.*

Source: [Photograph of a kindergarten class at the Irving School] (1890). Personal collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 20.9 *Room Number 1, Simmons School, St. Louis, Missouri, March 28, 1893.*

Source: [Photograph of Room Number 1 at Simmons School]. (1893). Personal collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

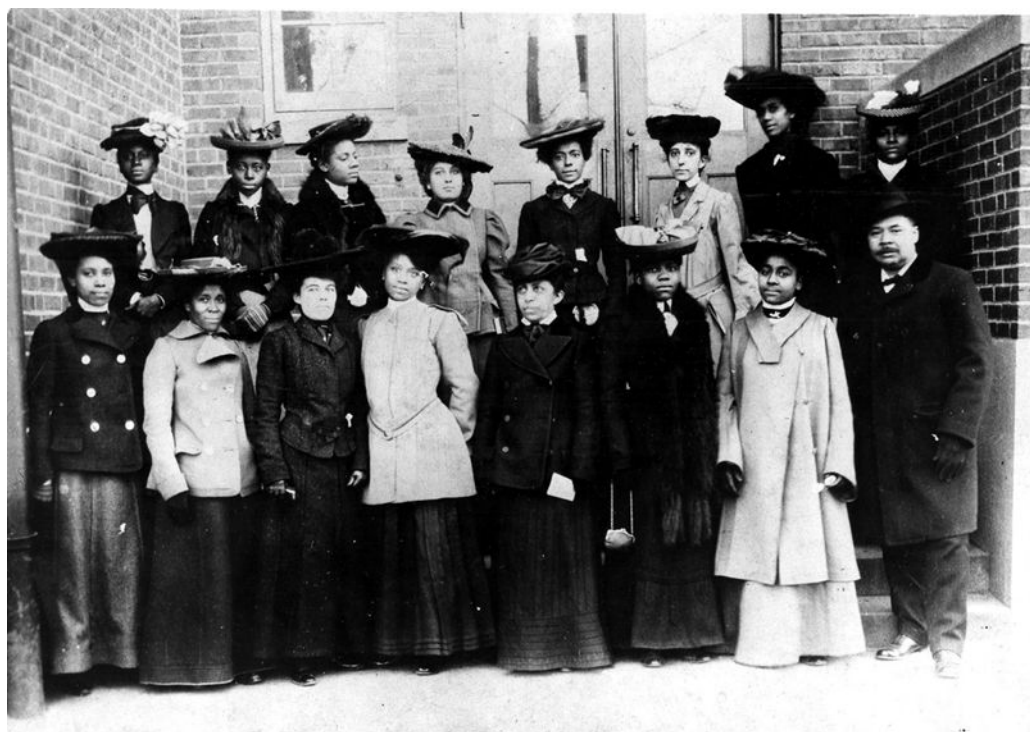


Image 20.10 *Group photograph of teachers and principal at the Simmons School, St. Louis, Missouri, 1893.*

Source: [Photograph of teachers and the principal at the Simmons School]. (1893). Personal collection of Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.



Image 20.11 *Celebration of George Washington's birthday in a one-room schoolhouse in Eastpoint, Florida, between 1906 and 1910.*

Source: [Photograph of a celebration of George Washington's birthday]. (1906–1910). Available from Florida State Archives: <http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection>



Image 20.12 *Crowd on Arbor Day, N.Y. Public Schools, New York, 1908.*

Source: Crowd on Arbor Day, N.Y. Public Schools, New York [Photograph]. (1908). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

21. Students With Special Needs

Photographers have paid relatively little attention to students with special needs. Most of the images that survive concerning their history focus on buildings,

visitors from the outside, and reformers. Included below is a sample of images that focus on deaf and blind students.

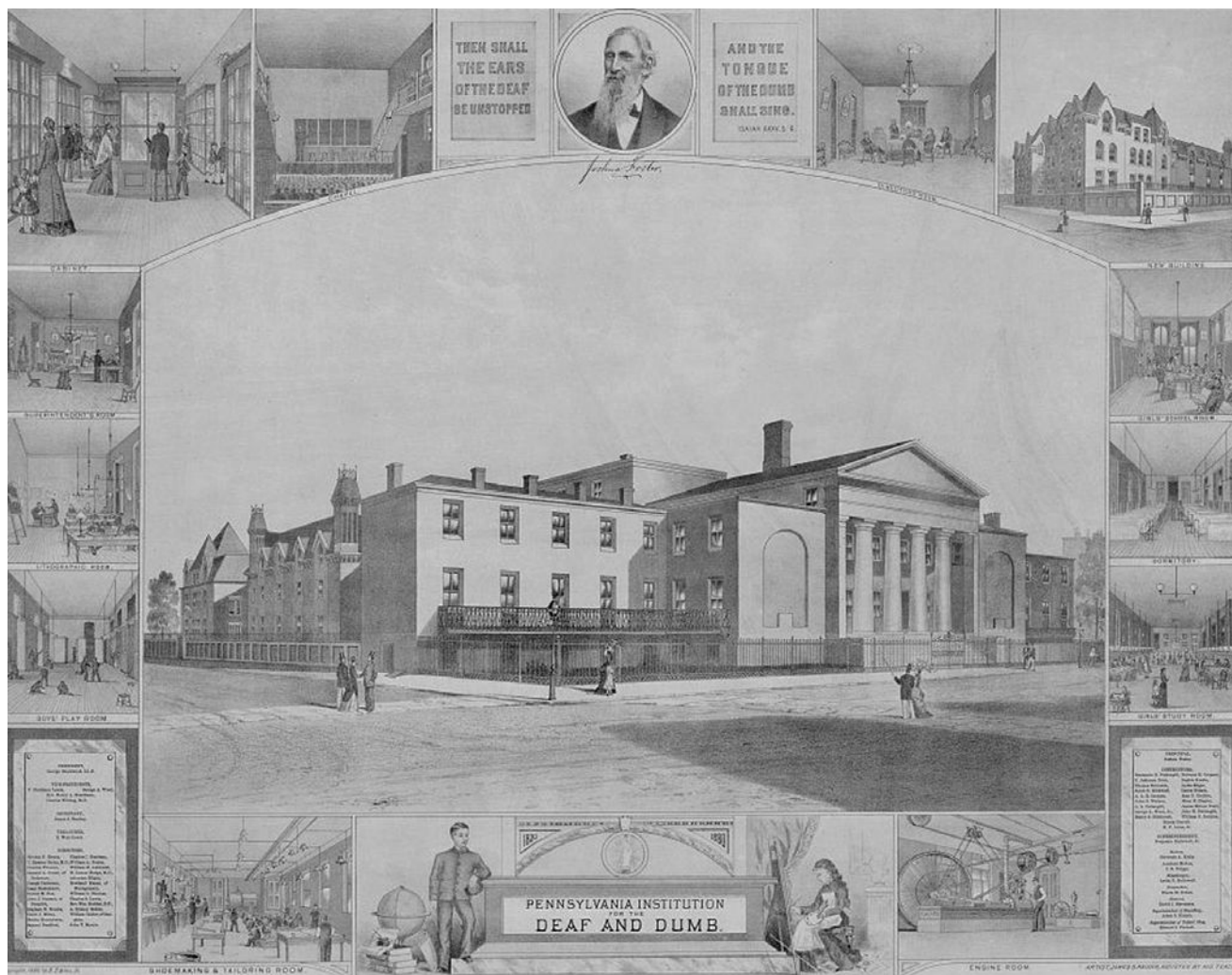


Image 21.1 *Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1880.*

Source: Reider, J. S. (Artist, assisted by his teacher). (1880). *Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb* [Illustration]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

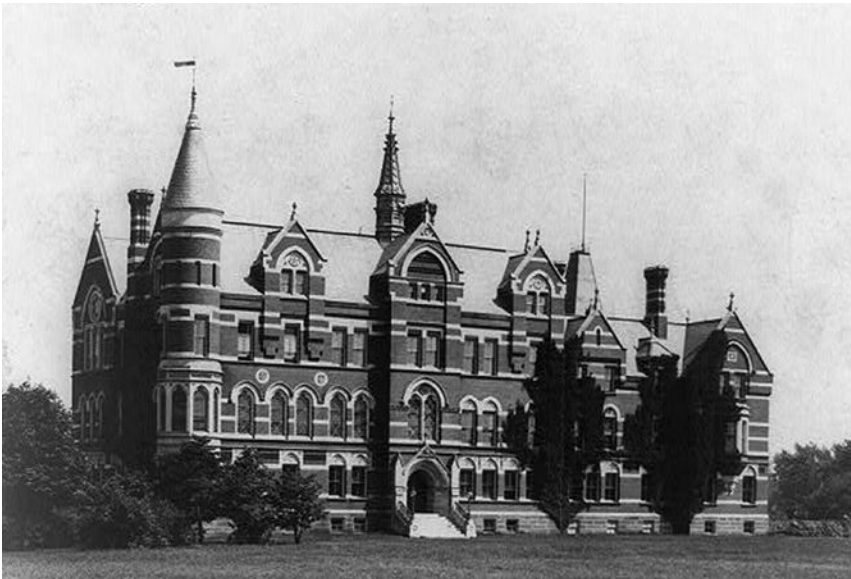


Image 21.2 *Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C., 1897.*

Source: [Photograph of Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.]. (1897). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.3 *Teaching a Deaf Mute to talk. Training School for Deaf Mutes. Sulphur, Oklahoma.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). Teaching a deaf-mute to talk. Training school for deaf mutes [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.4 *Learning to make shoes. Training school for Deaf Mutes. Sulphur, Oklahoma.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). Learning to make shoes. Training school for deaf mutes [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.5 *Helen Keller (1880–1968) teaching a young girl sign language, 1907.*

Source: Helen Keller, 1880–1968 [Photograph]. (1907). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.6 *Institute for the Blind, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1904.*

Source: [Photograph of the Institute for the Blind]. (1904). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.7 *Original play houses conceived and executed by girls at the Oklahoma School for the Blind, Muskogee, Oklahoma.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). LOT 7483. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 21.8 *“Play-time at the Oklahoma School for the Blind. Children have a great deal of freedom (Ellis report). Photos were not posed. Location: Muskogee, Oklahoma.”*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1917). LOT 7483. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

22. Transportation

The consolidation of rural schools during the Great Depression led to an increased use of school buses throughout the country. This phenomenon was

documented in detail by the Farm Security Administration photographs. Just how important a shift this was is indicated by the fact that in 1913,

Image 22.1 *Horse-drawn school bus, Jacksonville, Florida, 1898.*

Source: [Photograph of a horse-drawn school bus]. (1898). Available from Florida State Archives: <http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection>



Image 22.2 *“Greenbank Consolidated School. Loading up the buses for a six-mile haul.” Pocahontas County, West Virginia.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1921). LOT 7482, No. 5057. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 22.3 *School buses at consolidated school for Huntington Township, Ross County, Ohio.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1940). *School buses at a consolidated school for Huntington Township, Ross County, Ohio* [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



one half of the children in the country were enrolled in 212,000 one-room school buildings. By the end of the century, only 428 one-room, single-teacher

schoolhouses were still in operation. Safe roads and dependable buses made the consolidation of rural schools possible.



Image 22.4 *“Keysville, Virginia. Randolph Henry High School. Buses bring students from miles around as the school covers an area of 496 square miles. Some children come as far as thirty miles to school in one of the seventeen buses, some of which are driven by seniors.”*

Source: Bonn, P. (Photographer) (1943). [Photograph of buses bringing students to school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 22.5 *South city children getting on a school bus.*

Source: Kerce, B. (Photographer). (1955). [Photograph of children getting on a school bus]. Available from Florida State Archives: <http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection>

23. Compulsory Education and Truancy

The first compulsory education law in North America was passed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the early colonial era. Massachusetts passed the first statewide law in 1852. Under the 1852 law, children under fifteen who were working had to have gone to school for at least three months prior to their employment. Prior to the Civil War, similar compulsory

education laws were passed in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Pennsylvania.

During the late nineteenth century, factory owners, and often parents, encouraged children to be truant since they provided both inexpensive workers and needed income for families who might not otherwise

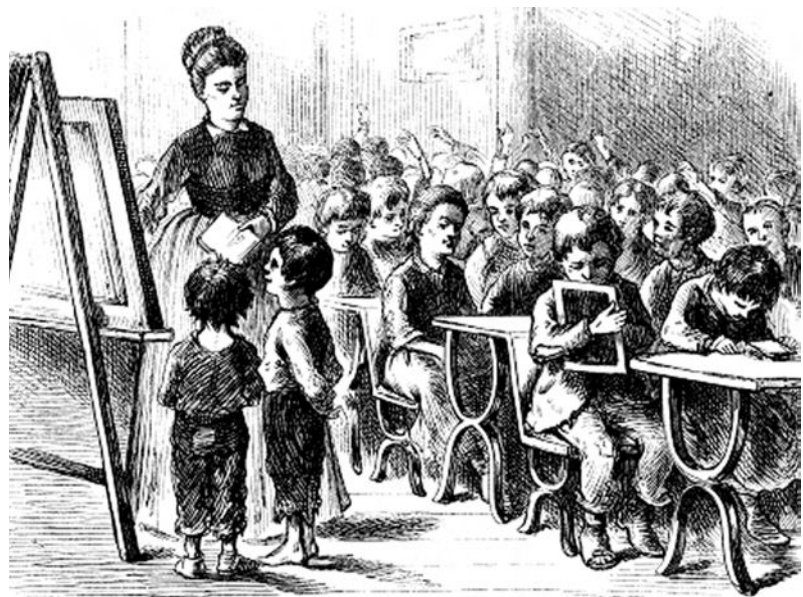


Image 23.1 *The night school at the Children's Aid Society.*

Source: [Illustration of a night school at the Children's Aid Society]. (1873). *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 47, p. 327.



Image 23.2 *Corps of truant officers, Boston, Massachusetts.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). Corps of truant officers [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

be able to cope. In urban areas, various child welfare agencies were formed to protect children and to make sure that they received at least a minimal education. In New York, Minister Charles Loring Brace (1826–1890) founded the Children's Aid Society, which established night schools, lodging houses for newsboys, and reading rooms for poor children.

Truant officers began to be a fixture in American cities by the end of the nineteenth century. Typically, these were local law officers who reported to the local school system but who were primarily concerned with keeping misbehaving youth under regulation and control. Illustrations and photographs of them are rare. A group picture of them in Boston was taken by Lewis W. Hine in 1909.



Image 23.3 *“Leroy Raley, 215 Noble St., a 10-year-old truant newsboy, who was photographed during school hours. Said: ‘Someone stole my clothes so I couldn’t go to school.’ Location: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.”*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer) (1917). LOT 7480. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 23.4 *Truant hanging around boats in the harbor during school hours. Location: Boston, Massachusetts.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer). (1909). Truant hanging around boats in the harbor during school hours. Location: Boston, Massachusetts [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 23.5 *Juvenile Court. Small boy who is habitual truant. A street boy. Thursday, May 5, 1910. Location: St. Louis, Missouri.*

Source: Hine, L. W. (Photographer) (1910). Juvenile court. Small boy who is habitual truant. A street boy. Thursday, May 5, 1910. Location: St. Louis, Missouri [Photograph] (LOT 7483). Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Hine provides the best available photographic record of truant children in urban areas. Most of his photographs were taken between 1909 and 1917. Newsboys were often truants who were able to earn a bit of money with very little interference.

Truant officers largely died out in American schools by the end of the Great Depression. This end did not mean that other means of controlling and regulating students were not available. One of the most important ways of regulating students was the report card, which had become a regular of American schools by the 1920s.

CANTERBURY SCHOOL
NEW MILFORD, CONNECTICUT

Record of John Kennedy, Form II
From November 1 to December 6, 1930.

Any average from 90% to 100% is accounted "Very Good"; from 80% to 90% "Good"; from 70% to 80% "Fair"; from 60% to 70% "Poor"; and below 60% "Unsatisfactory".			
SUBJECT	DAILY WORK	EFFORT AND APPLICATION	FORM AVERAGE
English II	86	Good	71.69
Latin II	55	Poor	64.55
History II	77	Good	67.00
Mathematics II	85	Good	61.69
Science II	72	Good	66.62
Religion II	75	Fair	78.46
AVERAGE:	77.00		

This report is not quite so good as the last one. The damage was done chiefly by "Poor" effort in Latin, in which Jack got a mark of 55. He can do better than this. In fact, his average should be well in the 80's.

H.H.

Image 23.6 Eighth-grade report card for future United States President John F. Kennedy, 1930.

Source: [Image of President John F. Kennedy's eighth-grade report card]. (1930). Available from National Archives.



Image 23.7 Schenectady, New York. A pupil at the Elmer Avenue Elementary School talking over his report card with his teacher.

Source: Bonn, P. (Photographer). (1943). Schenectady, New York. A pupil at the Elmer Avenue Elementary School talking over his report card with his teacher [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

24. The Farm Security Administration's Photographs of Schools

During the Great Depression, a remarkable record of photographs was created showing the condition of schools (particularly rural schools) in the United

States. Under the supervision of the New Deal agencies, the Farm Security Administration (FSA), thousands of photographs were taken to show the economic



Image 24.1 *Ozark school building, Arkansas.*

Source: Shahn, B. [Photographer]. (1935). Ozark school building, Arkansas [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.2 *Interior of Ozark school, Arkansas.*

Source: Shahn, B. (Photographer). (1935). Interior of Ozark school, Arkansas [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

conditions in the country and to document the recovery that was underway. Dozens of photographers were hired for the FSA photographic project. Among the most famous were Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange,

Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn, Jack Delano, Marion Post Wolcott, Gordon Parks, John Vachon, and Carl Mydans. As they spread out across the country to take their photographs, they were given

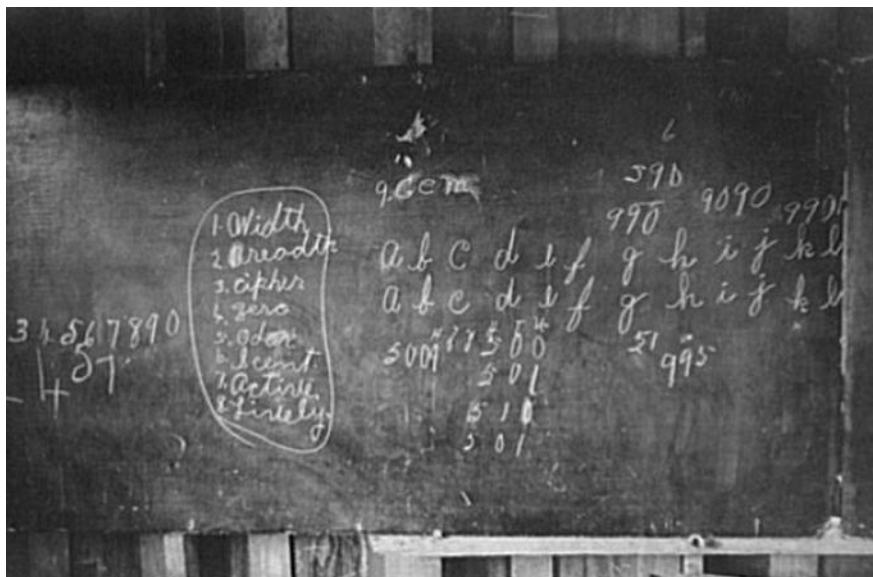


Image 24.3 *Blackboard in Ozark school, Arkansas.*

Source: Shahn, B. (Photographer). (1935). *Blackboard in Ozark school, Arkansas* [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.4 *One-room schoolhouse. Crawford County, Wisconsin.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of a one-room schoolhouse]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

specific subject guidelines to follow by the project's director Roy Stryker. Under the heading of "Schools," for example, Stryker listed "the buildings inside and

out," "the teachers," "the pupils—at work and at play—going to school," "special schools," and "consolidated school buses." Approximately 200,000



Image 24.5 *Interior of one-room schoolhouse. Crawford County, Wisconsin.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of an interior of one-room school house]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.6 *Rural school, Wisconsin.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of a rural school in Wisconsin]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

photographs were taken for the project between 1935 and 1943. Of these, several thousand images were of schools and of students and teachers at work.

Since the FSA photographers focused on rural conditions, it is not surprising that the single most important subject dominating the school photographs are

Image 24.7 *Rural schoolroom, Wisconsin.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of a rural schoolroom in Wisconsin]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.8 *Rural schoolchildren, Wisconsin.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of rural schoolchildren in Wisconsin]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



one-room school buildings and their eventual replacement by consolidated school districts.

Many of the photographs show extremely primitive conditions in poorer rural areas. In September 1935, for

example, Shahn (1898–1969) photographed a dilapidated one-room schoolhouse in rural Arkansas. The building has no paint and the walls inside are unfinished. A primitive blackboard provides evidence of what is being taught.



Image 24.9 *“Young people outside of Negro high school, Black Belt, Chicago, Illinois.”*

Source: Rosskam, E. (Photographer). (1941). [Photograph of young people outside a high school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.10 *“Young people outside of Negro high school, Black Belt, Chicago, Illinois.”*

Source: Rosskam, E. (Photographer). (1941). [Photograph of young people outside a high school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Some of the rural schools were much more prosperous. A series of photographs taken by Vachon (1914–1975) in rural Crawford County, Wisconsin,

show a pleasant, one-room schoolhouse (almost certainly red) with a bell tower on top and an inviting front porch. Inside is a pleasant airy classroom with

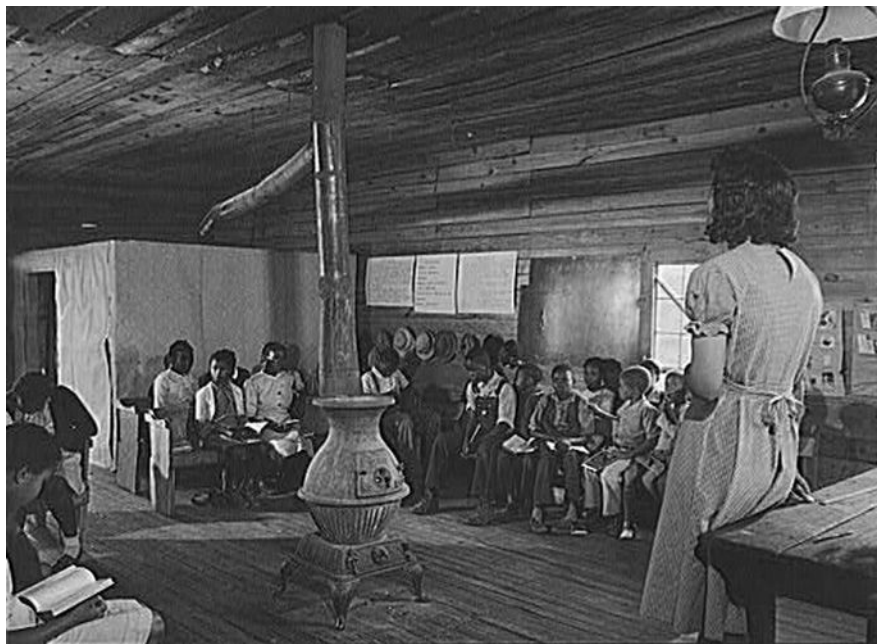


Image 24.11 A 1941 photograph of the one-room Black school in the town of Veazey, Greene County, Georgia. A single teacher taught students in all grades.

Source: Delano, J. (Photographer). (1941). [Photograph of a one-room schoolhouse]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

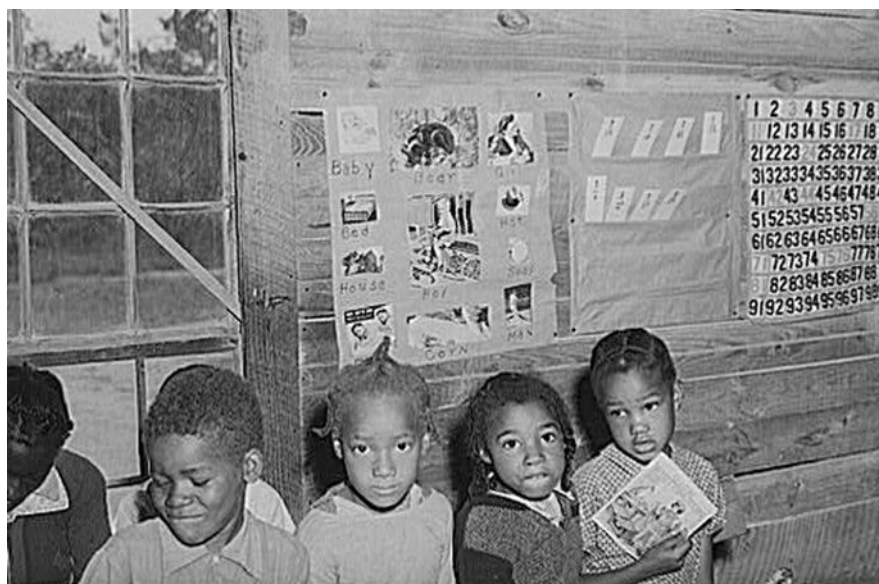


Image 24.12 A 1941 photograph of the one-room Black school in the town of Veazey, Greene County, Georgia, south of Greensboro.

Source: Delano, J. (1941). [Photograph of a one-room schoolhouse]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

desks bolted to the floor in rows, a large woodstove, a blackboard, a globe, and a glass-enclosed bookcase. A teacher works with students of different ages,

generally with different lessons for different age groups. The students vary in age; some are no older than six or seven, while others are in their early teens.



Image 24.13 *Schoolteacher at Red House, West Virginia.*

Source: Shahn, B. (Photographer). (1935). [Photograph of a schoolteacher in West Virginia]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.14 *Lois Slinker teaching the fifth grade in a one-room schoolhouse, Grundy County, Iowa.*

Source: Rothstein, A. (Photographer). (1939). [Photograph of Lois Slinker teaching the fifth grade]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

The students are clean and well dressed, suggesting that at least a moderate level of prosperity is to be found in the local community.

The FSA photographs often included candid pictures that are rare in educational photographs, which are often staged, serving an official purpose. Edwin



Image 24.15 *"Schoolteachers and pupils in Negro rural school. This year, despite the fact the white school received free books, none arrived for the Negros. The teacher was so afraid of losing her job that she would not make any inquiries about the books, and the children were sharing the few books some could buy. Creek County, Oklahoma."*

Source: Lee, R. (Photographer). (1940). [Photograph of school teachers and pupils in Black rural school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.16 *San Augustine County, Texas. Teacher who lives in San Augustine teaching at a rural school.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1943). [Photograph of a teacher teaching at a rural school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Roskam (1903–1985), for example, provided photographs of teenage girls on a street corner outside their school in Chicago.

The condition of Black or “Negro” schools is documented throughout the photographs. Although

the FSA photographs include images of both poor and prosperous White schools, there are few images of prosperous or even moderately comfortable Black schools. Most are crowded. Equipment such as desks, chairs, and blackboards are consistently



Image 24.17 “Negro children at a rural school in Creek County, Oklahoma, gathered around the stove as the room warms up in the morning. The thermometer registered fifty degrees throughout the entire morning session of school. Creek County, Oklahoma.”

Source: Lee, R. (Photographer). (1940). [Photograph of Black children in a rural school]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.18 “Washington, D.C. Teacher helping pupils in Negro grammar school.”

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). [Photograph of teacher helping pupils]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

makeshift, suggesting the lack of resources available to the various Black communities across the country.

Numerous photographs of teachers from across the country included in the FSA files provide information on the day-to-day work lives of teachers.

The best equipped schools for the Black students and teachers portrayed in the FSA photographs are in urban areas such as in Washington, D.C., and New York City.

Photographs of blackboards and bulletin boards included as part of the FSA photographs document some of the activities that took place in the schools.



Image 24.19 *Penasco, New Mexico, Spanish American teacher in the high school.*

Source: Collier, J. (Photographer). (1943). [Photograph of New Mexico teacher]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.20 *A 1943 photograph of Sister Aquinas teaching a lesson in practical radio operations to the Sisters attending her Civil Aeronautics Authority course for instructors at Catholic University in Washington, D.C.*

Source: Roesner, A. (Photographer). (1943). [Photograph of Sister Aquinas teaching a lesson in practical radio operations]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Photographs of cloak and mud rooms give a more intimate sense of the lives of the children who attended the rural schools that make up the great majority of the FSA photographs. Many of the photographs suggest a bygone era, when students walked to school and carried their lunches with them in pails and buckets.

The FSA photographers were specifically charged with documenting rural conditions. Although they were primarily supposed to record conditions in public schools, private schools and their programs also appear in the FSA files. For example, an extensive photo series was included to document the Lincoln School at



Image 24.21 *Chemistry teacher at Woodrow Wilson High School, Washington, D.C.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). [Photograph of Woodrow Wilson High School]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

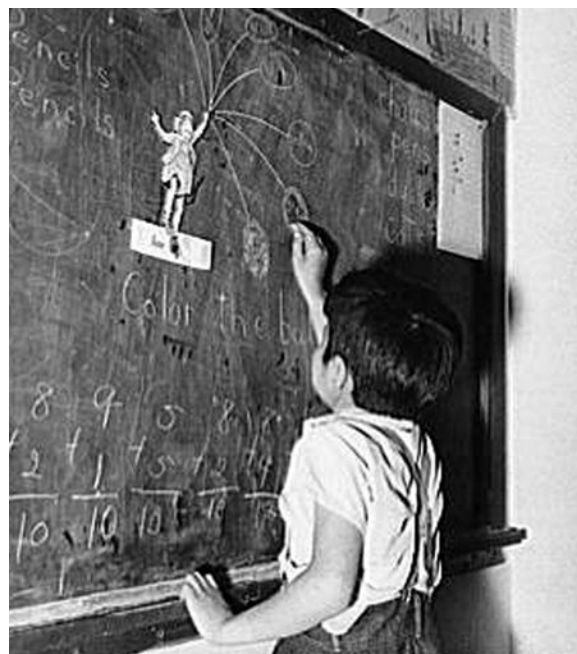


Image 24.22 *Grade-school pupil at blackboard, Concho, Arizona.*

Source: Lee, L. (Photographer). (1940). [Photograph of a child at a blackboard]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Teachers College, Columbia University, in which progressive educational models were clearly at work.

The FSA photographs include extensive images of sports and athletic activities, as well as pictures of marching bands, military cadets in uniform,

and even students in front of their lockers. The mundane images found in the photographs suggest a society less complex than found today. School loyalty is assumed, and hierarchies among students are clear.

Image 24.23 *“One-room school in Ojo Sarco, New Mexico, an isolated mountainous Spanish-American community. The school has eight grades and two teachers. The teachers have little equipment with which to work, and the ABCs, penmanship, and grammar are taught at the blackboard.”*

Source: Collier, J. (Photographer). (1943). [Photograph of blackboard]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

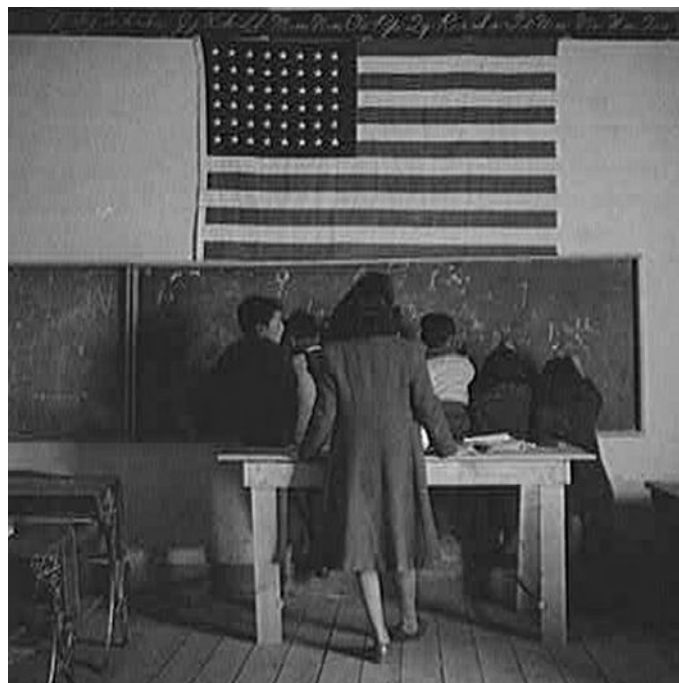


Image 24.24 *A 1943 photograph of third-grade blackboard work at the Elmer Avenue Elementary School in Schenectady, New York.*

Source: Bonn, P. (1943). Schenectady, New York. Third-grade blackboard work at the Elmer Avenue Elementary School [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.25 *Farm children on the way to school with lunch pails, Nebraska.*

Source: Vachon, J. (Photographer). (1939). Farm children on the way to school with lunch pails, Nebraska [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.26 *"The Lincoln School of Teachers' College, Columbia University. Third-grade pupil acting the part of Hitler in a program produced by his class" in New York City.*

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). [Photograph of student playing the part of Hitler]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.27 New York City. *"The Lincoln School of Teachers' College, Columbia University. Sixth graders working on an illuminated map of South America, showing resources."*

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). [Photograph of students working on a map]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.28 New York City. *"The Lincoln School of Teachers' College, Columbia University. First-grade pupils having their voices recorded for diction correction. Each student gives his or her name and then reads a paragraph from a book."*

Source: Collins, M. (Photographer). (1942). [Photograph of children having their voices recorded]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.29 *A Black mother teaching children numbers and the alphabet in the home of a sharecropper in Transylvania, Louisiana.*

Source: Lee, R. (Photographer). (1944). Negro mother teaching children numbers and alphabet in home of sharecropper. Transylvania, Louisiana [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.30 *Children resting during recess at a rural school near Tipler, Wisconsin.*

Source: Lee, R. (Photographer). (1937). Children resting during recess at a rural school near Tipler, Wisconsin [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.31 *Americanization program at high school at Eufaula, Oklahoma.*

Source: Lee, R. (1940). Americanization program at a high school in Eufaula, Oklahoma [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.32
Greensboro, Greene County, Georgia. High School football game.

Source: Delano, J. (Photograph). (1941). Greensboro, Greene County, Georgia. High school football game [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.33 *The importance of schools in creating a sense of ritual and community can be seen in this photograph of a high school band in a parade in Butte, Montana.*

Source: Rothstein, A. (Photographer). (1939). High school band parading up Montana Street, Butte, Montana [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Image 24.34 *Sometimes the photographs seem to have multiple messages, as is the case in this 1943 photo taken at Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington, D.C. One child holding a toy gun to the head of another as they watch the high school cadets.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photograph). (1943). Call No. LC-USW3-039424-D. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.





Image 24.35 *A girl's locker at Randolph Henry High School in Keysville, Virginia.*

Source: Bonn, P. (Photographer). (1943). Keysville, Virginia. Randolph Henry High School. Girl's locker [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.36 *Some images provide insight into the nature of actual physical education classes, a subject seldom portrayed in educational photographs. In this image, a physical education class does group exercises in the gymnasium at Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington, D.C.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). Washington, D.C. Physical education class doing mass exercises in the gymnasium at Woodrow Wilson High School [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.37 *Washington, D.C. On rare occasions, the Farm Security Administration photographers were able to pick up on some of the jokes and rituals that are often part of school culture, as well as largely undocumented events such as pep rallies. Shown in this image is a sign worn the day before a football game at Woodrow Wilson High School.*

Source: Bubley, E. (1943). Washington, D.C. A sign worn the day before a football game at Woodrow Wilson High School [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.38 *Washington, D.C. Walter Spangenberg, a captain in the cadet corps at Woodrow Wilson High School.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). Washington, D.C. Walter Spangenberg, a captain in the cadet corps at Woodrow Wilson High School [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

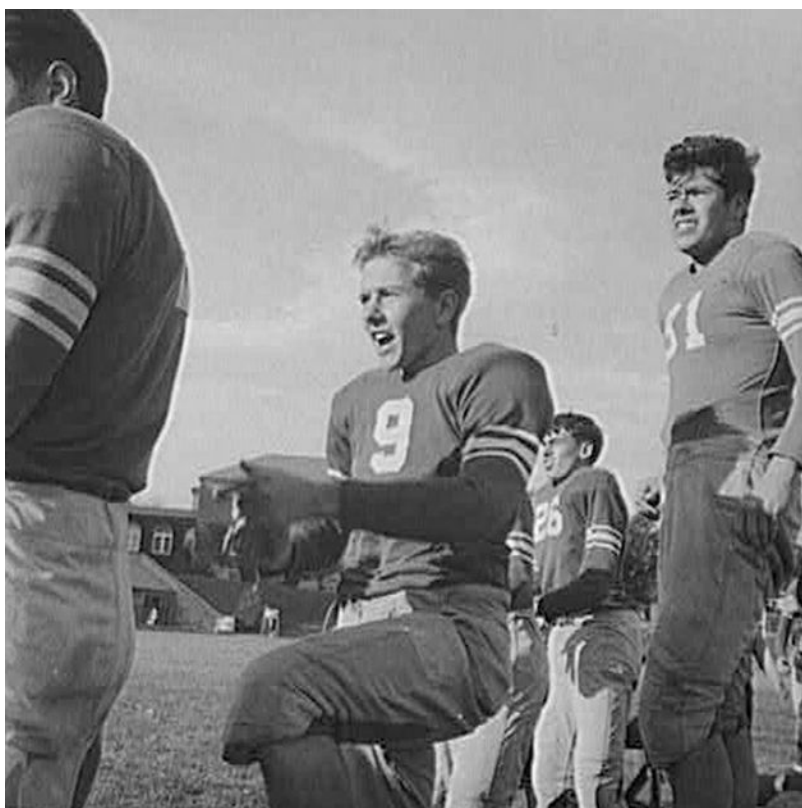


Image 24.39 *Washington, D.C. Members of the Woodrow Wilson High School football team watching a game from the sidelines.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). Washington, D.C. Members of the Woodrow Wilson High School football team watching a game from the sidelines [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.40 *Washington, D.C. Sweaters and long ropes of beads are popular with the girls at Woodrow Wilson High School.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). Washington, D.C. Sweaters and long ropes of beads are popular with the girls at Woodrow Wilson High School [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.41 *Washington, D.C. A pep assembly held in front of the Woodrow Wilson High School on the day before a football game.*

Source: Bubley, E. (Photographer). (1943). Washington, D.C. A pep assembly held in front of the Woodrow Wilson High School on the day before a football game [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 24.42 *Keysville, Virginia. Randolph Henry High School. School band which played for graduation.*

Source: Bonn, P. (Photographer). (1943). Keysville, Virginia. Randolph Henry High School. School band which played for graduation [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

25. Civil Rights

Opposition to desegregation was commonplace throughout not only the American South but also the North during the first half of the twentieth century. Evidence of opposition to the integration of Black students into White schools can be seen, for example, in the following photograph of protests by White students in the 1930s.

Evidence of segregation and discrimination is clearly seen in the FSA photographs taken during the 1930s and 1940s. Photographers were encouraged to take pictures of billboards and signs that showed discrimination.

Although the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision made racial equality the law of the land, its full



Image 25.1 *Students, being controlled by police, protesting the transfer of Black students to their school, 1933.*

Source: [Photograph of students protesting the transfer of Black students to their school]. (1933). National Archives.

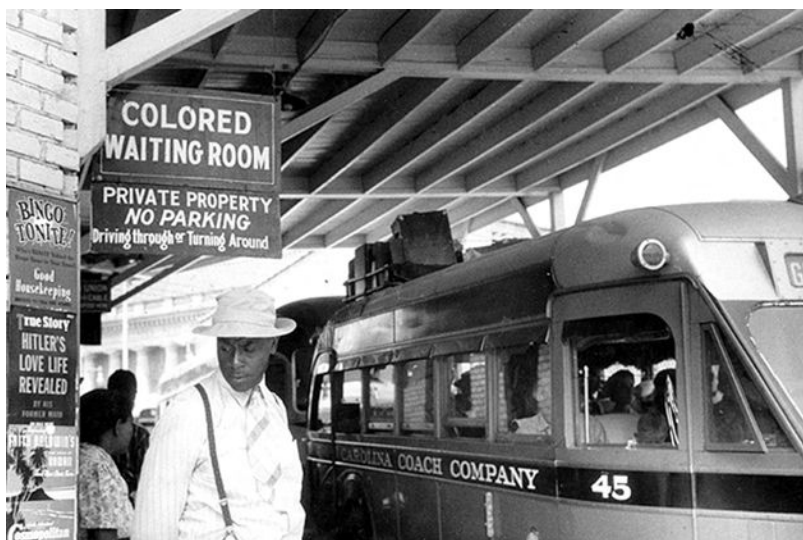


Image 25.2 *At the bus station in Durham, North Carolina.*

Source: Delano, J. (Photographer). (1940). At the bus station in Durham, North Carolina [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

implementation took several decades—some would argue that even today the process is far from complete. Protests over school integration can be seen in photographs from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Clinton, Tennessee.

On August 28, 1963, inspired by demonstrations earlier in the year, 250,000 people, mostly African

Americans, descended on the Mall in Washington, D.C., to demand equal rights as part of the March for Jobs and Freedom. The march is remembered for Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech—certainly the most important speech of the Civil Rights Movement and a defining moment in American history.



Image 25.3 *A cafe near the Tobacco Market, Durham, North Carolina.*

Source: Delano, J. (Photographer). (1940). A cafe near the tobacco market, Durham, North Carolina [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 25.4 *Member of the National Guard watching Clinton High School, Clinton, Tennessee, as students stand on its steps and lawn.*

Source: O'Halloran, T. J. (Photographer) (1956). [Photograph of Clinton High School, Clinton, Tennessee]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Many different types of signs—both handmade and mass-produced—were carried in the march. Groups such as the United Auto Workers produced signs with slogans such as “UAW Says Jobs and Freedom for Every American,” while a young Black woman carried a sign reading “Not ‘Negroes’ but AfroAmericans! We must Be

Accorded Full Rights as Americans Not in the Future but Now.” The photograph included below, taken by Warren K. Lefler, shows protestors with some of the mass-produced placards that were carried in the march, including ones that demanded “Equal Rights,” “Integrated Schools,” “Ending Bias,” and “Decent Housing.”



Image 25.5 *“Demonstrators holding signs and American flags protesting the admission of the ‘Little Rock Nine’ to Central High School.” The “Little Rock Nine” were the Black students who broke the color barrier in Little Rock.*

Source: Bledsoe, J. T. (Photographer). (1959). *Little Rock, 1959. Rally at state capitol* [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 25.6 *White demonstrators, “one holding a Confederate flag, surrounding speakers and National Guard, protesting the admission of the ‘Little Rock Nine’ to Central High School.”*

Source: Bledsoe, J. T. (Photographer). (1959). *Little Rock, 1959. Rally at state capitol* [Photograph]. Available from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

This compilation of visual sources ends with the history of American education in 1963 with the March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, D.C., because this event is considered to have been a turning point in modern American history, as well as because it is at about this time that the available

public domain record of visual sources begins to decline. Although visual sources on schools can be found up to the present, most are still being held privately and are in copyright. This practice is a natural process that will change with the passage of time as more recent collections become available to

Image 25.7 *Civil rights march on Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963.*

Source: Lefler, W. K. (Photographer). (1963). [Photograph of a civil rights march]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Image 25.8 *Leaders of the civil rights march on Washington, D.C., marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, 1963.*

Source: [Photograph of a civil rights march on Washington, D.C.]. (1963). National Archives.



the public. Those interested in further exploring visual sources on the history of American education are advised to consult online sources such as the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of

Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html>) and the Still Pictures Unit of the National Archives (<http://www.archives.gov/research/formats/photos.html>).



Image 25.9 *Women with placards at Leaders of Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C., marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, 1963.*

Source: [Photograph of women with placards during a civil rights march]. (1963). National Archives.

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