VOLUME 18, NUMBER 2, SUMMER 2005

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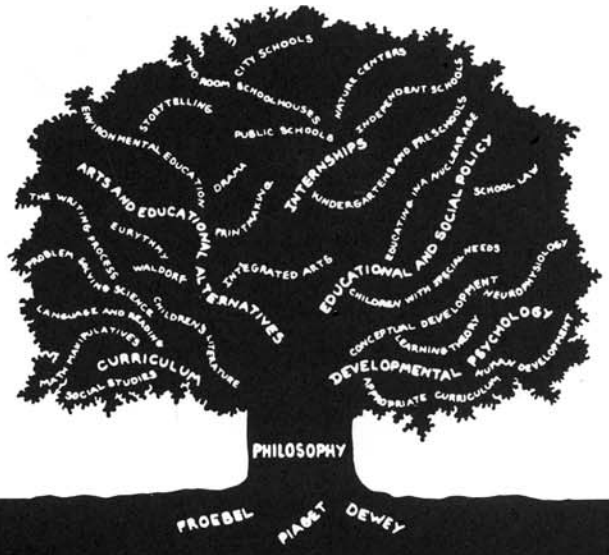

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ENCOUNTER

EDUCATION FOR MEANING AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

VOLUME 18, NUMBER 2 SUMMER 2005

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Editorial

Green Places to Play

You might remember a childhood that included games of tag, looking at insects in a vacant lot, and resting under an old shade tree. Such a childhood is rare today. In a major study on how our nation's children spend their out-of-school time, Sandra Hofferth and John Sandberg (2001) found that 6- to 12-year-olds average only about 35 minutes a week in free outdoor play. Children do, to be sure, average about 3 hours a week in organized outdoor sports such as Little League, but the overall amount of outdoor play seems very small, and the amount of free, unstructured play is miniscule.

Several forces keep children indoors. As play researcher Robin Moore (1997) emphasizes, parents have become very nervous about cars, kidnappers, and other outdoor dangers. So parents either keep children inside or make sure children's outdoor play is under tight supervision, which organized sports provide. In addition, the standards movement limits outdoor play. Under pressure to raise standardized test scores, many schools are eliminating recess and are assigning homework at younger and younger ages. And then there is the lure of the electronic media: Children themselves are content to spend hours indoors watching TV, playing video games, and surfing the Internet.

Is the lack of free outdoor play a cause for concern? I have found that many colleagues, parents, and students are skeptical. When they hear concerns about the loss of traditional childhood play, they shrug their shoulders and note that times change. Contemporary childhood, they say, takes place in a new, high-tech world.

Still, there is reason to be very concerned about the absence of a particular kind of free outdoor play — that which occurs in natural settings such as parks, overgrown vacant lots, and community green spaces.

Bill Crain is the Editor of *ENCOUNTER: Education for Meaning and Social Justice* and a Professor of Psychology at The City College of New York. His most recent book, *Reclaiming Childhood: Letting Children Be Children in Our Achievement-Oriented Society*, was published in 2003 by Henry Holt.

Since a forthcoming book by Richard Louv (2005) on children's isolation from nature has caught the eye of the media (McKee 2005), perhaps attention to this issue will increase.

In a series of articles (e.g., Crain 1997, 2003; Crain, in press), I have described the growing research that suggests that free play in natural settings helps children develop three important qualities.

Patient Observation

In a pioneering study in the 1970s, Roger Hart (1979) took extensive field notes on children's spontaneous outdoor behavior in rural Vermont. Hart found that although the children were often very active, they also spent long stretches of time carefully observing things, such as fish and insects in a river. At about the same time, Robin Moore and residents of Berkeley, California, transformed an expanse of elementary school blacktop into a nature area with ponds, dirt paths, and vegetation. The nature area awakened the children's senses and powers of observation. Whereas the children had previously been bored and restless, they now quietly and patiently studied their natural surroundings (Moore 1989).

Recently, researchers have been studying the effects of green spaces on children who suffer from attention disorders, a widespread problem today. For example, Frances Kuo and Andrea Faber Taylor (2004) report that after the children have opportunities to play in green settings, their capacity to concentrate on tasks improves.

Creativity

Hart and others have observed that in natural settings children engage in many creative projects, such as the construction of hideouts under large bushes and trees. Natural settings also foster particularly rich fantasy play and inspire much of children's artwork. Parents and teachers know how commonly the sun, trees, grass, clouds, and birds

appear in children's drawings. Most people are less familiar with children's poetry, but after examining anthologies of poems composed by children between 2 and 8 years, I estimate that about three-quarters of the poems describe some aspect of the natural world (Crain 2003).

A Sense of Peace and Belonging

In the Berkeley schoolyard, the children frequently described the new nature area as a soothing presence that gave them a sense of belonging to the larger web of life. As Louise Chawla (1990) has shown, many adult autobiographies emphasize similar experiences. For example, the African American minister Howard Thurman (1979) said that he was lonely as a boy growing up in Daytona Beach, but he felt a sense of peace and unity with the night, a large oak tree, and the ocean. Sometimes at night, when the ocean was still, he felt he was part of it and it was part of him. These feelings of connection, he stressed, gave him an overriding immunity against much of the pain he faced as an adult. He could withstand society's abuses because he felt rooted in something larger — in life itself.

Contemplation

Over the past year, I have been looking into the possibility that natural settings promote another capacity: quiet contemplation. The evidence for this benefit is still sketchy, but it is worth considering.

In the Berkeley nature area, a number of children said that they often liked to sit and think. This opportunity was special to them, and it may be an opportunity that other children cherish when they find it. For example, Robert Coles (1994, xxiii-xxiv) quotes a 12-year-old African American girl living in the inner city of Boston. She was being bussed to an all-white school, where she was the only African American, and she was feeling the stress:

> A lot of the time … I wish I could find myself a place where there are no whites, no black folk, no people of any kind! I mean, a place where I'd be able to sit still and get my head together; a place where I could walk and walk, and I'd be walking on grass, not cement with glass and garbage around; a place where there'd be the sky and the sun, and then the moon and all those stars. At night, sometimes, when I get to feeling real low, I'll climb up the stairs to our roof, and I'll look at the sky, and I'll say, hello there, you moon and all your babies — stars! I'm being silly, I know, but up there, I feel I can stop and think about what's happening to me — it's the only place I can, the only place.

I wonder if natural settings stimulate contemplation in a way that the built environment does not. To a child lying in tall grass next to a tree, the sight of the sky may stimulate thoughts about life and the universe. I would guess that such thoughts are less common in homes, shopping malls, or parking lots. For the deepest thoughts take us beyond the built environment into a more timeless realm.

What, specifically, does the child think about? This isn't easy to know, for the child's thoughts can be very private and difficult to articulate. It's likely that children, like the girl in Boston, sometimes think about personal problems, and these problems seem smaller in the context of the expansiveness and beauty of the natural world around them. In addition, their thoughts may take a philosophical bent. Adults have told me that they remember asking questions such as, "Where does the world come from?" "Is there a God?" "What's behind the sky?" "Am I unique, or is there someone exactly like me out there?"

The poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow understood that children can develop an especially strong to connection to nature which, in turn, inspires the child's deepest thinking. In his poem, "My Lost Youth" (1964), Longfellow ended each verse with the words from an old Lapland song:

> A boy's will is the wind's will,
> And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.

Recommendations

If we wish to promote the capacities I've reviewed — patient observation, creativity, a sense of peace and belonging, and contemplation — we need bring children into much more contact with nature. This will not be easy because natural areas are constantly threatened. In suburban and rural areas, it's an ongoing battle to protect woods, streams, and fields from real estate development. In the cities, residents struggle to preserve community gardens and open spaces.

These efforts require great energy, but children will benefit from them — to say nothing of other species.

Even when communities preserve green places, they tend to overlook the child's fascination with places that are somewhat wild, such as overgrown sections of parks and fields. As Hart, Moore, and others note, adults typically prefer manicured lawns, tidy flower beds, and clean cement paths. Adults would do well to recall how, during their own childhoods, rough-strewn places offered elements of mystery and intrigue.

Because they are concerned about safety, adults will often need to accompany children to parks and natural settings, or lobby for park attendants who can keep an eye on the children. The adult presence, however, should be unobtrusive. Children's feelings for nature are highly personal, and they develop the strongest feelings when they are free to make their own observations and engage in their own reflections. As adults we should, of course, join children's play when they ask us. But children become especially engrossed in natural settings when adults maintain a respectful distance, as when we read a book and only occasionally look up to check on a young girl playing with blades of grass. In this way, we let nature itself speak to her.

— William Crain, *Editor*

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An Interview with Kenneth B. Clark

Teacher, Psychologist, and Fighter for Justice

Lawrence Nyman

Reflections on a trail-blazing career and the research that showed the Supreme Court the true effects of racism on children

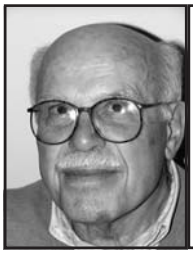
In July, 1975, I conducted a three-hour interview with my friend and colleague Kenneth Clark. It was a few weeks before his 61st birthday, and he had just retired from The City College of New York, where he had taught psychology since 1941. Clark is widely regarded as one of the leading figures in the civil rights movement in the United States.

Before presenting excerpts from the interview, I will give a bit of background. Clark was born in the Panama Canal Zone. When he was 3½ years old, his mother separated from his father and came to New York with his younger sister. Saddened by the temporary loss of his mother, he stayed with his grandmother for a year, until he and his grandmother could come to New York too. Clark grew up in Harlem, which he found exciting, living amidst people from a wide variety of ethnic/racial groups. Clark said he never took academic work seriously until late junior high school. At that time, his mother, who worked in the garment industry during the day, began attending night school to complete high school. Her determination inspired him. School authorities directed him to attend a vocational high school when his mother intervened and convinced George Washington High School to accept him. Clark earned undergraduate and M.A. degrees from Howard University and a Ph.D. in Psychology at Columbia University.

Clark is best known for his research, carried out with his wife Mamie Phipps Clark, on African American children. The research helped persuade the United States Supreme Court, in its 1954 Brown v. Board of Education *decision, to outlaw segregated public schools. In the studies, 3- to 7-year-old African American children were asked if they preferred a white doll or a brown (African American) doll. A large majority said they preferred the white doll, saying such things as, "'cause it's pretty" and "'cause he's white." They rejected the brown doll with comments such as, "'cause he's ugly" and "'cause he doesn't look pretty." Then, when asked which doll "is most like you," many children became distressed. A third of the children even identified themselves with the white doll. The research provided*

Note: A discussion guide designed to accompany this article may be found online at <www.great-ideas.org/Enc182Guide.htm>.

The author wishes to thank Bill Crain for his special assistance with this article.



Lawrence Nyman, a clinical psychologist and family therapist, taught psychology at The City College of New York from 1956 to 1995. His research interests are on the effects of birth order and the history of psychology. These interview excerpts are from his 1976 monograph, *Recollections: An Oral History of the Psychology Department of The City College of the City University of New York*.

the Supreme Court with evidence that the society's treatment of African American children was having a destructive impact on their core identities. Clark wrote several other works on the lives of African Americans, including his 1965 classic, Dark Ghetto.

The following interview excerpts primarily focus on Clark's career between 1941 and 1975. Clark's work reflected pride and hope for understanding and correcting racial inequities. Clark had great regard for the power of science. Still, he well knew "that the best of ideas can be perverted." It is a bitter irony that our nation is currently moving further and further away from the spirit of Brown. *Clark died May 1, 2005, at the age of 90. He fought the good fight till the end.*

Lawrence Nyman: Ken, I'd like to begin in terms of knowing when you first joined the Psychology Department at City College.

Kenneth Clark: I first joined the Department right after I received my Ph.D. from Columbia in the summer of 1941. Gardner Murphy had just come over from Columbia to head the Department at City, and I was invited to teach a summer session. [After a brief position at Hampton Institute] I joined the Office of War Information (OWI). I did my stint there for about a year. America was a highly segregated country in 1942, and I couldn't get protection doing my field work for the OWI, particularly in the South [Clark was assigned to assess morale among African Americans]. So I decided that even at the risk of being drafted, I just couldn't continue in the OWI when the government for which I was working, my own government, didn't give me protection because I was black. The F.B.I. wouldn't protect me, no one would protect me. So I came back to Gardner Murphy and said, "Look, I'm going to leave the O.W.I. and I'd like to come back to the college." And he said, "Fine." And I came back to the college in 1942 and I've been there ever since, with one interlude around '46. I went to Queens College for a year…. Gardner, I'm afraid, indulged me.

Nyman: When you first came aboard, what were the kinds of courses you were teaching?

Clark: I was teaching both day and evening session Introductory Psychology. That's what I loved….

Nyman: Now, in those early days, what were the kinds of research projects you were into?

Clark: Mamie and I were into the racial preferences and identification research…. My own research was an extension of her Master's thesis. That was the thing that came to be known as the "Dolls Test" that the Supreme Court cited. The record should show that it was Mamie's project that I crashed. I sort of piggy backed on it. We continued that work for four or five years, having not the slightest notion that anything would be done with it.

Nyman: Where was that first published?

Clark: It was first published in Newcomb and Hartley's *Readings in Social Psychology* [in 1947].

Nyman: Did the article start many reactions when it was first published?

Clark: Not really. Mamie and I knew it was important, but I think we tended to assess its importance in terms of its effect upon us. It was a terribly disturbing bit of research for us. I did the actual field work and Mamie did the tabulations. We left them in the files for about two years before we published them because we were disturbed. [Colleagues] knew that we were doing the research, and we knew that we couldn't postpone indefinitely publishing it, but we were very reluctant.

Nyman: What was the basis for your reluctance?

Clark: That it demonstrated so clearly the damage to self-awareness, to self-esteem, which racial rejection was doing to human beings at such an early age. Here were these literally defenseless human beings being required to incorporate into the developing sense of their own being, their consciousness of themselves, the awareness that society rejected them. And they themselves [were] incorporating into their image of themselves the stereotyped rejections and characterizations that they were inferior. It was truly disturbing. It was disturbing to me to see the children in the test situation placed in this terrible conflict of having to identify with dolls to which they had previously ascribed negative characteristics. Seeing some of them running out of the room when asked the identification question ["Give me the doll which is most like you?"], which was the last in a series of questions….

Equally disturbing was seeing the Southern children accommodating to this, accepting this as God-given. I remember one little boy, when I asked him the identification question, after he had answered the preference questions negatively, "Now

show me which doll is like you." I remember this little boy as if it was yesterday. He looked up into my face and he smiled, pointing to the brown doll, and said, "That's me. That's a nigger. I'm a nigger." That hurt me as much as the Northern children who cried.

In fact, I thought that the crying was healthier as a response than this seemingly humorous, total acceptance of a rejected status. I don't want to get too sentimental about this. In fact, I try to put [my thoughts] away sometimes.

Nyman: What sort of research projects were you into during the 1950s?

Clark: In 1950, I did the study on bringing together the various studies on the effects of segregation on personality development for the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children. That was the basis of my first book, *Prejudice and Your Child*, which expanded my thoughts on the data that came from the doll tests with Mamie. After that, in 1950-51, I got involved with the lawyers of the NAACP…. It should have ended with the *Brown* decision, but really didn't because I just kept working with them.

Nyman: Would it be difficult for you to recapture your sense of perspective following the *Brown* decision?

Clark: You mean immediately following [the decision]? My initial response was that of tremendous exhilaration. I just felt so enthusiastic. I felt joy at being an American. I was full of hope and optimism. I gave an interview to the school press and others saying that the decision should really eliminate all cynicism about whether the system works or not.

If the DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution] would have asked me to give speeches, I would have gone around giving speeches for them. The Chamber of Commerce and other patriotic organizations could have had another recruit in me for nothing. I continued with this kind of enthusiasm for a quite a while. In fact, I went around making speeches, and what's worse, writing articles to the effect that the racist system in America, at least in terms of the institutionalization of racism, would be turned around within 5 or 10 years. Obviously it's not true.

Looking back, I seriously underestimated the depth and venom of American racism. I stated in "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence" [published in 1953] that … if one changed the institutional patterns, this would in turn affect the attitudes. I still believe that, but what's worrying me is what triggers genuine attempts at institutional change. I don't see [anything] other than attitudinal changes as they are operative in the decision makers. These are the people who have been socialized in a racist society. They control the direction and the rate of institutional change. So you are not going to get institutional changes through generosity, and clearly you don't get it by court decisions, and I'm stuck. I am a much sadder, no wiser, person in '75 than I was in '55.

Kenneth Clark (1980)

Nyman: Your role as an educator has been much broader than the classroom. You seemed to have moved beyond the classroom.

Clark: Yes, but at the same time, enjoying the classroom. Up through my last day in the class, I was really enjoying it. In fact, I'll let you in on a secret. The only place where I really felt at home was in the classroom. I can't say that the others were chores, but they were things which I felt I had to do, but not things which I necessarily enjoyed doing. But I always enjoyed teaching.

Nyman: Ken, at what stage in your life did you decide that you wanted to become a psychologist?

Clark: In my sophomore year in college. I was in an introductory class in Psychology, and for the first six weeks or so I sat passively in the class. Professor Francis Sumner was not the most inspiring lecturer. He was very matter of fact. One day, I was looking out the window, and I saw two birds playing, or making love, and I became fascinated by these

birds. Then they flew away, and that was a turning point in my life because I was hoping that they would come back, but they didn't. So I didn't have anything to do, so I started listening to Sumner. I paid attention to him for the first time, the same attention I paid to the birds, and what he was saying was making sense. He was talking about psychology in a way that made it appear to me that psychology was related to life, real life. I started listening to him that day and I listened to him until the day of his death. I caught fire.

The lesson that I would offer young people, the lesson I offer young people who are in any way close to me is: In spite [of everything], be involved. Be involved in a struggle for what you believe no matter what.

By the way, as a sidelight, [in 1940] I became the first Negro to receive a Ph.D. in the Psychology Department at Columbia University. Mamie was the second and last. I just find this absolutely unbelievable. With all this affirmative action and the charges that academic institutions are giving preference to blacks and to females, this stark fact remains. In a major university in the United States, two blacks have received Ph.D.s. Incidentally, both are in the same family.

Nyman: Looking back at … the disillusionment that you experienced in the '60s and '70s, what would you focus on in terms of turning points or crises which led to your disillusionment?

Clark: I suppose that the underlying theme of all my activities outside the classroom was the struggle for social justice. When it became increasingly clear to me that my optimism of the '50s was coming a cropper against the realities of the deep quality of American racism and the cruelty, I had to recognize that Americans weren't racist because they didn't know the effects of racism. After *Brown* that alibi [of ignorance] was removed. And I am proud to have been a participant in helping the American people to understand what racism really means in terms of human destruction.

But the practice has continued. And when it moved to the North, when the center of gravity of the civil rights movement moved to the North, I had to revise my wishful thinking by seeing that the resistance in the North was even deeper and more bitter than that in the South, and that a man by the name of Nixon could come in the wake of the Vietnam protest and win in spite of what I thought was very slick manipulation of American racism. And in 1972, in the shadow of Watergate, to get the tremendous vote he got, I said, "Ah, Kenneth, grow up. This is a very sick society."

Nyman: Ken, are there lessons you've learned that you could give as some guidance to young people?

Clark: Yes, there are lessons…. The lesson that I would offer young people, the lesson I offer my son, my daughter, and my grandchildren, and young people who are in any way close to me is: In spite [of everything], be involved. Be involved in a struggle for what you believe no matter what. I guess that's the lesson I found some way or other to communicate to my students to a point that some of them complained that I had an axe to grind. And they were right, my axe was, "Look, it's better to fight against impossible odds than to succumb." Now why? I don't know, except that I would personally be ashamed to accept things which for some reason I find unacceptable. Now if somebody said to me, "Be realistic," I would have to respond, "Yes, I'm being realistic for me because the realism for me is that I can't act as if I accept something that I don't accept." Well, what good will it do? I don't know. I don't know what good fighting against something which you feel you should fight against does. Are you going to win? I don't know. Have you won? No. But that's what I believe. I would rather die actively than die passively. I would rather live a life of strident desperation than the life of quiet desperation. Even if in the end the result is the same.

Homework

Kate McReynolds

We are told that more homework is needed for national economic success. So why is it that the most competitive economy in the global market places such little emphasis on it?

KATE MCREYNOLDS is a clinical child psychologist who teaches psychology at The City College of New York. Her main interest is in the emotional lives of children. She is currently involved in research on the clinical assessment of emotional resources.

> Nobody sees a flower, really — it is so small — we haven't time, and to see takes time, like to have a friend takes time. Georgia O'Keeffe

In 1999, *The New York Times* published an article called "Homework Bound" (Winerip 1999). It opened with the story of a mother helping her first-grade daughter do homework. What was supposed to take 20 minutes took an hour or more. There were tears, screaming, and kicking. The principal of the school said that homework was a must, even for first graders. "This is what's demanded to stay competitive in a global market."

That same year, I was having the same fight with my third-grade son. With misgivings, I pushed him through homework that was meaningless to him, took too long, or was too hard. We also cried our share of tears. At about the same time his school started assigning homework during holidays and summer breaks. Now we could take our fights with us on vacation. The rationale was that children lost too much ground during breaks. Holiday homework meant teachers wouldn't have to spend as much time reviewing when children returned to school.

Nationwide, children are doing more homework than ever. By some reports the biggest increases are for elementary school children, while homework for high school students has stayed fairly constant (Winerip 1999). My own experience, however, is different. In high school now, my two children do much more homework than I did, an average of three hours a night. I wondered if it was the same for other children. In preparing this essay, I spoke with sixteen middle and high school students, about whom I will say a bit more later. Most of them said they also do homework an average of three hours a night. With this much work the children have trouble fitting in other important activities.

I remember what my children and I used to do before homework took over our lives. We ate dinner together, telling stories about our days. We read together. Sometimes we played cards or Monopoly. Once we made an entire gingerbread town. The children had time to themselves too. Time to play, time to go outside, time to do nothing.

Homework, especially since middle school, changed all that. I remember the difficult time my then 12-year-old son had reading and analyzing "Young Goodman Brown" by Nathaniel Hawthorne. We ended up reading it together, stopping every few lines to interpret the meaning and ponder the questions for his homework. It was hard, even for me, and it was nothing like the wonderful reading we had previously done together. In high school now, my children need less help with homework, but that is the only thing that has changed. Family life and free time are casualties of their heavy homework load. With an increasing emphasis on standardized tests, my children are adding test prep to homework time. While I don't imagine that my teenagers would still want to read together even without homework, they do want to talk. They have questions about, sex, drugs, puberty, current events, driver's permits, checking accounts, jobs, bills, and more. Sometimes they just want to tell me about their day. But they are too busy doing homework to explore the issues that concern them.

Controversy about homework is not new. In the 1800s when recitation was a prominent educational tool, hours spent memorizing lessons caused parents to question the value of homework. Then, as now, homework interfered with family life. Educators claimed its pedagogical necessity. In 1900, William Torrey Harris, the Commissioner of Education, testified before the United States Congress that there should be no homework for children before the age of 12 (Kralovec and Buell 2000). Through the early part of the 20th century the health and happiness of children were of primary concern to doctors, parents, and public figures who believed that too little fresh air, sunshine, and outdoor exercise posed health risks to youngsters. Furthermore, nervous conditions in children were often attributed to the pressures of too much homework. By the 1920s and 1930s anti-homework sentiment led some communities to ban homework for younger children completely. New York City public schools prohibited homework before the 4th grade. Up until 1961 Sacramento, California, did not permit homework until high school (Kralovec and Buell 2000). What happened?

Sputnik

In 1957 the Soviet launch of Sputnik challenged the intellectual and military might of the United States. *The New York Times* ran a series of articles describing the Soviet educational system as superior to the United States' system. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act and America's youngsters were charged with restoring the nation's competitive edge. Homework might cause night terrors, deprive children of healthful outdoor play, and detract from family life, but it was good for the country. For an excellent account of the history of homework, its costs, and its relation to national policy, the interested reader is referred to The *End of Homework* by Etta Kralovec and John Buell (2000).

Without reciting the entire history, it can be said that, increasingly, the goal of educational policy is to secure our nation's place in the global economy. The subsidiary goal — one purported to serve the interests of the individual — is derivative: to prepare children to secure their place, i.e., a job, in the competitive market. The influence of the national political agenda on the educational goals of citizens and schools was vividly illustrated in a recent issue of *New York Magazine*. The story featured another mother and daughter, not a first grader, but a 20-month-old child of English-speaking American parents who is learning to speak Mandarin, courtesy of a Chinese nanny. Her father says, "Even if my little girl weren't very smart, she's always going to get a job because she'll be totally fluent in Chinese" (Wolfe 2005, 12). According to the article, placement agencies for nannies and baby-sitters report a 35% increase in requests for Mandarin-speaking personnel. Some of the increase is due to parents who "want to give their toddlers a leg up in a globalized society" (Wolfe 2005, 12). Schools are adding Chinese to their curricula. Virginia Connor, headmistress of St. Hilda's & St. Hugh's, a private school in New York, said: "We

were thinking, *How do we prepare them to be citizens in a global economy*?" The school plans to pilot a program to teach Chinese to three-year-olds (Wolfe 2005, 12).

My Interviews With Children

I wondered how children viewed their workload, so I spoke to 16 of them. Fourteen of the 16 live in New York City. Eleven of these attend high school. One eighth grader attends middle school and another is homeschooled. All of the youngsters attend public school except for one tenth-grade student who attends a private high school in New York. All of the children are middle class.

The young people talked about putting in long days at school, sometimes working through lunch. One school offers the option of combining lunch with a class, making it possible to add an additional class without violating the state law prohibiting children going without a lunch period. All of the New York City high school students said they do between two and four hours of homework a night. They described staying up late, getting up early, and working on the train on their way to school. They do English during History, and History during Spanish. Most of the children mentioned not getting enough sleep because of the late nights and early mornings finishing homework. They fall asleep on their way to school, and they fall asleep in class. They spoke about being anxious and worried, worried about finishing their homework, worried about doing well on tests, worried about getting into a good college. Several said they would rather have a longer school day than have to face homework. It wouldn't be so bad, they said, if they weren't also trying to do other things, like see friends, practice music or sports, or go to afterschool activities.

One child, who grew up in New York City but is now a ninth grader in Kansas, described his middle school experience in New York. He said

> I had about three hours of homework a night. It was ridiculous. I had no time to do anything. In New York it seemed like if you didn't go to a good high school, if you don't do well on the tests, do good on the SATs, and go to a good college, you'll end up working at McDonald's. It was extreme, like everything's on a knife's edge and if you fall off you'll be left behind.

Now, in Kansas, he does about an hour of homework a night and doesn't worry as much about his future. He's thinking about staying in Kansas for high school.

The two students I talked with who do not feel overwhelmed by homework are both eighth graders. One is homeschooled and does no homework; the other attends a progressive middle school and works on homework for an hour to an hour and a half a night.

I asked the children how they would spend their time if they had less homework. Here is some of what they said:

> I'd read more. I used to be a bookworm. And, I don't mean this in a bad way, but sometimes I'd just do nothing.
>
> I'd love to read a book that didn't have to do with school.
>
> I'd spend more time with my family. I'd like to eat dinner together. I'd play soccer again.
>
> I'd clean up my room.
>
> I'd spend more time on my music. I'd sleep more. I hardly get enough sleep.
>
> I'd hang out with my friends, chill out (i.e., do nothing)
>
> Days that I don't have homework are among the happiest of my life.

The most popular response was spending time with friends. Relaxing (chilling out, doing nothing) was a close second. Those who gave this response almost always justified it by adding that downtime is a good thing. No one said he or she would spend more time watching television or playing video games.

I asked the children why they had to do homework. Some said the Department of Education requires it. Several others said it's a kind of exercise for the brain to insure lessons are not forgotten. Others said that homework is a way of keeping the mind working after school. One ninth-grade boy said that homework is the way that teachers keep students using their minds in the way that teachers want, meaning in a structured, focused way. This remark led me to ask the children how they use their minds when they are not using them the teacher way. One girl said, "My brain is working in a different way. I'm thinking about good times I've had. I totally let my mind wander and let it go where it wants because it needs a break." Another said, "My mind is wander-

ing, like in a good way. I think about things more deeply." One of the boys said, "I daydream. I don't think that's a bad thing." Another, "I think about the future. I dream. I'm a dreamer." Some of the children seem to have lost the capacity to let their mind's wander. One tenth-grade girl said, "I always think about school. It consumes me." Another, "I don't have time to think."

These children are beleaguered. Some will argue that training for one's future career from the first months of life, that forfeiting family time and leisure activities to spend time on homework is a necessary sacrifice. This is what's demanded to stay competitive in a global market. But is it?

One way that U.S. business, economic, and political leaders judge the nation's international competitiveness is through our rankings on various economic indices. The World Economic Forum, for example, publishes the *Global Competitiveness Report*, a primary source of information on the strengths and weaknesses of 104 economies. They also publish the *Networked Readiness Index*, which assesses a country's information and communications technology. The Washington-based Council on Competitiveness puts out the *Innovation Index*, an evaluation of the innovation capabilities of the United States and 24 other countries.

Another way to judge how we are doing is based on our standing on international academic achievement tests. Since Sputnik, our nation's leaders have believed in a direct link between educational input and economic output. The PISA program tests the reading, math, and science achievement of 15-year-old students in member countries of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development.

Finland

The highest scoring country on the PISA for reading, math, and science, the country that is also the most competitive in the global market, is Finland ("PISA 2003 Finnish Results," ¶ 4; *Global Competitiveness Report* 2004-2005). In 2004, Finland also ranked first among 16 Western countries for scientific talent ("Finland Tops Scientific Talent" 2004). It was number one on the Innovation Index in 2004 ("World Economic Forum" 2004). It came in third on the Network Readiness Index, ahead of the United States' 5th place (*Global Information Technology Report* 2004-2005). Finland appears to be doing quite well in the global competitive economy.

What is the Finish school system doing to produce such globally competitive citizens? In Finland, compulsory education begins at age 7 and is required until age 16, when nine grades have been completed ("Basic Education," ¶ 1). The school day is about as long as for American children, but after every 45-minute lesson, children play outside for 15 minutes (Alvarez 2004). Physical education, art, crafts, home economics, and music are required (Basic Education Act 628/1998, Section 11). All children receive a free hot lunch. The school year is about as long as it is in the U.S., with winter, spring, and summer breaks ("School Operating Days" 2004-2005). Standardized tests are not given ("Background for Finish PISA" 2004). There are no gifted and talented programs (Alvarez 2004). Homework is assigned, but children can get help with it at afterschool homework clubs (Alvarez 2004) and it does not cause them to lose sleep (Kaukiainen, M., personal communication, March 31, 2005).

The following is a policy statement by Finland's National Board of Education concerning early childhood education:

> The principles emphasize the importance of playing, creative activities and positive experiences for children. The morning and afternoon activities must form an intact and diverse entity for the child and offer a possibility for social interaction, aesthetic experiences, exercising and outdoor activities. The pupil's own activities, relaxation and resting are also important. ("Morning and Afternoon Activities" 2004)

Imagine! A country that is first in global competitiveness whose educational policy states the value of rest and relaxation! Moreover, Finland's Basic Education Act (628/1998) mandates that homework schedules allow "enough time for rest, recreation and hobbies" (Section 24, 9). Our country's No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) makes no reference to play, exercise, creativity, relaxation, or rest. In the U.S., children begin kindergarten as young as four years old. Recess has been eliminated from many school programs, as have art and music (Crain 2003). In fact,

NCLB seeks to provide children with increased instructional time at an accelerated pace (Section 1001, 8). But, shouldn't the U.S. follow Finland's lead and import their educational policies? Yes, but not to promote economic competitiveness.

There are serious questions about our society's strategy of developing educational policy to promote fiscal well being. For one thing, it's not clear that there is a comprehensible and predictable link between education and economic performance. Scientific studies seeking to demonstrate this link rely on correlational methods that assess, for example, the relation between test scores and labor market output. Such studies can demonstrate that the variables are correlated, but there's no way to know precisely what the correlations mean. Do we know, for example, that Finland's high standing on international economic indices is due to high academic achievement in its schools? We do not. In fact, it might be the other way around; Finland's high test scores might be the product of a healthy economy and all the educational benefits money provides. What is clear is that Finland's relaxed emphasis and its sensitivity to children's emotional life doesn't adversely affect intellectual development.

More broadly, we need to question the entire notion of education as preparation for the future. We cannot outsmart the future. There is no way to know what skills will pay off, and for whom, in the world of 20 years from now. The little girl with the Chinese nanny might, as her father believes, always have a good job, but she might not. Perhaps teaching Chinese will do no harm, but it does not guarantee the future and might just add to the pressure cookers that children already face.

But the real problem with a focus on the future is deeper. As William Crain (2003) emphasizes, our preoccupation with the future can blind us to what children need to develop well in their present lives. Homework is supposed to help young people focus and prepare them for success, but it seems to be depriving children of time with friends, sitting around and talking, reading for pleasure, letting one's mind wander, and entertaining life's dreams. These activities might not seem productive in terms of becoming an industrious adult worker, but they are critical to adolescence. These are the very activities young people need to develop an identity — to figure who they are in the world and what they want to become. The young people I talked to said that homework was depriving them of these activities. It is quite likely, then, that homework is stifling their full development at this critical time of life.

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Hana's Suitcase And My Personal Journey

Leah Hersh

Encountering history through the eyes of participants in events like the Holocaust adds a powerful emotional dimension to learning.

Leah Hersh, an elementary school teacher for the Toronto District School Board, is currently on leave to pursue her Masters of Education at The University of Toronto. Beginning this fall, she will travel to Australia to experience teaching in a new land.

Ever since I discovered that the blue number on my grandfather's arm was not a phone number, I knew my family secrets were deep and dark. I still know only vague timelines of where my grandparents were during the War. I feel a void. A horrific, invisible ugliness still sits within me. I never knew how to cope with this feeling that was unspoken in my family.

My days ticked by normally. Family visits were fairly uneventful, and life moved along. As much as I wanted to know the details of their times in concentration camps, I could not ask. I did not want to reignite their pain, and as much I wanted to know, I think maybe I also wanted to remain in the dark. But one moment in my teaching career — a moment involving a book, a man, and a class of 31 predominantly Muslim children — helped me to begin to fill that void. My students helped me take a journey that I needed to take both professionally and spiritually, and it was inspired by a haunting book called *Hana's Suitcase* by Karen Levine (2002).

I came across *Hana's Suitcase* at a book fair in the summer of 2002. I had just completed my second year as a teacher. I did not read it right away; I just flipped through it every now and again, looking closely at the haunting photographs and pondering if I would ever have the courage to use it with my class. When I read the book in the following summer, I knew that I would be ignoring a part of myself if I shelved this book and did not address it in some way with my grade 4 and 5 students. They were a very dynamic split grade class comprised of 31 ethnically diverse students of varying academic ability. Just over half of the students were practicing Muslims, for the community has a strong Arabic population. In November, around the time of Remembrance Day

I began to introduce the book to my students. At first they were not sure what to make of it: Their understanding of World War II was slim to nonexistent. The tides turned as soon as I explained how closely this story related to my own family history. Eyes widened, questions arose, and together we began a journey.

Hana's Suitcase begins in the spring of 2000 with the story of Fumiko Ishioka, the curator of a small Holocaust education center for children in Tokyo. She was interested in educating Japanese children about the Holocaust because she felt that this piece of history was virtually unknown in her culture. She spent a lot of time trying to obtain artifacts for her education center, including a trip to Europe and a visit to Auschwitz where she asked the curators if she could borrow some artifacts connected to the experience of children at the concentration camp. Eventually she received a shipment for the exhibit she was planning. Among the items was an empty suitcase. The moment she saw it, Fumiko was awestruck by the writing on the outside that identified its owner — Hana Brady, May 16, 1931, Waisenkind (the German word for orphan).

The author, Karen Levine, then weaves the story of Hana and her family back and forth through time, interconnecting the past with Fumiko's present-day discoveries about the Brady family. At first it was confusing for my students to hear one chapter set in contemporary Japan and then another chapter about Hana in Czechoslovakia during the war. But they gradually began to grasp the story's rhythm, and like young people's reactions to Harry Potter, my students became engrossed in both Hana's struggle and Fumiko's story.

In fact, because Hana and her brother George were about their own age, my students' reactions were often particularly intense. They were outraged when they heard that "privileges" were increasingly taken away from Jewish people. Never before had they questioned their *right* to drink from water fountains, to own animals, to shop in stores, and to go to school. They empathized with George for being furious about these changes in his life. They raised some interesting questions, many of which I could not answer. I, too, did not understand how this could happen. I could feel the knots in their stomach tighten as the story progressed and as we discovered that the children were eventually separated from their parents. At this point, I remember a student raised her hand and asked, "Are you sure that this story is not fiction?" I wish I could say it was.

As the story continued to unfold we learned that Fumiko and her group of students did everything in their power to find out as much as possible about Hana and her family. Fumiko eventually took a trip back to the Czech Republic to try to piece together Hana's life. Amazingly, through her research, she was able to find a piece of artwork made by Hana that was displayed in a museum in Prague that housed children's art made in the ghettos.

My students were surprised to learn that during my travels I too visited this museum in Prague. They seemed disappointed to learn that I did not remember Hana's piece specifically. Fumiko's search was severely limited by time, but she found someone to help her look for Hana's name on lists compiled at the concentration camp to which she had been sent. When they finally located Hana's name, they saw it had been crossed off — a definite sign that she had been eliminated. It should not have been a surprise, but it was — for Fumiko, for me, and for my students. We all sat in silence for a while. My students were in disbelief. "But she's just a kid," I remember someone saying.

During this time it was extremely hard to focus on other areas of the curriculum. Many math classes were pushed aside so that we could read "one more chapter." Immediately after learning about Hana's murder, we learned that the name beneath hers, George Brady, was not crossed off. Her older brother survived his time at the camp, but who knew what happened to him since? In a twist of fate that could only be explained by serendipity, someone in the office where Fumiko was making these discoveries had lived with George in the ghetto and still kept in touch with him. George was alive and well in Toronto. Fumiko eventually sent George a very carefully written letter explaining who she was and detailing her little museum that was essentially dedicated to his younger sister Hana. Needless to say, George was flabbergasted to receive a package from Japan, for he did not know anybody who lived in that part of the world. He was brought to tears as he read her letter and a few months later, made the trip

to Japan to see the suitcase and to visit Fumiko and her students who warmly welcomed him in the manner of a celebrity.

Since George practically lived in our backyard, we could not simply move on when the book reached its end. I was able to discover his current address. Since the students were so moved by the book and had been exploring their feelings throughout the process, both verbally and in writing, we decided that we needed to share our thoughts with George Brady. Each student wrote George Brady a letter expressing how they felt about his family's story. Some students found solace in writing their letters to Hana. As a class, we decided that it would be more powerful to send the letters to Mr. Brady individually rather than in one package. We thought by bombarding his mailbox, it would have more meaning for him. Each student addressed and stamped his or her letter. New board policy requires that for each excursion out of the school, a parent signed form is required — even if we were just walking to the mailbox around the corner. This was simply inconvenient and this detail would ruin the "flow" of what we were trying to accomplish. So with a wink from the secretary we were on our way. It was an exciting brisk walk to the mailbox. The students clutched their letters and skipped happily feeling as though they were going to be heard beyond the scope of the classroom. As the letters slid into the box, I knew something exciting would follow.

I received a phone call at the school about three days later from George Brady. He was absolutely stunned that his mailbox was overflowing with such thoughtful and caring messages. He told me that he had never experienced anything like it before. He also told me that he would be honored to come and visit my students — something he did not do very often because he usually met with much larger groups. My students cheered when I relayed the phone conversation to them. We decided that it would be nice to present him with something when he came to school, so as a class we constructed a suitcase out of cardboard and filled it with poems inspired by *Hana's Suitcase* or by wishes of peace and hope. On the day of his arrival, there was a buzz in the air. I could not concentrate on anything else, and neither could my students.

When the announcement came that our visitor was waiting for us in the library, I had to practically physically restrain them. Then, as they turned the corner and saw this man sitting in the room, their excitement turned into a revered silence. We all sat and listened to his story. I tried hard to keep tears from rolling over onto my face. I bit lip. I squeezed my cheeks. I looked upward. And I eventually gave up. To hear this man was one thing, but to see him with this diverse group of students sharing his life was quite another. Having him sit in front of us became so much more than a Jewish story; it was a human one.

Comment

In our experiences with *Hana's Suitcase*, my class and I delved beyond the pages of the book. The story became a real, human experience. We eradicated the barriers that tend to keep stories within the walls of the classroom.

My students experienced the story in very personal ways. They were able to identify with Hana and George and to imagine themselves in the Bradys' position. I could see the shock and pain on their faces each time the Jews in the Bradys's Czech community had more of their rights abolished. Also, the fact that I could personally relate to many of these events had an impact on the students. I was someone who they knew very well and, for most of them, I was also the first Jewish person they had encountered, so when we read about these travesties, it went beyond Hana and George and it extended to me. This sharing of my personal story helped to foster connectedness among our group. By sharing such personal aspects of myself with the class, they in turn felt more comfortable opening up with each other, as well as opening up with their own families.

Before sharing this story with my class, part of me was worried that I would be questioned about my own religious motivation. How is it fair that we discuss the Holocaust and the persecution of Jews among a group of predominantly Muslim students? What about the persecution of *their* people? Would it be equitable to take the students on this journey when I wasn't planning to study the suffering of other groups in great detail? Thinking I might be questioned, I had prepared defensive retorts — arguments

about how *Hana's Suitcase* did indeed fit into the Ontario Curriculum.

But I was questioned by nobody. In fact, I had parents approach me weeks afterwards telling me how impressed they were at the amount their children knew about "world events." Some told me about the suffering of their own people and they went on to say they now felt more comfortable approaching these issues with their own children. Others told me that this had sparked conversations between their children and their parents. A few children seemed to have a new interest in their family history and wished to learn about where their grandparents were during World War II. We had created a forum that spun a web of connections in many ways. Students were able to sense a deep connection to others in their family and to other people who have suffered. They felt less removed from the events as history seemed to be brought to life. When all was said and done and when reasonable answers to many of their questions were not found, we began to intuitively feel wrongness in the world. This sinking, inexplicable feeling in all of our guts connected us all as people — as people with parents and siblings, and as people who can feel pain and fear.

One of the basic goals of holistic education has been explained by Miller (1996, 26):

> The realization of the fundamental unity of existence leads to social action to counter injustice and human suffering — If human beings realize they are part of a fundamental unity, then they naturally feel a connectedness and responsibility to others.

I feel as though this particular principle speaks volumes about the experience that I had with my students. My intention was not to preach about the persecution of the Jewish people. Instead I was hoping to instill in them a feeling of humanity. I wanted them to feel fortunate to be living in a society like ours where our rights cannot just be taken away. I also wanted to empower them so that they could recognize injustice and speak up if they felt something was unfair. I shared with them the story of my grandfather who, with one of his brothers, was hidden in a barn for a year and half during the War. The barn owner was my great grandfather's non-Jewish best friend who was willing to risk his family's safety to help him. This exemplified the sense of responsibility among some to help and take action (even if unspoken), to not simply turn a blind eye. The students needed to have a real connection to Hana and George in order for them to truly feel the human side of evil. Hopefully they felt enough to never forget.

It is impossible for me to ever forget my family history. Given the circumstances of my grandparents' lives, it would not be an exaggeration to call my existence anything short of miraculous. That is a heavy feeling to carry around and I have never been sure what to do with it. My Judaism was never something that I was proud of and I would be lying if I said I was never embarrassed about it. For years I tried to surround myself with non-Jewish people in order to "keep it real" and to not make an issue of my religion. I cannot tell you exactly when I started to change. Maybe I was tired of telling people that my background is not Polish, even though my grandparents were born in Poland. Maybe I changed when I walked through Anne Frank's attic in Amsterdam and imagined my own grandfather hiding. Maybe it happened when I walked through the children's museum in Prague and looked at all the drawing the kids made while living in hell. Something changed and although I am still in a transition trying to figure out what my Judaism means to me and how it connects to the rest of my life, I took some huge steps in that classroom last year. I had some discussions with those children that I have never been able to have with my own family.

Through their questions, as difficult as some of them were, I began to find some answers. George Brady taught me a lot about resilience and strength and the will to live. I can only hope that my students were able to walk away with a fraction of what I gained. I am confident that they did. Through our learning and sharing, I was able to grow as a person, as a teacher, and as a Jew.

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Preparing Students for a Twenty-First Century Adulthood

Missing the Boat and the Harbor Too

Chris Mercogliano

The educational model that mainstream schools continue to cling to was designed to meet the needs of a world that no longer exists.

CHRIS MERCOGLIANO has been a teacher at the Albany Free School for 32 years and an administrator for the past 20. His most recent book is *Teaching the Restless : One School's Remarkable No-Ritalin Approach to Helping Children Learn and Succeed* (Beacon Press, 2004).

Schooling is supposed to get us ready for adulthood. While education as preparation for life has never been an idea I've been particularly fond of, it nonetheless remains the operative rationale for the drudging paces our educational system puts kids through.

In the 1960s certain outside observers began to question just how well the system was working. Then in 1983, insiders sounded a shrill alarm with the publication of *A Nation at Risk,* a landmark, federally funded report card on public education. The authors warned that the nation's schools are failing to prepare most students for their adult future. Citing falling test scores and the increasing failure of U.S. schools to measure up against their overseas counterparts, they wrote, "The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people" (National Commission 1983). Report after report has sounded the same warning.

Education, in other words, is missing the boat.

But the troubled waters run much deeper. Among those calling for educational reform, virtually no one seems to have noticed that the adulthood our schools are so busily preparing young people for has ceased to exist. What I mean is this: During the formative stages of the American model of education, adulthood was defined as reaching a set of maturational markers: completing schooling, obtaining full-time employment and achieving financial independence, and getting married and having children. Most young people left adolescence relatively smoothly behind in their late teens or early twenties.

Not any more. In its recently published findings of a ten-year demographic study of American youth, a research team at the University of Pennsylvania has noted a striking increase in the average age at which young people are arriving at the various markers. Today the transition is creeping up into the thirties (Settersten, Furstenberg, and Runbalt 2005). And a disturbing number of individuals are getting stuck in the canal, as it were, seemingly unable to complete their passage.

Because the crossing between adolescence and adulthood is no longer clearly marked, becoming a true adult today involves charting one's own course, defining one's own identity.

The University of Pennsylvania study provides statistical confirmation for an earlier assessment by Canadian sociologist James Côté, who coined the term "arrested adulthood" to describe this new phenomenon of transitional limbo. In a book by the same name, he says that one primary reason for the change is the increasing complexity of the pathways into adulthood brought on by the massive social, economic, and technological changes of the past half century. Another is the disappearance of the navigational guides formerly provided by religious, ethnic, and family traditions: "cultural destructuring" in sociological parlance. The end result is the transformation of adulthood from a patterned and externalized action mode into a much more amorphous state of being. Côté (2000), who has written extensively on adolescent identity formation, calls the new destination "psychological adulthood." Reaching it, he says, depends on the development of internal qualities such as self-motivation and self-direction.

Because the crossing between adolescence and adulthood is no longer clearly marked, becoming a true adult today involves charting one's own course, defining one's own individual identity, and creating one's own meaning in the face of the endless distractions and seductions of a mass consumption-based culture. A case can hardly be made that our present standards-driven, from-the-neck-up approach to education fosters any of these abilities.

Twenty-first century education isn't only missing the boat; it's missing the harbor too.

Outmoded Education

The antiquated educational model our schools stubbornly cling to was designed well over a century ago to meet the demands of an emerging industrial economy. There was a need for an army of workers who were punctual, knew how to follow instructions, and were willing to perform dull, repetitious tasks for an extrinsic reward. The school system cranked them out by the millions, and also it instilled in future adults a fervent nationalism that would help to ensure a pool of young men willing to go to war to further the country's political and economic interests.

Both the factory system and the educational model that supplied it with trained manpower were logical extensions of the same scientific paradigm. Both are steeped in Newtonian regularity and predictability, in the almost messianic belief that outcomes can be controlled by reducing everything to a set of basic, quantifiable principles. Accordingly, educational theorists took knowledge and atomized it into a standardized curriculum, reasoning that once students committed the laws of nature to memory and absorbed a carefully selected portion of the information we have gathered over the course of human history, they would be all set to assume their place in the adult world.

The psychological model that provided the school system with its *modus operandi* stemmed from the same mechanistic thinking. In the late nineteenth century, Edward Thorndike, recognized as the father of educational psychology, experimented on caged monkeys and concluded that human learning is caused by the "selection of impulses." B. F. Skinner would later call such learning "operant conditioning," behavior governed by rewards, punishments, and other consequences. It was this school of psychological thought, known as behaviorism, that concocted the "scientific" basis for the carrot-and-stick

approach to learning that is still employed by our schools today.

For a time the symbiotic union between the prevailing scientific, educational, and economic paradigms was a happy one. One hand gladly washed the other. For instance, when the combined forces of the factory mode of production, child labor laws, and the Great Depression drove teenagers out of the workforce once and for all, high school attendance became universal, thus serving as a pressure relief valve for a massive quantity of youthful energy that suddenly had nowhere to go. High schools and colleges, in turn, supplied a booming post-World War II economy with a steady stream of eager workers. Jobs were plentiful and virtually guaranteed to anyone who was sufficiently competent and reliable. The steps a young person needed to follow to become a successful adult were nearly as predictable as the next eclipse of the moon.

Then all hell broke loose. As is always the case, the changes began behind the scenes with a shift in scientific paradigm. Scientists by the 1960s were discovering in every field that Newton's laws were too rigid and simplistic. Quantum uncertainty and randomness began to replace Sir Isaac's image of the universe as a giant wound-up watch. At the same time the social and cultural institutions that modeled for the younger generation what adult life looks like, and provided maps to show them the way, began to lose their relevance. The pace of change across the whole of society reached an almost frantic level, such that it became increasingly difficult for parents to serve as guides because their children's worlds were so different from their own. The family itself came unglued.

Revolutions in technology and then information triggered a rapid shift from an industrial to a corporate economy, which has less and less room every day for the products of the school system that was created to support it. Well-paying entry-level jobs have become scarcer and require more credentials. The employers of those fortunate enough to find jobs are complaining that their new employees aren't prepared at all. And there is an alarming rise in the number of young people mired in a post-adolescent daze. The market for antidepressants is growing by leaps and bounds.

But the dominant educational model just keeps chugging along, oblivious to the transformed faces of its scientific and economic partners. Its response to all of the upheaval has been typically American: Amp up and repackage the same strategies that have always failed in the past. Current educational "reform" amounts to little more than increasing the amount of information students are forced to ingest, to lengthening the carrot and strengthening the stick.

And no one wants to admit the marriage isn't working anymore.

The Great Paradox

There is a paradox of immense proportions playing itself out in twenty-first century America. The younger generation faces an enormous opportunity and an equally daunting challenge.

First let's look at the opportunity. The lives of today's children will be longer and healthier, more materially prosperous for most. They will be less tied to childrearing, a trend which already established itself in the previous generation. For example, a third of the women born in the 1950s have yet to have children, and among women with professional careers, 48% have never given birth (Côté 2000). Because of the cultural destructuring that has taken place over the past fifty years — as well as the reduction in racial and gender inequity — the majority of the younger generation will enjoy far more personal freedom and face far fewer external restrictions than generations past. The playing field, so to speak, will be more level and far more open than ever before in human history.

Now let's look at the challenge. As Stephen Mintz (2004) points out in *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, children today are born into a world of multiple contradictions. They are more fully integrated into the consumer economy than ever before, and yet more segregated than ever in a separate peer culture, with very little contact with adults other than their parents or people playing professional roles like teacher or coach. There is more space inside their homes, but less space outside. Technological progress continues to make life easier, but it is removing many of the mental and physical challenges that stimulate children's ability to think at the complex levels needed in the world that awaits them.

And perhaps the biggest contradiction of all: young people are maturing sexually and psychologically earlier and earlier, with many facing adult choices much sooner, and yet our society isolates and juvenilizes them, and offers very few positive ways for them to express their maturity and participate in socially valued activities. In other words, we are giving them a maddening double message. Grow up fast, but really you don't need to grow up at all — or at least not until you reach your thirties.

Both the factory system and the educational model that supplied it with trained manpower were logical extensions of the same scientific paradigm: Newtonian regularity and predictability.

Today's culturally destructured society increasingly requires people to function as independent individuals, while our ongoing institutions, such as parenting, education, the media, and the economy, contribute to the formation of a mass society prone to mass persuasion and mass hysteria.

Consider parenting. Anxious, guilt-ridden parents are practicing at home what Mel Levine (2005), a professor of pediatrics at the University of North Carolina Medical School, calls "helicopter parenting." He says that constant parental hovering makes it difficult for children to establish their own identities, and threatens their ability later in life to strike off on their own and form healthy relationships. Moreover, kids now spend so much time involved in adult-mediated activities — school, after-school programs, extracurricular lessons, homework, organized sports — that the independent experience they will need in order to stand firm as an individual is fast disappearing for a majority of the population.

We must also remember that the independence young people seek by retreating into their separate youth culture is an illusory one. That culture is a commercial product produced and promoted by adults: profit hungry corporate entrepreneurs interested in exploiting an increasingly lucrative market and not the inner well-being of the younger generation. Or as the CEO of MTV said when asked how he felt about the huge influence his television empire has on children's minds: "We don't just influence them—we *own* them" (Nader 1996).

Ultimately, the overwhelming majority of our children wind up as wards of an educational system that has become so obsessed with standards that the curriculum only grows more homogenized by the day. Schools now micromanage every moment, each child marching to the same drumbeat, and in the modern centralized school, peer groups demand strict conformity and ostracize those who don't fit in.

Author Maxine Schnall (1981) describes the paradox in another way:

> Positive freedom is possible only for the person who is neither exclusively inner-directed nor exclusively other-directed, but a combination of the two — the self-steerer, if you will, whose compass is a set of *freely chosen* [emphasis hers] internal personal standards shaped by both parents and peers. The magnetic north is the individual's own particular sense of purpose.

Here Schnall is referring to sociologist David Riesman's (1950) three types of social character: the tradition-directed, the inner-directed, and the other-directed. The behavior of the tradition-directed character is shaped by tradition, ritual, and religion, while inner-directed people internalize the cues of parents and other adult authority figures. Other-directed individuals, on the other hand, are always looking outside of themselves for validation and direction. They are particularly sensitive to signals from peers and the mass media, which, according to Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*, leaves them especially vulnerable to manipulation and makes real happiness and personal fulfillment virtually impossible.

Schnall's self-steerer was Riesman's *autonomous* individual, one who has the power to shape one's own character by the conscious selection of the right role models and life experiences. To do so calls for a high degree of self-awareness — of one's feelings, one's potential, and one's limitations — and the task of detaching oneself from the "shadowy entan-

glements" of today's other-directed culture, whose demands always appear so reasonable, is a never ending one.

> If other-directed people should discover how much needless work they do and discover that their own thoughts and their own lives are quite as interesting as other people's, that, indeed, they can no more assuage their loneliness in a crowd of peers than one can assuage one's thirst by drinking sea water, then we might expect them to become more attentive to their own feelings and aspirations. (Riesman 1950)

Although there is little optimism in Riesman and Côté's assessment of the cultural gauntlet today's young people must run in order to reach adulthood, all is not lost. It is still possible for them to succeed — with the right kinds of support and empowerment. They need to be on their own enough to become fluent in making responsible choices, while at the same time they need nurturing relationships with adult role models and real opportunities to explore where their place in the adult world may lie. They need real knowledge and experience, and the chance to learn from their own mistakes, not constant immunization from risk. They need challenging alternatives to the world of malls, instant messages, and play dates.

Or as Stephen Mintz (2004) ends *Huck's Raft*,

> Who would envy Huck [Finn]'s battered childhood? Yet he enjoyed something too many children are denied and which adults cannot provide: opportunities to undertake odysseys of self-discovery outside the goal-driven, overstructured realities of contemporary childhood.

Beacons of Hope

Are our schools lost in the fog? As a system that is falling under ever greater federal control and increasingly out of touch with current realities, the answer is yes — hopelessly so. The system seems to be utterly incapable of detaching itself from the original reasons for its formation, its creative energy constantly sapped by the reptilian instinct to defend the status quo.

At the same time, however, we are witness to a quiet proliferation of schools within the system's cracks and crevices that are helping young people to develop the inner resources they will need to lead autonomous and fulfilling adult lives.

Some, like Harlem's publicly funded Bread and Roses Integrated Arts High School, are largely structured along traditional lines but feature a strong emphasis on merging the arts with social awareness and activism. Community service and involvement in local political and environmental issues are a central part of the school's mission. Then there is the Metropolitan Career and Technical Center, a radically unstructured, apprenticeship-based public high school in Providence, Rhode Island. Here students, the majority of whom are from the underclass, design their own learning plans in conjunction with parents and mentors. Students and teachers meet weekly in small, supportive groups to discuss any issue of relevance to a student's intellectual and emotional growth. Ninety-six percent of the school's first graduating class gained admission into a four-year college.

Today's students need real knowledge and experience and the chance to learn from their own mistakes.

Or there are private, grassroots alternatives like the Liberty School in Blue Hill, Maine, where students co-create the curriculum and assist in managing the school through a series of democratic committees. The public/private Community School in Camden, Maine, utilizes what it calls "relational education" in order to reach young people who have already gotten dangerously off track. Students and their teacher/counselors live together communally, governing themselves through weekly meetings, and students maintain full-time jobs in Camden in order to pay their share of household expenses. And finally, just across the border in Vancouver, British Columbia, there is the Purple Thistle Centre, an "alternative to school" that serves as a member-run, educational homebase for highly motivated young people from the age of 15 to 26. Youth members all have keys to the Center and the constantly evolving program, which includes magazine and video pro-

duction and a community radio station. And an annual exchange visit with the Inuit north of the Arctic Circle, is largely the result of the ideas and initiatives of youth members.

Although the preceding examples may differ widely in outward appearance — each has developed its own unique approach based on local needs and conditions — all share a common set of characteristics that are literally at the heart of their success. First and foremost, each is sufficiently small and flexible to nurture the individuality of every young person. Second, they respect their students' judgment and encourage them to take responsibility for their own education. Third, they empower students to pursue courses of action both in school and out that satisfy the thirst for relevance and inspiration.

Perhaps most importantly, they don't force eager-to-be-engaged young people into a waiting game of preparation and postponement. Instead they present them with opportunities to put into practice now the attitudes and behaviors that one day will enable them to step confidently into adulthood with clear vision and a deep sense of purpose.

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High Stakes Testing and Lost Opportunities

The New York State Regents Exams

Michelle Fine

Expanding the use of high-stakes testing has the greatest negative effect on African Americans and Latinos — and the schools that have, up until now, been most effective in meeting their needs.

In 2003, the New York State Board of Regents fully implemented a policy that requires all students to pass several standardized tests, the Regents exams, to graduate from a New York State public high school. Previously the Regents exams were required for students seeking a prestigious Regents Diploma, but students could still graduate from high school with a regular diploma. Now, in the era of the standards movement, the stakes have been raised: the Regents exams are required of everyone. Although "higher standards" sounds fine on the surface, the new policy creates very serious problems. In February, 2005, I testified before Board of Regents and tried to make the Board aware of the key consequences of their action. This is what I said.

I come to you today to speak on the impact of the Regents on high schools in New York State. I speak today as a researcher and a parent, committed to public education and yet concerned about the absence of accountability in public education, particularly for African American and Latino youth. And I speak today because I am most concerned that we have developed a system of Regents which mocks the notion of accountability. It is accountability with a wink — as long as we don't notice the missing bodies.

In my testimony today I will not discuss the tests themselves. They merit serious discussion, but I will leave that for another time. Today I will focus on the consequences and stakes of the exams themselves.

Drop out and Disappearance Rates

I was startled to read Commissioner Mills's (2003) testimony before this body, when he stated that "in 1996, fewer than 40 percent earned Regents diplomas. In 2002, the figure was 55 percent." For he fails to tell you that in that same time period, graduation

Michelle Fine is Distinguished Professor of Psychology, Women's Studies and Urban Education at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Committed to participatory action research in schools, prisons, and communities, she has authored many books, including *Framing Dropouts: Notes on the Politics of Urban High Schools* (SUNY Press).

rates plummeted in New York, and that today New York ranks 45th among states in graduation rates, with rates less than 40% for black and Latino students. It is disingenuous and deceptive to speak of the survivors without attention to the bodies that are falling, or being felled, by the wayside. My mother, who lives in a senior home and still misses my father terribly, often comments, "It's just unfair when everyone these days is living to 90." What about the disappeared, the now gone, the ghosts?

The impact of high stakes standardized testing on urban dropout rates in New York and elsewhere is well documented by Walter Haney (2003). This explosion has been particularly dramatic and devastating within African American and Latino communities. Not only are dropout rates rising, but so are the numbers of "disappeared" — students not accounted for. There are serious charges that schools are cooking the books, cleansing the records so that long-term absentees are now being "removed" from the books — so much so that Franklin Lane High School in New York was sued for systematic removal of "difficult children." As you are undoubtedly aware, Advocates for Children has filed a class action lawsuit against Franklin K. Lane High School, alleging that the school illegally pushed out hundreds of students who were "off track" for graduation. Under severe pressures to keep test scores high, Lane High School, like so many others, appears to be discharging students in order to boost standardized scores and graduation rates. According to the lawsuit, Lane High School, which was recently officially designated as a low performing "School Under Review," discharges approximately 50%, or 1,600 of its students each year.

In addition, cumulative evidence suggests that the students seeking a GED degree, an alternative diploma largely for dropouts, are becoming younger and younger, with many students below the age of 16. Many have reported themselves to be youth "discharged" from their neighborhood high schools, looking for some way to get a viable certificate (American Council on Education 2001; Greene 2002). The loss of these young people, in dropout rates and in the "disappeared," is not random. They are disproportionately children of color attending underresourced schools in low income neighborhoods.

Unequal Preparation

A second concern about the impact of high stakes testing concerns the patently racialized preparation for rigor. Black and Latino children in New York and the nation are systematically redlined out of academic rigor; that is, they are disproportionately denied both the public and private resources necessary to achieve at high levels.

We can begin with the age-old problem of finance inequity, at present the prevailing state policy. As of 2001, the Board of Regents and the State Education Department reported that the average per pupil expenditures through New York State in 1998–1999 was $10,317. But in the suburb of Great Neck it his $17,620; in the suburb of Scarsdale it was $13,923; and in New York City it was only $9,623.

Further, poor and working class children of color are most likely to be educated by underqualified educators. A new study by the University at Albany's Education Finance Research Consortium (EFRC 2003) examines how teacher qualifications are distributed across New York public schools. In *Understanding Teacher Labor Markets: Implications for Equity*, professors Lankford, Wyckoff, Boyd, and Loeb (2003) find "substantial variation across schools in the qualifications of teachers." Less-qualified teachers, such as those failing the general knowledge certification exam, are more likely to teach in schools with higher numbers of non-white, poor, or low-performing students. Across schools, we see that black and Latino students have the least access to qualified educators and rigorous curriculum (National Center for Educational Statistics 2002).

Were that not bad enough, the evidence we have collected in our Opportunity Gap Project (Fine et al. 2004), a survey of 7,569 youth attending racially integrated suburban high schools in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area, demonstrates that even within the same schools, African American and Latino children are far less likely to be enrolled in rigorous classes than are white and Asian students. Just as the U.S. Department of Education has found that "black students were much less likely than white or Asian Pacific Island to complete a rigorous curriculum," our survey found that in New York and New Jersey blacks and Latinos were dramatically less

likely to take Advanced Placement (AP) and honors courses: 58% of Asians, 56% of whites, 33% of blacks and 27% of Latinos were enrolled in the high-level courses. While many would argue that these discrepancies are actually due to socio-economic class and not race, we probed further and looked only at those students with college-educated parents. The patterns of racialized inequity persisted: 68% of Asians, 63% of whites, 43% of Latinos and 42% of blacks with college-educated parents were enrolled in high-level classes (Fine et al. 2004)

Focusing on the full senior classes in two racially/ethnically diverse suburban high schools in New York, we found substantial correlations between enrollment in AP courses and Regents scores in Math (r =.609, p = .001), English (r = .390, p = .001), and Science (r = .586, p = .001).[1] While we make no claims that AP teaching is exemplary or even to be considered a model, it is nevertheless shocking to consider how systematically black and Latino students may be fenced out of "rigor" by virtue of finance inequities (across schools) and tracking (within schools); that is, black and Latino students are systematically underrepresented in those courses that are considered the academic gold standard in the State — the very gold standard highly correlated with the Regents exam.

But it is not only that public resources are inequitably distributed by race and ethnicity. Private resources are just as skewed, if not more so. Surveying across the 13 districts, we found that Asian and white students report significantly greater access to private tutors and private SAT prep courses (38%) than African American and Latino Students (26%). The thickening of privilege and advantage could not be more explicit. Given the differential access to public and private supports, the rigid implementation of the full Regents requirements is a cruel hoax on poor and working class children of color who are systematically denied the public resources and private supports to achieve at high levels. We are led to ask what are the Regents are measuring. If it takes a public and private village to educate a middle class white child, with all of his/her staff of tutors, special sessions, and help, why are we surprised when we bump into evidence of a "gap?"

Disinterest in Education?

You may be thinking that the reasons many black and Latino students aren't in AP/honors courses is that they aren't interested in rigorous coursework, that they have what some call "oppositional identities" and/or they disidentifiy with schooling. Our survey evidence challenges these explanations. In our survey of 7,569 youth, students were asked to Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree with the following statements in Table 1 (Fine et al. 2005) below. The numbers refer to the percentages either strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statements.

Item A ("I intend to earn a bachelors.") reveals high levels of desire for rigorous education among *all* groups: African American, Latino, Asian American and white American students. The data also suggest that African American and Latino students generally believe that their teachers have lower expectations for them (Items B and C). While the data indicate some ambiguity in students' own view of their capacities (Item D), the African American and Latino students perceive more unfairness with respect to opportunities (Item F) and say that money might keep them from going to college (Item G).

Table 1. Percentage of Students Agreeing with Statement

	Asian Am	White Am	African Am	Latino
A. I intend to earn a bachelor's degree.	88	93	87	82
B. My teachers think I should be in honors class.	68	67	42	54
C. Teachers don't believe in me.	16	18	29	38
D. I would like to be in high tracks, but I'm afraid I couldn't do the work.	28	26	48	21
E. Standardized testing may keep me from graduating.	33	28	44	47
F. My school is not as good as it should be in providing equal opportunities to students regardless of race.	19	18	42	36
G. Money might keep me from going to college.	40	26	43	50

Fear of Tests

I would like to focus a moment on Item E: Black and Latino children more often report that that standardized tests could prevent their graduation. Our additional data indicate that this fear is highly related to one's academic track: 23% of AP/honors students agree that "standardized tests may keep me from graduating" compared to 50% of regular/remedial students. Also, 52% of immigrant youth, compared to 34% of U.S. native born, have this fear of the tests. Of course, these students are reading the conditions of their education accurately. They understand that inadequate courses may, indeed, diminish the likelihood of their graduation and rich learning — regardless of their aspirations and goals. Recent research (McDonald 2001, 97; Wigfield and Eccles 1989) concludes that "fear of exams and test situations is widespread and appears to be becoming more prevalent, possibly due to the increasing frequency of testing and importance placed on testing within education systems: Test anxiety has a detrimental effect on test performance ... and its influence on the number of children passing or failing an exam is potentially considerable."

Impact on Effective Small Schools

A most disturbing aspect of the Regents-for-all policy is its impact on those small schools in New York that are nationally recognized for "beating the odds." These small schools, concentrated in New York City but also located throughout the state, are well-known for educating, graduating, and sending many poor and working class, particularly African American and Latino youth, on to college.

Over the course of the last twenty years, I have had the privilege of working with a number of these small, intensive student-inquiry, performance-based assessment schools in New York City. I have also had the opportunity to study and consult with similar small schools around the nation, which have modeled themselves on the success of the New York schools — for instance in Philadelphia, Chicago and California (see Fine 1994; Wasley et al. 2001). We have surveyed hundreds of students from these schools to determine how they fare in terms of academic engagement, motivations for college, relations with faculty, intellectual challenge, compared to their suburban counterparts (Fine et al. 2004).

It is empirically well-established that small schools organized around student-inquiry and performance-based assessment have significantly higher attendance, persistence, and graduation rates, as well as college attendance rates than demographically comparable large schools (Fine and Sommerville 1998; Gladden 1998; Wasley et al. 2001). Said differently, small schools have significantly lower dropout rates than large urban schools.

It is critical for you to know that our surveys reveal that students in the small urban schools — poor and working class African American and Latino youth — rated their teachers as having an extremely positive influence; they indicated high scores on "teachers know and understand me." They also indicated high levels of commitment to civic participation and community service. The urban small school students were significantly more likely to agree, "I feel challenged by my courses," and "I feel well prepared for college" than African American and Latino students in large urban schools, and at rates comparable to white and Asian students in the far more elite suburban schools. Thus, despite the financial inequities endured by these schools, the young people who are educated in them are being intellectually challenged and feel prepared for college. We are now conducting longitudinal follow-up analyses of those small school graduates who go onto college to assess persistence and college completion rates — rates that so far appear substantially higher than their demographic peers.

And so it is with great despair that I note that it is these very schools that the Regents exam requirement most threatens. These schools are organized through rigorous curriculum, deep assessment, commitments to educating all youth to high levels, and an abiding belief in revision. These schools embody what might be called standards for excellence and inclusion. They refuse exclusion, and insist on their own accountability for intellectual growth and academic persistence. These are the very schools that have resisted the Regents as the sole arbiter of graduation — not because they believe their students can't pass the exams, but because they refuse to compromise their approach. They want students to think

deeply and to work creatively on projects, which are impossible if they must devote the time required to pass standardized tests.

The innovative small school educators implore us all to rethink a state policy that so systematically undercuts and undermines the very schools that are beating the odds and dare to educate the next generation of black and Latino youth to high levels of academic rigor and civic engagement. These educators are, indeed, the heroes of public accountability.

The Stakes

Finally I turn my attention to the stakes. These tests may be valid or not, too hard or too easy, but it is the stakes that I care to address. Unlike 50 years ago, in our childhoods, being a high school drop out today has dramatic and almost guaranteed economic, social, and potentially criminal justice consequences — especially for African American and Latino young adults. Compared to high school graduates, high school dropouts are substantially more likely to live in poverty and to be among the unemployed, the working poor, the growing army of "discouraged" workers, and those who find themselves serving time in state or federal prison (See Fine et al., 2001; see also <www.changingminds.ws> 2001)

Consider, for instance, the percentages living in poverty. As seen in Table 2 below, from the 2000 Census, 45.6% of 25- to 34-year-old blacks without high school diplomas live in poverty, compared to 31.6% of Latinos and 28.1% of whites.

Table 2. Percentage of 25- to 34-Year-Olds Living in Poverty

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
No Degree	28.1	45.6	31.6
High School Diploma	10.0	20.0	15.5
Some College	6.2	9.7	8.4

Consider also the criminal justice data. High school dropouts are substantially overrepresented in prisons. The U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Harlow 2003, 2-3) reports that the "numbers of prison inmates without a high school education increased from 1991 to 1997" and that "three quarters of State prisoners did not earn a high school diploma." Because blacks and Latinos are greatly overrepresented in prisons (<www.changingminds.ws> 2001), the impact of inadequate education would seem to be dramatic indeed.

Conclusion

I will close by asking you if the Regents-for-all policy achieved has its aims. In theory, the policy was designed to raise the bar, enhance teaching and learning, and restore an educated populace capable of advancing the state's economic, democratic, and community life. In practice, the policy has exacerbated existing inequities in access to quality, spiked dropout rates, and undermined those few schools that are educating poor and working class students well. The policy even runs the risk of propelling more youth into lives of poverty and crime.

If indeed you are interested in accountability, you have options. You could

- sample students on particular exams, with data used diagnostically to know how districts are doing, but with no stakes attached to individual children
- provide opt-out waivers for those schools where parents and educators elect an alternative assessment system
- dedicate the precious few dollars we have in New York State to improving educational practice, equalizing the distribution of qualified educators, and supporting universal preschool.

These initiatives would be far better than expending a substantial piece of the budget on testing, a corporate investment that does little to improve teaching and learning and does much to worsen the already tragically inequitable outcomes of public education.

The New York State Regents project is a failed experiment. I do not wish to go back to the good old days of grotesque educational inequities; nor do I wish to continue the charade that the Regents exams are about standards. At the moment, the Regents have come to symbolize the distortions produced by a state that has refused to listen to educators, parents, and students, a state that is paving the roads to poverty and crime for black and Latino youth in underresourced schools and even in relatively affluent suburbs. The newspapers are filled with stories about the tests' disturbing outcomes: high discharge rates, falsification of pass rates, faculty and student

cheating, tests that are much too hard or too easy. Indeed, school districts around the state are beginning to question the morality of forcing their students to participate in a self-mutilating charade of accountability.

We cannot in good conscience proceed on this path any longer. We are cresting toward an explicit educational assault on black and Latino communities that is disguised as accountability. We need, desperately, standards for inclusion and public accountability for a system that educates, not one that exiles. Now there's a bold idea for public policy whose time has come.

Note

1. Because what schools called "honors" classes often varied enormously, we did not attempt to assess the relationship between enrollment in them and Regents exam scores. AP courses, in contrast, were much more consistently defined, and their relationship to Regents scores was meaningful.

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Ten Pillars of a Jungian Approach to Education

Clifford Mayes

The archetypal psychology of Carl Jung offers a valuable perspective on the characteristics that an educational system should possess.

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Clifford Mayes, Ph.D., Psy. D., is an associate professor in Brigham Young University's graduate Department of Educational Leadership and Foundations. He is the author of *Seven Curricular Landscapes* and *Teaching Mysteries: Foundations of a Spiritual Pedagogy*, both published by the University Press of America.

Jung's prominence as a psychiatrist began through his association with Sigmund Freud. Their professional collaboration, starting so auspiciously in 1907 when Jung was 32 years old, ended acrimoniously a mere six years later. Although indebted to Freud's pioneering explorations into the regions beyond ego consciousness, Jung felt that he had to take that journey much farther, into deeper psychospiritual realms than Freud was prepared to go. The problem with Freud, Jung ultimately concluded, lay in his insistence that sexual instincts were the foundation of all psychic functions and dysfunctions — a notion with which Jung was never quite comfortable, even during the height of his association with Freud (Jung 1968).

In Freud's work during the Freud-Jung years, such as *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1975) and *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1965), the old master's emphasis was almost entirely sexual. In his *General Introduction to Psycho-analysis,* for instance, Freud (1970, 308) proclaimed that whenever a psychotherapist gets to the root of a patient's symptoms, the purpose of the dysfunction is always the same. "This purpose shows itself to be the gratification of sexual wishes; the symptoms serve the purpose of sexual gratification for the patient; they are a substitute for satisfactions he does not obtain in reality."

So single-minded was Freud about the sexual etiology of both healthy and pathological psychic functioning that he told Jung that the hypothesis must become a "dogma." Jung remarked in his autobiography (1963) that it was probably at that moment that he was finally convinced that he would soon have to break with Freud. This is not to say that Jung denied the psychological importance of sexuality. It is merely that he saw sexuality as only one of many fac-

tors and impulses that power and direct psychic functioning. Jung frequently wrote that Freud had offered a powerful model of the psyche that was useful as far as it went. The problem was it just did not go far enough. This was the case, Jung argued, because reducing the many mysterious aspects of psyche to "nothing but" one animalistic drive or other, or even an assemblage of them, was a simplistic, counter-intuitive, and ethically inadequate explanation of the human being (Jung 1966, 45-46). The reduction of experience to merely biological mechanics could never yield a picture of the psyche that was whole, satisfying, and healing. Moreover, it was becoming increasingly clear to Jung in both his clinical practice and scholarly investigations that the appetite for sex as well as other "drives" were ultimately just "fragments" protruding from an even deeper layer of psychic functioning — a "primordial" layer (as Jung was fond of putting it) that formed the ancient, irreducible ground of the human psyche (1953, 90-113). But what was this ancient ground of the psyche? What were its elements and how did it work?

It was as a young resident psychiatrist at the Burghölzli Clinic in Switzerland that Jung got his first *mature* glimpses (as a child he had certain experiences and dreams that presaged his later insights) into this primordial realm of psychic functioning whose nature and dynamics he would spend the rest of his life attempting to explore and map. Jung recounts a story of a young man in his thirties whom he was treating at the Burghölzli Clinic. A schizophrenic and megalomaniac, the patient thought that he was Christ. Jung did not just dismiss the patient's experiences as "psychotic" but saw that they remarkably resembled an obscure and ancient Mithraic creation myth (1960, 150-151). Could this weird correspondence between a schizophrenic hallucination and an ancient creation myth be due to the fact that this uneducated young man had heard or read this obscure Mithraic fable somewhere and was now producing it from the depths of his subconscious? Although unlikely, this possibility could not be ruled out. Furthermore, it was no great stretch for Jung to discern the Freudian elements in the dream. Jung suspected that there was more to it than that. He believed that these elements were examples of those "fragments" that emerged from an even deeper layer of psychic functioning, that "primordial" layer that Jung believed to be the ultimate ground of the human psyche (1953, 90-113).

Confirmation of this hunch was provided by the fact that Jung, who was adept at various ancient languages and a competent scholar of ancient mythologies, now started to see these correspondences between individual psychic contents and mythic patterns creeping up all over the place in both the patients in his bustling clinic and the old volumes spread out over his sequestered study. In the dreams, fantasies, and hallucinations of his patients, many of whom were humble Swiss villagers, Jung began to record and analyze what would ultimately amount to thousands of instances of close correspondences to ancient images, motifs, and narratives.

This suggested that there was a very deep psychosocial well from which individuals of all sorts, and cultures and religions of all times and all places, drew in order to produce the images, themes, and stories that expressed their ways of seeing and being in the world. "This discovery," said Jung,

> means another step forward in our understanding: the recognition, that is, of two layers in the unconscious. We have to distinguish between a personal unconscious and an *impersonal* or *transpersonal unconscious*. We speak of the latter also as the *collective unconscious* because it is detached from anything personal and is common to all men, since its contents can be found everywhere, which is naturally not the case with the personal contents. (1953, 66)

The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious

Reaching the threshold of the collective unconscious and, what is more, *formulating a system* to account for it, was an important event in the history of Western psychology. It marked the beginning of a systematically "spiritual psychology" in the modern Western tradition. Jung's *transpersonal* approach to psychology and those that have followed it grant access to those inborn primordial structures and predispositions at the deepest level of our psyches that cause us — despite personal and historical variations in language and imagery — to interpret and engage the world in much the same way from epoch to epoch and from culture to culture. But what are these structures and dispositions? Jung called them *archetypes*.

Jung's notion of the archetype has proven difficult for many people to grasp. There are probably several reasons for this. First, Jung was a psychiatrist, not an academic. His job was not to provide neat theories, tightly bundled and prettily wrapped so that undoing the package and looking inside would be a painless process for the casual observer. He was a doctor. He reported what he saw, experienced, and had done in the painful, messy, and very unclear contexts of psychotherapy. Adding to this confusion was the fact that, unlike Freud, whose practice revolved around the relatively more straightforward neuroses, Jung was interested in the more volatile and vexing psychoses. Second, Jung was a true pioneer whose life was devoted to a preliminary, empirical mapping out of territory that others had speculated about but none had explored with such persistence and thoroughness. Such a project does not permit complete, crystal-clear descriptions of the entirety of the wild land being traversed for the first time.

And finally, it was difficult for Jung to be as precise as some would have liked regarding the nature of archetypes because archetypes are inherently difficult to define. "I admit at once that [the idea of archetypes] is a controversial idea and more than a little perplexing," Jung confessed. "But I have always wondered what sort of ideas my critics would have used to characterize the empirical material in question" (1953, 77, n. 15). The psychospiritual wellsprings from which our thoughts, feelings, dreams and religions emerge are as mysterious as human life itself and in that sense defy description. Thus, when we come into contact with an archetype we have an experience of the divine within us, the *numinous,* as Jung called it, drawing on the Greek word for spirit, *numen.*

In light of so much confusion about archetypes, it is perhaps useful to say what an archetype is *not*. It is not — as some of Jung's less perceptive readers have tried to claim — an inherited image or belief system genetically passed down across many generations. True, some of Jung's *earliest* statements about archetypes did suggest that they could be inherited images, but he soon abandoned this Larmarckian notion. In other words, just because one's ancestors have worshiped Osiris, Dionysius, or Christ, for instance, does not mean that one's children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren will be born with a literal image of that particular god genetically embedded in their minds. What we *are* all born with, said Jung, is the *innate predisposition* to worship a dying and resurrected god. That disposition constitutes an *archetype* — in this case, *the archetype of the savior.* Because an archetype is a human universal, one would expect to find it manifested broadly throughout history. And in this, one would not be disappointed. In ancient Egypt, for instance, the archetype of the savior was embodied in the form of the god Osiris, in Greece by Dionysus, and in Roman-occupied Palestine around 30 C.E. by an iterant preacher named Jesus. But in all of these cases, the archetypal energy is more or less the same. What is variable, said Jung, are the *archetypal images* that will be used to flesh out the archetype, for they will depend on historical, cultural, and personal factors. The infrastructure of psyche, then, can be pictured as shifting patterns of primary urges, predispositions, and needs; that is, as a shifting mosaic of archetypes. In their primal manifestation, these innate and universal psychic forces can be pictured as *nodes of energy*. We all have our psychic being in and because of our archetypes, which, because they are shared and "objective," reside in and emanate from what Jung considered to be an ontologically real *collective unconscious*.

There are probably innumerable archetypes, manifesting themselves in such forms as the trickster, the lover, the divine child, the shadow, the magical animal, the nurturing mother, the witch, the law-giving father, the devil, initiation, holy matrimony, mandalas, trinities and quaternities, judgment, heaven, hell, atonement, and a great many others. The point to note for our purposes is just this: simply by virtue of the fact that we are human, we are born "hard-wired" with a wide range of dispositions to understand and act upon our world in certain typical ways. "This disposition," said Jung, "I [call] the *archetype*" (1967b, 102).

The Personal Dimension

Jung never lost sight of the *personal* nature of the psyche — its strictly biographical dimension. For instance, the reader who has ever heard the terms *persona* or *shadow* used in psychological discourse has already encountered Jungian ego-psychology concepts. Some neo-Freudian ego-psychologists even use a va-

riety of Jungian terms without being fully aware that they originated with Jung (Frey-Rohn 1974).

The *persona* is, to borrow the words of the poet T. S. Eliot (1971, 4), the face you "prepare to meet the faces that you meet." The *persona* is the ego-invented and ego-protecting facade that we don for others to see: to assure them, and ourselves, that we are "one of the group," that we "know the rules" and are willing and able to play by them, and, in general, that we are "doing well" (Goffman 1999). Having *personas* is not in itself a bad thing. It is, in fact, a very necessary thing since we must all negotiate the quotidian world and cooperate with others in many different ways in the course of a day. The *persona* "mediates between the ego and the outer world" (Samuels 1997, 215). Problems regarding the *persona* arise when it no longer functions as the ego's servant but becomes its master. For the ego, being "a complex of ideas which constitutes the center of my field of consciousness and appears to possess a high degree of continuity and identity," is greater than the *persona* (Jung 1971, 425). Thus, when an individual becomes so preoccupied with how he appears to others that this concern comes to dominate his conscious awareness, he is *persona possessed*.

The *shadow* is also involved with the psychology of the ego. Jung noted that his idea of the shadow was roughly equivalent to Freud's idea of the personal unconscious (1967b, 183, n. 14). As in Freud's theory, Jung's shadow contains the repressed contents that we do not want to admit to ourselves — the behavior we consider bad or evil. But Jung's concept of the shadow also contains some elements that Freud's model does not. Sometimes we need to hide our talents, virtues, and potentials which, if we were open about them, we feel we would put ourselves in emotional or social peril. Also residing in the shadow are certain "insufficiently developed functions." In the Jungian view, it is highly important that we face and integrate our shadow, or at least various aspects of it, into our conscious awareness and personality. So key is this notion of the shadow and its acceptance that it was "the *leitmotiv* of Jung's later works" (Frey-Rohn 1974, 3).

One reason to confront the shadow is that some of the dispositions and potentials that one has repressed can, if consciously acknowledged and carefully nurtured, emerge from the shadow and help one become a more complete and powerful person, more *whole*. To grow into one's full stature as a social, intellectual and moral being by realizing as much of one's potential as possible is the great moral imperative that life lays upon us all. A truly productive life depends on overcoming the fear of irrational family censure or small-minded social disapproval in order to become the best person that one can be. This will sometimes mean inviting those elements out of the shadow that one once banished — and perhaps *had to banish* in order to survive in a family or culture — and (re)integrating them into oneself in a way that permits a more effective, genuine, compassionate, and satisfying existence. This is what Jung means by becoming *whole.* In the imperfect realm of existence in which we as fallible mortals live, the merciless drive for perfection is unrealistic and, if not put in a proper perspective, neurotic. In the tireless push to be perfect — perfectly strong, perfectly beautiful, perfectly virtuous, having the perfect house, perfect job, and perfect children — we make inhuman demands upon ourselves and those around us. Losing our sense of humor as well as our sense of humanity, we inevitably fall into sundry subtle traps and wind up doing ourselves and those around us great harm.

There is yet another reason that we must confront our own shadows, and it is easily stated using another term from Jungian psychology that has become widely known: *projection.* It is through projection that we condemn most passionately in others what we refuse to see in ourselves. This is not to say that whenever we see something that we consider to be disagreeable in another person or situation we are simply projecting our own shadows onto him or her. But it is to say that until we own up to our shadow, we will never know if this is the case or not. What is more, even if we do correctly perceive weakness or even immorality in another, our response to it will be tempered by an awareness of our own fallibility if we have confronted our own shadows. This will in turn engender a greater ability to forgive and help other people, and not sanctimoniously condemn them. Confronting one's shadow is thus vital to psychological and moral health. As such, the encounter with the shadow is more than just an abstract admission that one has a negative side. "The growing aware-

ness of the inferior part of the personality," Jung (1960, 208) wrote, "should not be twisted into an intellectual activity, for it has far more the meaning of a suffering and a passion that implicate the whole man." It requires moral courage to seek "ruthless self-knowledge" (1959b, 166).

Implications for Education: The Ten Pillars

The Teacher–Student Relationship is Archetypal

Perhaps the first thing to note about Jung's view of education is that he felt that *educational processes are themselves archetypal*. By this he did not *only* mean that the teacher could help the student discover archetypal truths in the subject matter but also that *"the teacher" and "the student" are themselves archetypal figures*. Their relationship is an archetypal event — just as "bride," "groom," and "marriage" are an archetypal situation; or just as "doctor," "patient," and "healing"; or "parent," "child," and "family" are. The interaction between teacher and student is woven so deeply into the fabric of what it means to be a human being that it is impossible to conceive of the human situation without it. Throughout our lives, we are involved in educational acts — as teachers, students, and often both. No human culture has ever been founded or perpetuated without education about everything from how the universe came into being to how to prepare a meal. Something so fundamental to creating and sustaining individuals and cultures is necessarily archetypal.

The powerful archetypal significance of education is evidenced in the centrality of the archetypes of the Wise Old Man and Wise Old Woman, which are at the very top of Jung's list of the most historically prominent archetypes (1967b, 390-391). The Wise Old Man and Woman show up in many myths, religions and dreams, often in connection with a young hero or heroine who is engaged in a dangerous journey in order to accomplish a great but difficult task. At the beginning of the journey, the hero crosses a threshold into a perilous forest, desert, or jungle. This symbolizes the hero's acceptance of the challenge to leave childish things behind and to master those difficulties that will lead to both personal and transpersonal growth (Campbell 1949). Soon after crossing the border into the land of dangerous adventure, the hero meets the Wise Old Man or Woman. These wise ones successfully completed their own archetypal quests many years ago when they were young and now often possess powerful amulets and knowledge about potions. Guiding the young travelers, these Wise Ones are, above all else, teachers. Their amulets and potions symbolize the fact that they are able to direct the seeker because they have had their own visions which they can now communicate to the young novitiate so that he may one day have his own experience of the transcendent. They often speak in riddles to spur their young students on to intellectual and moral growth. So closely is the Wise Old Man related to teaching, in fact, that Jung felt him to be the archetype that best "personifies *meaning*"(1963, 233).

The teacher who understands the student-teacher archetype, and who is most in touch with the archetypal nature of not only his profession but his very psyche, is also bound to be an influential teacher.

> Whoever speaks in primordial images speaks with a thousand voices; he enthralls and overpowers, while at the same time he lifts the idea he is seeking to express out of the occasional and transitory into the realm of the ever-enduring. He transmutes our personal destiny into the destiny of mankind, and evokes in us all those beneficent forces that ever and anon have enabled humanity to find a refuge from every peril and to outlive the longest night. (Jung 1966, 82)

Education Should Not be Reduced to Technical Rationality

Considering Jung's view of education as being an inherently archetypal and therefore potentially sacred act, it will probably not surprise the reader to learn that he objected to any approach to teaching and learning that was essentially technical in its means and goals. A physician and a pragmatist, Jung undoubtedly understood that education has legitimate technical goals. However, these must be secondary to the primary goal of deepening the student psychologically, politically, and morally. "It cannot be the aim of education," Jung declared in terms reminiscent of the American Progressives of the first half of the 20th century,

> to turn out rationalists, materialists, specialists, technicians and others of the kind who, unconscious of their origins, are precipitated abruptly into the present and contribute to the disorientation and fragmentation of society" (quoted in Frey-Rohn 1974, 182).

An educational system that exists simply to service the needs of a consumer society and its military-industrial machinery is not only inimical to the delicate archetypal dynamics of the student-teacher relationship but, in the final analysis, also socially *destabilizing*, despite its grand social-efficiency claims. Why is this?

It is because such forms of education do not address the whole child in all of his physical, emotional, political, cultural, and ethical complexity. The result is psychic "disorientation and fragmentation" in children, which will lead with tragic inevitability to the same result in a society whose citizens and leaders those children will one day become. It is this type of "social efficiency" curriculum (Kliebard 1995) that was championed in such documents as the *A Nation at Risk* report (1983), which reflected the essential nature of many federal educational "reform" agendas in the last 100 years (Tyack 1974). As the authors of that document declared, "the basic purposes of schooling" must relate to the overarching goal of re-establishing America's "once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovation." Only these educational goals are considered legitimate. All others are seen as contributing to America's military-industrial decline. The aim of education by this view is to do exactly what Jung warned against: "to turn out rationalists, materialists, specialists, technicians." Corporate education "blots out" the individual, and it does so across the span of the person's formal education: it "begins in school [and] continues at the university" (1953, 153). This is immoral for several reasons: it creates the "mass man" of technocratic society and thus robs the individual of his uniqueness; it accomplishes this totalitarian goal by doing violence to the deeper personal needs of teachers, students, and administrators; and it grossly impinges upon the delicacy and sanctity of the archetypal relationship between teacher and student, wreaking psychological, social and moral havoc (1967c, 47-48; 1953, 13-14).

Education Should Not be Mere "Intellectualism"

A great scholar, Jung understood the life of the mind. Nevertheless, he was adamant about the danger of relying overmuch upon reason and the intellect. Certainly, rationality — and the classical forms of education meant to encourage it — are important. However, for Jung it was an article of faith that the mystery of how and why the psyche and, indeed, the entire universe operate as they do far exceeds mere reason and materialistic explanations. Like Kant, whom he studied as a very young man and deeply admired throughout his life, Jung believed that although reason provides an indispensable lens through which we see and interpret ourselves and the universe, it is, in the final analysis, simply *one* lens among many. It may *portray* a thing in terms that we can understand, but we must not fall into the trap of believing that those terms necessarily describe the ultimate *reality* of the "thing-in-itself." Jung often mentioned the Kantian distinction between the *esse in intellectu* (that is, the thing as it appears to our reason) and the *esse in re* (the thing as it *really* is). Between the two, said Jung, is a yawning chasm that our poor syllogisms can never bridge.

What we *can* know, Jung believed, is the *esse in anima*, or the thing as we *holistically experience it in our total psyche*, our soul (1971, 45). In saying this, Jung was not claiming — as he is often misinterpreted as doing — that there is no ultimate reality beyond our ideas. Such nihilism was disagreeable to Jung, leading to anarchy, the very thing he most dreaded. It is simply that we must always have the humility and commonsense to recognize that reality is never obliged to conform to our models of it, even our most impressively academic and dazzlingly logical ones. The cosmos is greater than any formal propositions we can make about it. What this means for both psychology and education is that any approach to human knowing "that satisfies the intellect alone can never be practical, for the totality of the psyche can never be grasped by the intellect alone" (Jung 1953, 76). Developing the intellect is an important educational goal, of course. But *mere intellectualism*, taken to extremes, claimed Jung, leads to ontological error, spiritual pride, and psychosocial imbalance. Extreme intellectualism is "in point of fact … nothing more than the sum total of all [a person's] prejudices and myopic

views" (1959a, 13). For Jung, the cognitive-rationalist curriculum is an important piece of the holistic pedagogical jigsaw, but it is far from the only one.

Teachers and Students Can Explore Archetypal Dimensions of Subject Matter

In a curriculum sensitive to Jungian perspectives, there should be an ongoing endeavor to discover in any subject in the curriculum its archetypal roots and fruits. This project is not only educationally possible but necessary because "the greatest and best thoughts of man shape themselves upon … primordial images as upon a blueprint" (Jung 1953, 69). In order to get to the heart of an idea, theory, model, or piece of art, therefore, it is necessary to penetrate its archetypal infrastructure. This is not to say that the archetypal approach will always be the primary educational goal. However, even when the archetypal perspective is not the core of a curriculum, it may still enliven the analysis of virtually any subject.

Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf Schools admirably accomplish this aim from kindergarten through 12th grade. Throughout a Waldorf education, the teacher organizes much of the curriculum around archetypal images that have been drawn from an array of religious, cultural, and artistic traditions and periods (Trostli 1988). Even basic math is studied in archetypal terms in early Waldorf education. When the teacher and student view their subject in this light — looking for the archetypal rhizome beneath the ever-shifting scenery of particular events and situation, as Jung once put it (1963) — they are engaged in an archetypal study of history. Educators from many other fields have used archetypal terms and paradigms to frame their disciplines — from the archetypal approach to physics by the Nobel-Prize-winning scientist Wolfgang Pauli, to religious studies by Union Theological Seminary's Ann Ulanov, to sociology and cultural studies by Michael Adams and Richard Gray. The classroom teacher may draw upon these studies to shape an innovatively archetypal curriculum or supplement a traditional one.

The Symbolic Domain and Intuitive Function are Educationally Crucial

Jung once said that concepts are ultimately stiff and empty things, like coins used to buy food, but symbols are the bread of life itself. Because Jung always stood in awe of the finally inscrutable mystery of things, he insisted that symbols can bring us much closer than theoretical speculation to those timeless truths which are able to satisfy our hearts. A Jungian theory of education emphasizes helping the student engage with his world in richly symbolic terms. A symbol stimulates our ability to intuit a reality that transcends mere ratiocination. It points beyond itself. In doing this, it accomplishes more than a sign, which is merely an arbitrary token that mechanically *stands for* something else in a one-to-one correspondence. The sign $\int$ in the calculus means one thing *and one thing only* — namely that I must perform the mathematical operation of integration. However, the declaration in T. S. Eliot's poem *The Wasteland* that there is "fear in a handful of dust" generates many strands of interweaving and mutually enriching interpretations (Jung 1971, 38). The clenched hand holding the dust might suggest terror, grasping, and the denial of death. The fist, unclenching, then evokes feelings of resignation, loss of potency, and the release of dust to dust, ashes to ashes. The wind that bears the dust away is an emblem of the indifferent motions of an empty universe, but at the same time it conjures up images of the breath and spirit of God. Stark terror and wise acceptance, frank futility and divine love — all of this (and a great deal more) is included in the unsettling image of fear in a handful of dust. It leads us to an *experience* of the struggle of life against death — and the hope for something beyond it. In brief, the symbol whisks us away into an uncharted mystery while a sign ploddingly takes us from point A to B.

Thus, unlike the typical politically motivated cries for educational reform through the imposition of standardized testing, which always cast art and literature to the edges, a Jungian curriculum stresses them. "The great secret of art … and the creative process" Jung (1066, 82) observed,

> consists in the unconscious activation of an archetypal image, and in elaborating and shaping this image into the finished work. By giving it shape, the artist translates it into the language of the present, and so makes it possible for us to find the way back to the deepest springs of life….

Jung laid the groundwork for modern typological psychology by positing that there were four basic personality types: thinking, feeling, intuition, and sensation (1971). In education driven by the corporate project of creating and dominating markets, the archetypally feminine and spiritual function of intuition receives precious little attention; however, in a Jungian education intuition is crucial because it is only in the medium of intuition that symbols can live. Symbols and intuition are obviously related because "the symbol is the primitive exponent of the unconscious, but at the same time an idea that corresponds to the highest intuition of the conscious mind" (Jung 1978, 30). Naturally, it is impossible to quantify intuition. It is in many respects the very antithesis of quantification. Educationists and politicians who worship the standardized test will therefore always look upon intuition with great suspicion because it can be neither controlled nor predicted — those two great aims of "scientism" and business. Thus, it is timely to heed Jung's (1971, 63) reminder that

> not the artist alone, but every creative individual whatsoever owes all that is greatest in his life to fantasy. The dynamic principle of fantasy is *play*, a characteristic also of the child, and as such it appears inconsistent with the principle of serious work. But without this playing with fantasy no creative work has ever come to birth. The debt we owe to the play of imagination is incalculable.

Failure Can be Constructive

Although a Jungian view of education emphasizes nurturing the student, this does not mean that she should live in a risk-free environment. One gets the feeling in reading some of the literature on teaching-as-care that it has taken the idea of nurturance too far, not allowing the student to learn how to overcome those intellectual and ethical obstacles that are necessary for growth. However, it is one of the most crucial axioms of Jungian psychology that all energy "can proceed only from the tension of opposites" (1953, 29). Where there is no opposition but merely a satiated stasis, there is not only no *need* to grow but no *way* to grow. Besides, where there is no possibility of failure, success is meaningless. Jung said that *katabasis*, a Greek term for the descent to the underworld, is requisite for psychospiritual maturation (1966, 140).

The student who is perpetually shielded against the developmentally necessary reality of occasional failure must ultimately succumb to a kind of psychic entropy. Or, to put it in archetypal terms, the student in a classroom whose teacher has over-identified with the archetype of the Great Mother (and this may be a male teacher as well as a female one) will ultimately find himself rocked into a moral and intellectual stupor in that teacher's excessively protective embrace. Every archetype has both a bright and dark side. The shadow of the Great Mother is the Devouring Mother, the caregiver who will not let her children go but instead spins such a web of care around them that she paralyzes them.

Not every failure in a classroom is healthy, of course. The teacher must handle the student's failure in a constructive, nonpunitive manner, patiently helping the student see how she fell short and what together they can do to help her reach her full potential in a given area, however great or limited that potential may turn out to be. This kind of wisely handled failure leading to eventual success differs greatly from the student's impersonal and humiliating experience of failure on standardized tests. As in parenting, the best teaching strategies are neither *authoritarian* (as in standardized testing) nor *permissive* (as in an overly nurturing style of teaching). They are *authoritative*, blending judgment (the archetypally paternal) and care (the archetypally maternal) (Brophy 1994).

Education has a Legitimate Therapeutic Function

Since the beginning of modern developmental psychology with G. Stanley Hall's (1904) text, *Adolescence*, educationists have tried to apply the findings of psychological research and practice. The very idea of a "developmentally appropriate curriculum" is already an attempt to shape pedagogy around children's evolving psychic issues and interests. The junior high school, for instance, was established in order to help students make the psychologically difficult transition from early childhood to adolescence and, as such, is inherently a "therapeutic" institution (Tyack 1974). The highly significant document produced by the NEA in 1918, *Cardinal Principles of Sec-*

ondary Education, defined the public high school as a tool for psychosocially molding children during adolescence. August Aichhorn (1965) a prominent Freudian psychiatrist of adolescence, argued that every teacher should know at least the fundamentals of psychoanalysis so that she could apply them in the classroom. Margaret Naumburg, the founder of the Walden School movement, asked her teachers to undergo psychoanalysis (just as Freud and Jung required of analysts in training) so that the teachers could recognize and appropriately respond to their students' psychosexual dilemmas (Cremin 1964). And, of course, counseling and special education programs in colleges of education prepare people to play various therapeutic roles in the schools. The current popularity of self-esteem-enhancing curricula and the literature on teaching-as-care show that many teachers continue to see their vocation in a therapeutic light. Indeed, the "teacher-as-therapist" is an image that some teachers think of when asked to reflect on the nature of their work with children (Mayes 2001). Like a good therapist, then, the teacher must have a personalized sense of what makes each student tick if she is to be most effective at her work. Jung claimed that "for the doctor this means the individual study of every case; for the teacher, the individual study of every student" (1954, 93). Jung therefore felt that "it is in fact highly desirable that the educator, if he wishes to really understand the mentality of his pupils, should pay attention to the findings of analytical psychology" (1954, 68). However, Jung added the caveat that "the deepened psychological knowledge of the teacher should not, as unfortunately sometimes happens, be unloaded directly on the child; rather it should help the teacher to adopt an understanding attitude toward the child's psychic life" (1954, 51). In short, although teaching has a therapeutic aspect, the teacher should always remember that she is not a therapist (1954, 74).

Reflectivity is Key to Teacher Development

Because Jung placed great faith in and responsibilities on the teacher, he was a staunch advocate of the ongoing education of the teacher. Yet, unlike many of the positivist educationists of his day, Jung put very little stock in "training" prospective and practicing teachers to follow pre-packaged "methods." For "in reality, everything depends on the man and little or nothing on the method" (Jung 1978, 9). The teacher's moral character and psychological insight are what will really win or lose the day for him with his students. The therapist and the educator are similar in that "psychotherapy has taught us that in the final reckoning it is not knowledge, not technical skill, that has a curative effect, but the personality of the doctor. And it is the same with education: It presupposes self-education" (1954, 140). For Jung, this "self-education" consisted in what today is called "teacher reflectivity" (Bullough 1991; Mayes 1999). In this process, the teacher examines and critiques himself and his practice in psychological and political terms to see if he is being as sensitive and fair with all of his students as he can be, or if he has unresolved issues or prejudices that are standing in the way. "The teacher should watch his own psychic condition, so that he can spot the source of trouble when anything goes wrong with the children entrusted to his care" (1954, 120).

Education Should be Both Culturally Conservative and Progressive

When it comes to the sociocultural aspects of education, Jung's vision is a mix of cultural conservatism and radicalism. On the conservative side, Jung advocated a traditional humanities curriculum as part of the student's schooling in the higher grades. He believed students should "have a regard for history in the widest sense of the word" (1954, 144). And true to his conservative nature, Jung warned that "anything new should always be questioned and tested with caution, for it may very easily turn out to be only a new disease" (1954, 145). Besides, it is only by honoring the tried-and-true standards that have developed over time that we can rein in our instincts, many of which are, as Jung the psychiatrist well knew, psychologically and morally injurious to self and other (1969, 80). Those who see in Jung's fascination with archetypes a call for a return to primitivism grossly misinterpret him. Jung saw education as one of humanity's best hopes to control our animal nature and promote social and spiritual evolution. He detested "the present tendency to destroy all tradition or render it unconscious," for this must "interrupt the normal process of development for several hundred years and

substitute and interlude of barbarism" (Jung 1959b, 181). Besides, our personal identities are so interwoven with our individual and collective histories that we cannot know *ourselves* if we do not know *them*. We can know ourselves deeply and resist attempts at political domination only by a solid appreciation of our past. This is why "loss of roots and lack of tradition neuroticize the masses and prepare them for collective hysteria" (Jung 1959b, 181).

But in contrast to many contemporary advocates of a culturally conservative curriculum, however, Jung did not do so out of a sense of cultural superiority or xenophobia. As we have seen, Jung was a great student of culture — from the nearest to the most distant in space and time. He traveled from the jungles of Africa to the deserts of New Mexico to gain first-hand experience of indigenous peoples, about whom he wrote with great lucidity, genuine admiration, and unfeigned love. Hence, there is a lifetime of personal and intellectual experience in Jung's pithy observation that "the white race is not a species of *homo sapiens* specially favored by God" (1967c, 82). It is not only white Europeans who need to know about their history. All people must know about the great events, ideas, and hopes of their own cultures, for therein lie those symbols that can bring out the best in them individually and socially.

Jung was very clear that the so-called "civilized" cultures are not superior to the so-called "primitive" ones in this respect and are in some respects inferior. Indeed, as Jung saw the Westerner's faith in foundational cultural narratives eroding, he warned that "the old myth needs to be clothed anew in every renewed age if it is not to lose its therapeutic effect" (1959b, 181). Sometimes, incorporating elements from "less advanced" cultural traditions is just what is needed to provide that new cultural "clothing." Decades before the modern multicultural movement, Jung argued for the value of cultural diversity, insisting that education must be culturally critical as well as culturally preserving.

Furthermore, Jung believed that the idea of the shadow and projection could help teachers and students examine the negative side of their own national culture. For just as individuals have unconscious and unwelcome sides that they tend to project onto others, so do societies. A culture's shadow can be discerned in who it perceives its enemies to be, for it is onto its enemies that a culture projects what it most fears in itself. A culture's collective shadow is the flip-side of its conscious values (Odajnyk 1976). Jung (1953, 26) wrote:

> If people can be educated to see the shadow side of their nature clearly, it may be hoped that they will also learn to understand and love their fellow men better. A little less hypocrisy and a little more self-knowledge can only have good results in respect for our neighbor; for we are all too prone to transfer to our fellows the injustices and violence we inflict upon our own natures.

Not only nations but also families, communities, political parties and ethnic groups have collective shadows that are the underside of their conscious, normative values. Left unexamined and unintegrated, these shadows get projected onto "opposing" families, communities, political parties, and races. Education, particularly the social studies, can help students explore cultural projection by asking such questions as the following: In a bellicose policy toward another community or state, what part of the motivation for that policy might stem from cultural projection? Conversely, in considering critiques of our own society, which of them are simply projections onto "the ugly American" and which contain truths which we must heed? When education helps the individual cast light on the shadow in himself and his culture, then, guarded against the seductive prejudices of *groupthink*, he can become an agent in making his culture more ethical.

In brief, "individuation … has a political aspect to it" (Samuels 2001, 23). By taking the best of the conservative and liberal views of culture, teachers can help students grow into adults who, attaining the maximum degree of integration in themselves, can promote integration in their families, communities, and cultures.

Education Can and Should Have a Spiritual Dimension

Jung's view of the interaction of spirituality and culture agrees with Paul Tillich's (1956, 103) famous pronouncement that "religion is the soul of culture and culture the form of religion." Every culture has

"a highly developed system of secret teaching, a body of lore concerning the things that lie beyond man's earthly existence, and of wise rules of conduct" (Jung 1966, 96). It is from the archetypally fertile ground of these *fundamental narratives*, this "body of lore," that a society's civic and legal narratives and grow over the centuries (Bruner 1996). Berger (1967, 52) has highlighted how most cultures are grounded in their (sometimes unspoken) spiritual commitments, especially regarding mortality and the promise of an afterlife, for "every human society is, in the last resort, men banded together in the face of death. The power of religion depends, in the last resort, upon the credibility of the banners it puts in the hands of men as they stand before death, or more accurately, as they walk, inevitably, toward it."

Despite the fashionable but incorrect academic truism that (post)modern life is "profane" or "desacralized," most historians and sociologists of religion note that spirituality, in both its institutional and strictly personal forms, is as important now to most people as it ever was — and perhaps even more so (Marty 1987; Nord 1995). This inextinguishable personal and cultural need to connect with the transcendent and to live in its light is a universal urge for individuals and peoples. As long as we must personally and collectively face what T. S. Eliot (1971, 6) called "the overwhelming questions" of our morality and mortality, spiritual commitment is bound to be a significant issue for most people. Any approach to education that ignores this ethical and cultural imperative to live in the light of transpersonal truth is inadequate. This is why, for Jung, a theory of either therapy or education that does not take spirituality into account must ultimately fail. For not only are archetypes inherently spiritual but *spirituality is itself an archetype*, a basic human need and capacity. In both the consulting room and classroom, spirituality must be honored and explored as the pivotal emotional, social, and intellectual force that it is. Furthermore, *morality is an archetype*, not just a social invention or sexual displacement as Freud held. Students naturally want to explore moral issues in their studies; they will feel bored and short-changed if they cannot. Ethical questions and systems are

> a function of the human soul, as old as humanity itself. Morality is not imposed from outside; we have it in ourselves from the start — not the law, but our moral nature without which the collective life of human society would be impossible. That is why morality is found at all levels of society. It is the instinctive regulator of action…. (Jung 1953, 27)

Tillich (1959) said that in the last analysis everyone has ethical and spiritual commitments because everyone has "ultimate concerns." A Jungian approach allows us to envision a pedagogy which helps students explore those ultimate concerns in a way that is spiritually sensitive without being theologically dogmatic or denominationally partisan.

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Spring Equinox 2005
(The New War Dead)

Gerald McCarthy

A flock of starlings
scuttle on the rooftop
splashing in pools of rainwater.

The first leaves in the branches
of the red maple tree.

Look, my friend says
there's a kind of dark
all around us,
you have to get used to it, s'all.

Bricker's neighbor shot himself in his garage,
the summer I turned eleven.
He drove an old gray Plymouth,
a car with a single headlight like a beak.

Birdman of Church Street, we called him.
The car was pulled in when the shot went off.
A pistol, Tommy said, Smith & Wesson 38.
Once in winter I cut the yards,
saw him bent over his workbench —
the trouble light overhead,
cigarette smoke.
He saw my shadow and looked up.

Now March rain keeps falling
and the news slips out.
The dead come back.
A line of graying birds
are huddled together in the rain.

GERALD MCCARTHY is a Vietnam veteran and Professor of English at St. Thomas Aquinas College in New York.

Viewpoint

Bringing It All Back Home

Richard J. Prystowsky

The January 31, 2005, issue of *Newsweek* carries a disturbing story accompanied by a particularly disturbing photo. Entitled "Free To Be Angry," the story discusses the complex nature of the U.S. involvement in Iraq. Part of the story recounts a nighttime tragedy in which the driver of a car failed to heed soldiers' instructions to stop the vehicle. According to the article, the driver was "apparently oblivious to the soldiers' instructions in the dark" (p. 27). The article continues: "Mom and Dad were killed in the front seat, leaving six blood-splattered, but mostly unhurt, orphans in the back" (p. 27).

The phrase "mostly unhurt" seems rather ironic, especially since the photo accompanying the story, entitled "Scarred For Life," shows blood-splattered, grieving, fearful children. Especially haunting is the look of terror in the eyes of the little boy pictured in the photo. Perhaps three or four years old, the boy stands against a wall, shaken, frightened, and alone, his sneakers stained with blood.

Also represented in the photo are two American soldiers, who might or might not be the soldiers who killed the parents. Nevertheless, they are clearly moved. One is reaching out to comfort an aggrieved child. The other is squatting near another child. In one of his hands, the soldier holds a phone or another object at which he stares; his other hand rests on the child's head in a gesture of comfort.

Although the soldiers are not victims in the same way that the family members are victims, the soldiers, too, deserve our compassion. They did what most of us probably would have done in their place, however much we might think otherwise. As an officer explains in a follow-up article (*Newsweek*, March 28, 2005), "'Put yourself there.... You're an 18-year-old kid from Tennessee. You don't even understand why these people don't speak English anyway, you're shouting 'Stop!' and the car's still coming at you — you've got to fire'" (p. 35). And then you discover what you've done or been a party to. If we wonder whether or not the soldiers, too, will be scarred for life, we might consider that, when the unit's commander asked who had fired first, none of the soldiers responded, though a "couple of the men said they fired the second shot" (p. 35).

As combat veterans know only too well, war never leaves the soldier. It infects his very being; it remains lodged in his psyche, disquieting his soul. One of my former students who had served in the military confessed to me privately that, when he knew that he had killed his first "enemy" combatant, something inside of him died. From that point, he told me, he could not participate with others in a joyous celebration because he would begin to feel revulsion and shame.

How do we account for the fact that most, if not all, U.S. soldiers possess and believe in commonly held Western moral values even though they engage in war-related acts that contradict these values? In his 1993 book, *Ordinary People and Extraordinary Evil*, sociologist Fred Katz discusses this complexity in human attitudes and behavior, calling our attention to a socio-psychological phenomenon that he labels a "repackaging of values." His explanation of the atrocities that occurred during the Vietnam War applies equally well to atrocities and tragedies occurring in other violent conflicts, such as the war in Iraq: "There is every indication that the American soldier who killed innocent citizens in Vietnam retained the Western value that one should not kill innocent peo-

Richard Prystowsky is the Division Chair for Math, Science & Engineering at College of the Redwoods, in California. The editor of the education magazine *Paths of Learning* from 1998 to 2005, he writes and gives talks on a variety of topics, including homeschooling, peace studies, and Holocaust Studies.

ple. But in Vietnam this value sometimes played only a minor part among the soldier's guiding principles. On some occasions the prohibition against killing was subordinated to revenging the ambushing of a close friend or to other values within one's package of values" (p. 38). Katz summarizes, "In short, at any one time, our values are unequal. They are organized — they are *packaged* — in definite ways" (p. 38; author's emphasis).

A Katzian analysis would thus suggest that the soldiers who killed the orphans' parents nevertheless also "retained the Western value that one should not kill innocent people" but that their values had been repackaged, in large part because of the situational dynamics that helped to define the context in which the soldiers carried out their actions. For example, they knew that "enemy combatants" used cars during suicide combat missions; these soldiers might even have had friends killed by such suicide combatants. It was dark when the car approached. The soldiers were already on the lookout for trouble, and they were likely under orders to stop approaching vehicles. Finally, the car in question didn't stop — an action that the soldiers easily and understandably might have interpreted as implying that they were facing enemy combatants, perhaps those on a suicide combat mission. By the time that the car was approaching, it was probably too late for the soldiers to take stock of how their moral values were packaged, how these values were organized — that is, which values were given top priority at the time (for instance, did the value not to take innocent life rank very highly at the moment?).

In our own daily lives, fortunately we don't normally find ourselves in such extreme situations. Nonetheless, when it comes to how we treat others, are we necessarily any more aware of our own priority of values *at the moment* than the soldiers were aware of theirs when they faced the oncoming car? And do we necessarily make good choices in how we speak to or act towards others?

Whether or not it's possible to train soldiers to behave differently from the way in which those who faced the car behaved, the best way to avoid putting persons in such morally compromising situations is to prevent war in the first place — which we can do only if we first understand its deep, complex causes.

Indeed, the war in Iraq had begun long before the United States invaded Iraq. It existed already — in the unkind words that our parents or grandparents used when they spoke to their children, partners, or neighbors; in our own failure to acknowledge and thank the waitress who brings us our food; in the unkind attitudes and behaviors that we exhibit, in small ways, in our daily lives; and, yes, in the actions and consequences of our educational parochialism and dogmatism. In all such situations, despite our commonly held, cherished values, aggression and injury prevail and another paving stone is added to the path to war.

To behave in accord with our highest values, we must become more mindful of how we are behaving in any given moment. As the Vietnamese Zen Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh might say, when we practice mindfulness, we understand deeply that only by being fully awake for and aware of the present moment can we take good care of the present moment, and that only by taking good care of the present moment can we take good care of the future. Because the path and the goal are one and the same, in order to bring about peace, we must practice peace. There is simply no other way.

As educators, we can help students understand this teaching by helping them see how they might apply it to the various situations they encounter in their everyday lives (in their conversations with friends, for example, or in their consumer choices, or in the decisions that they make with their families). But to assist us in this effort, we ourselves first need to look deeply into the nature of our own words and actions so that we can be aware of the relationship between our smallest actions, verbal or otherwise, and the consequences of those actions. Directly or indirectly, manifestly or subtly, our words and actions affect everyone and everything, including our neighbors, our children, and others' children.

The path of learning to look deeply leads to self-realizations, some of which are uncomfortable. In our own case, for example, some of us educators might discover that, although we are committed to helping students walk paths of peace, engage in acts of kindness and compassion, and work to bring about equality and social justice, we undercut our efforts when, confronted by teaching or learning

paths that differ from ours, we fail to demonstrate the very respect for the good-faith free exchange of ideas and the very commitment to critical thinking and analytical self-reflection that we claim are central to our mission of helping to bring about meaningful change in the world.

Our students, too, struggle with uncomfortable self-realizations. One good way of helping them achieve self-awareness is to ask them to take on the roles of various persons involved in situational conflicts. Ask them to explain how each party of a conflict might see the situation and how each feels. When a student subsequently experiences a conflict with a friend, hopefully she will be able to apply the insights that she will have gained from doing this exercise so that she can listen deeply to her friend and thus understand her friend's point of view.

To help our students achieve this kind of understanding, we ourselves need to model conflict-resolving behavior. However, we need not be engaged in a conflict to practice such behavior. In fact, we practice conflict resolution most effectively when we act to prevent a conflict from occurring. And our preventive acts need not be grand. They occur even when we take the time just to listen to someone — authentically and with our full presence — with whom we have strong pedagogical differences. Perhaps such nonjudgmental listening would enable us to see and experience our shared humanity and, in the process, help our students find a way to tap into the wellsprings of their own compassion.

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Brief Report

Exams and the Learning Environment

Carlo Ricci and Ellie Berger

> Examinations are formidable even to the best prepared, for the greatest fool may ask more than the wisest man can answer.
>
> (Charles Caleb Colton [1822])

In recent issues of *Encounter*, several authors (Crain 2004; Prosper 2004; Sacks 2004) have discussed the social policy aspects of standardized tests. In particular, the authors have described how the standardized tests limit the life chances of low-income students and people of color. But to more fully understand the impact of standardized tests, as well as that of course-specific exams, we need to look at their role in the classroom itself.

High School Course Exams

In many high schools, each department creates a common exam for all the classes in a course. For example, the several teachers who teach Grade 9 English might create a common exam for all their students. As a result of this practice, teachers are forced to cover a standardized curriculum, and there is less opportunity for teachers to teach to their own interests and their students' interests. Teachers do not teach students; they teach curricula.

As a former high school English teacher, Ricci's experiences reflect this limitation. Often while teaching a class, he and the students would have liked to do something different, but because there was an exam looming at the end of the course, the choices that he and the students had available to them were limited. Other teachers we have talked to have expressed similar concerns.

There are ways in which students and teachers gain a bit more individualized control. For instance, teachers sometimes use a common final exam but also include a question that will be answered only by his or her class in order to reflect the learning differences within that particular classroom. However, the instruction and learning is still largely limited by the common exam.

Even when teachers entirely develop their own exams, the exams define what is important. Students might find classroom discussions and projects very engaging — and the greatest learning may occur through these activities — but what really matters is the exam. Since studying for an exam usually involves cramming and memorization rather than deep reflection and creative exploration, the exam sends an unfortunate message about learning itself.

University Courses

Individually, we have both had experience teaching a course that in one semester had an exam but in another semester did not. Overall, we both found that when we did have an exam it overwhelmingly controlled what the class became.

Ricci teaches a course titled, "Curriculum Development, Assessment, and Evaluation" at the Faculty

Carlo Ricci is an Assistant Professor of Education at Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario, Canada. His major interests are in curriculum development, assessment and evaluation, holistic education, and critical pedagogy.

Ellie Berger is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario, Canada. Her major interests are ageism, aging, work, health, retirement, and women and aging.

of Education at Nipissing University. When there was an exam in the course, the focus for the students was not on how this information would improve my teaching, but on is this information will be included on the exam. Similarly, in a gerontology course, Berger wanted students to focus on the connection between the course material and their everyday lived experience, but when there was an exam, they couldn't do so. They couldn't appreciate any material beyond its testability. Classroom discussions were often peppered with, "Will this be on the exam?" or "Do I need to know this for the exam?" — questions that are all-too-familiar to most of us.

In her gerontology class, Berger invites a dynamic guest lecturer to discuss his research on health and longevity. In the year that she had the exam, students took detailed notes during the lecture, anticipating that the information would be on the exam. Berger's impression, based on discussions with students after the lecture, was that the students were so busy taking notes they could not appreciate the lecturer's experiences. In contrast, when there was no exam, they were far more interested in the lecture itself.

Similarly, when Berger is lecturing, she has found that when there is an exam, students are less focused on discussing the material in class and more focused on facts to be memorized for an exam. In Ricci's dialogical approach to teaching, the students are more willing to discuss issues that they and the instructor find relevant and interesting when there is no exam.

In addition, exams cause students to adopt what is important to the professor as *the* important information, rather than deciding for themselves what is important. Students cannot pursue their own opinions and interests, because these might not appear on the test. As a result, students are marginalized.

We might say that teaching trumps pedagogy. Teaching is pre-established transmission of information from the teacher to the student, whereas pedagogy is a dynamic exchange of information among a community of learners. With exams, the students are not interested in their peers' opinions and thoughts, because in their minds, that information is not testable and is therefore not valuable. The unfortunate result is that an environment of shared knowledge or community of ideas ceases to exist.

Standardized High School Exams

At the extreme, and even more controlling than the course-specific exams, are standardized exams. In Ontario, the government created an organization called the Educational Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO), which is responsible for testing students in Grades 3, 6, 9, and 10. In Grade 10, the students are required to pass the Ontario Secondary School Literary Test (OSSLT) in order to graduate. If the students fail the test twice, they are required to pass the Grade 12 Ontario Secondary Literary Course, which acts as an equivalent to the test. Like all standardized tests, this test has contributed to controlling and narrowing the curriculum. When Ricci interviewed an English department head at a high school, she lamented that everything the students do for well over a year is drill-and-skill preparatory work for the test. When Ricci returned to the high school where he used to teach English, a new teacher shared with him an assignment that they give to the students in the Grade 10 English course. Ricci smiled and said that he introduced that particular assignment to the school when he started teaching there. But upon closer inspection he realized that the assignment had been modified. When he was there, the students had an opportunity to be creative, making their own mini-book based on Romeo and Juliet. In the new modified version, the students are asked to write a 100-word summary per chapter (writing 100-word summaries is part of the OSSLT requirement). Then they were asked to write an information paragraph about themselves (another OSSLT requirement), and finally they were asked to write an opinion piece (yet another OSSLT requirement). So, the assignment has gone from a creative and fun experience for the students to an exam preparation. This focus on standardized tests is not limited to English classrooms. All courses are now redesigned to work as slaves for the high stakes standardized master.

Standardized University Exams

In Ontario, the Ministry of Education decided to implement a high stakes entrance-to-the-profession exam. The exam was developed by the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey, and the Ontario Principal's Association. As with standardized

tests at the high school level, these exams narrowed the curriculum and poisoned the learning environment. After barely two years, the exam came to be seen for what it was: a waste of money and time. On December 15, 2004, the Minister of Education announced that the teacher test would no longer be administered. This will save the Ministry the $1.6 million cost of administering the exam. In a news release on the Ministry's website the exam was referred to as being "divisive and ineffective."

Actually, 99% of candidates passed the test. As a result, many students have become suspicious of the test's real purpose. Some professors had been getting students to work hard in their classrooms by telling the students that they need to know the information because it was on the final high-stakes exam they had to pass to be certified as teachers. Students were given the message that the information was valuable because it was on the exam. This is a language that students understand. Now that there is no exam, students are questioning the need to continue with this content.

Concluding Thoughts

Education has always been part of human existence, whereas exams are a relatively recent phenomenon. Clearly we can educate without exams, and if they contribute to such a poisonous environment, why are they so ubiquitous? Exams have the aura of science and promote standardization, characteristics that have considerable appeal in our society. But we believe these characteristics obstruct good teaching. Teaching is an art in which teachers need the flexibility to work sensitively with individual students.

Educators need to discuss, develop, and adopt alternative methods for assessing students' work. Qualitative or "authentic" assessment, which focuses on students' own meaningful work, holds much promise (Wiggins 1999). As individuals, many of us have already experimented with these approaches. But we also need to do so on a broader scale to improve the quality of learning in our educational systems.

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Book Reviews

Educating for a Culture of Peace

Edited by Riane Eisler and Ron Miller

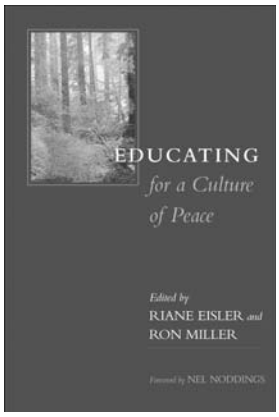
Published by Heinemann (Portsmouth, NH), 2004

Reviewed by Carol Fealey

What would it feel like to live in a harmonious world, a world of caring, compassion, and collaboration? I begin my Sociology class every semester with this question. While students express interest in living such a world, the overriding response is that it is an impossible dream. The reasons for their denial of such a world vary, but their explanations center around the belief that it is human nature to do whatever is needed to survive; essentially, their rationale is the "survival of the fittest." It is easy to understand how these ideas became rooted in my students; they are raised and educated in a culture of domination and violence. The cultural messages that they receive from major institutions focus on competitive values and economic profit as individual and collective goals.

In their much needed book *Educating for a Culture of Peace*, Riane Eisler and Ron Miller, along with other socially conscious educators and visionaries, propose and demonstrate approaches that can be used to counter beliefs such as those articulated by my students, and suggest instead the possibility of building a culture of peace. The heart of this important book centers on the urgent need to do this, and shows why a transformation in educational practices and relations is crucial. While the editors acknowledge the necessity of examining other institutions for their role in perpetuating current cultural beliefs, their focus is on the present educational system which they claim is outdated, ineffective, and damaging to our young people. There are three goals for this volume; to outline a rationale for change, to present suggestions to alter educational processes and content, and to provide inspiring representations of a cultural transformation in education.

Carol Fealey is a graduate student in the Sociology Ph.D. program at Stony Brook University. She is currently an adjunct instructor of Sociology at Farmingdale State University.



Though this collaboration by Eisler and Miller draws on some previously published and well-known models and concepts, the collection and presentation of essays is refreshing, comprehensive, and useful. The value of this anthology is that the authors connect their writing by integrating Riane Eisler's model of partnership education. Additionally, all of the essays have a heartfelt and consistent thread: a desire to create a better world combined with constructive ways to begin.

After a short foreword by Nel Noddings, the book is divided into four parts: The Urgent Need to Educate for Peace; Education as a Human Connection; How Schools Would Be Different in a Culture of Peace; and Moving from Dominator to Partnership Culture.

Ron Miller, in his introduction to the book, sets the tone by providing the motive and need to educate for a culture of peace. Miller suggests that education must keep pace with a changing world. He submits that in today's advanced technological society individuals are regularly confronted with rapid changes in their lives and the need to make choices. Miller is concerned that the present educational system does not provide students with the critical thinking skills to deal with these changes and the multitude of problems in the world, but instead is reinforcing a dominator culture by its transmission-oriented model.

In his view, schools are "training grounds for mindless conformity and quiescent citizenship" (p. 3) because they reduce learning to memorizing facts and

quantifiable testing. This inflexible model leaves out the humanistic quality and separates students from any kind of engagement with "the disturbing moral, political, and economic realities" of today.

Miller requests readers to recognize that acceptance of greed, violence, and hatred as inevitable traits of human nature does not serve our young people. He invites readers to acknowledge that there are consequences to the current teaching regime and to demand learning experiences that nourish students and allow for a culture of peace to begin.

In her essay "Education for a Culture of Peace," Riane Eisler, author of the groundbreaking book, *The Chalice and the Blade*, reaffirms her commitment to partnership education. She begins by presenting her previously published and influential system of cultural classification in which she contrasts the domination/control model with the partnership/respect model. In a social arrangement primarily based on a dominator model of relating, there is a top-down, rigid ranking of hierarchies that include ranking men over women, a high degree of fear, and institutionally accepted violence. Dominator-oriented societies are maintained through control and violence that are normalized through its institutionalization. In contrast, the partnership model offers a democratic, egalitarian social structure of humanity with an equal valuing of men and women, a low degree of fear and violence, and hierarchies of actualization. Partnership-oriented societies normalize respect and promote human development. Sharing Miller's concern that our current educational system is reinforcing a dominator culture by its transmission-oriented model, Eisler suggests that formal education "still bears a heavy dominator stamp" (p. 24) and supports structures of domination, inequality, and authoritarian and violent social structures.

In an effort to transform education from a culture of domination to a culture of partnership or peace, Eisler offers a systemic approach to partnership education that initially appeared in *Tomorrow's Children: A Blueprint for Partnership Education in the 21st Century* (2000). She reconceptualizes three interconnected elements of education: process, content and structure. Process concerns how we teach and learn, and instead of teaching children to obey orders, "their voices are heard, their ideas are respected, and their emotional needs are understood" (p. 25). Content, or what we teach and learn, can sensitize students to the cultural messages of dominance to which they are constantly exposed. Eisler's third element, educational structure (where we teach and learn), is closely aligned with educational process. Students are involved in their education through a democratic process, and teachers facilitate learning rather than engage in control and indoctrination (p. 26).

Eisler's partnership model weaves together the essays in this volume. In the first section, "Education as a Human Connection" the authors concentrate on building partnership processes. Rachel Kessler suggests that fear, unexpressed grief, and a spiritual void have overtaken our culture and are responsible for the pain and violence plaguing today's youth. Kessler advocates the need for meaningful connection in students' lives that can be established in the classroom through relations of respect that fit Eisler's description of partnership. In order for students to feel valued for their uniqueness, Kessler believes that teachers must open their own hearts and share the journey of their souls. It is through doing this that students will feel safe, cared for, and begin to discover a sense of meaning in their lives.

In this section, partnership process is further explored through nonviolent alternatives to dominator ways of disciplining and communicating with children. Sura Hart describes an alternative "communication process" (p. 114) called Nonviolent Communication (NVC) designed by Marshall Rosenberg. Hart describes the Skarpnacks Free School in Sweden, which was developed as an alternative to traditional education and is based on active involvement of children in their learning. The objective of the school was to nourish Nonviolent Communications (NVC) by modeling democratic values and communicating to the students that their needs were as important as their teachers.

The appeal of Hart's essay is the humbleness with which she presents the difficulties integral to the processes of experimenting with a life-enriching education. Hart talks of how the teachers at Skarpnacks had to shift from an "internal culture of domination and violence ... to thinking in terms of our deepest needs and values" (p. 125) so that they could create a

culture of peace and "relate to young people in ways that nourish and empower them" (p. 125).

In the section titled "How Schools Would Be Different in a Culture of Peace," the essays center on Eisler's partnership educational content. Dierdre Bucciarelli invites the reader to see how traditional academic disciplines limit students' capacity to connect to curriculum material. She defines disciplinary methods as "using the analytic tools of the disciplines of knowledge" (p. 136). While she acknowledges they can be useful, she notes they are purely analytic and disregard the moral and emotional aspects of knowledge. Bucciarelli draws on Belenky et al.'s (1986) concept of separate and connected knowing to illustrate the benefits of connected understanding. In contrast to traditional disciplinary understanding, it brings students' hearts and minds into their learning and promotes empathy. She submits that while students do need to know some technical issues in the disciplines, it is not enough; students need to "investigate the multifaceted aspects of problems as they occur in the real world" (p. 151). Bucciarelli offers guidelines for teachers to assist their students in developing critical connected thinking and she presents a sound analysis that while abstract thinking is useful, teachers must also help students connect concepts with real-world situations so they can develop a deeper understanding of the world.

How can educators nourish academic and personal growth when students are disengaged in their learning due to violence in their lives, a lack of connection to their cultural heritage, or subjection to oppression? What are potential challenges along the way in the move from relations of domination to relations of partnership? The authors in the final section of the book, "Moving from Dominator to Partnership Culture," address these questions. Paulette Pierce tells of a painful yet compelling personal journey from dominator to partnership. Having practiced an adversarial stance for many years, Pierce experienced a powerful transformation in thinking after her discovery of Eisler's partnership model. Initially regarding it as a utopian dream, she learned about Rosenberg's Nonviolent Communication (NVC) model and discovered the means to begin applying partnership principles in her life and in her teaching. As she worked with her newfound tools, Pierce needed to abandon deeply embedded strategies of coercion, control, and competition and begin to get in touch with her true feelings and needs. She described the difficulties she faced as she guided students to "unlearn the ways of thinking and acting that are rewarded in traditional classrooms" (p. 184). Students were surprised with the new arrangement, but after a time their happiness and relief in creating "a community of love" (p. 186) became evident.

Drawing on African American, Mexican American, and Native American traditions, Linda Bynoe speaks of the need for community educators "to deconstruct existing educational systems and provide youth of color experiences that question social systems while strengthening their self-concept, self-image, and self-confidence" (p. 191). To accomplish this, and to begin to transform education and build a culture of peace, Bynoe suggests that we need to expose youth of color to a "triad of generational reciprocity, spirituality, and activism" (p. 203).

Carl A. Grant and Lavonne J. Williams conclude the book with the question, "What is the language of care and social justice that we use in schools?" The authors underscore the importance and the complexity inherent in building an "ethic of care" (p. 211) in schools. Grant and Williams (p. 212) make two key points: that caring requires more than taking a benevolent or tolerant stance, and that the concept of caring needs to be expanded to "include an understanding and analysis of the interlocking systems of oppression — racism, poverty, sexism — that prevent equity and social justice."

I am left with a deep sadness at the resignation in my students' voices when they declare that people in the world must concentrate only on their own interests. They say just accept that this is the way it has always been and always will be. I do not surrender; my desire to foster a caring environment compels me to help them imagine living in a compassionate, connected world. I want them to see that there are alternatives, that there are ways to collaborate and care for others without expense to themselves. They are wary because they have seen few examples of this.

Educating for a Culture of Peace provides examples, and I plan to utilize it with my undergraduate sociology of education students. This book presents a concrete framework to guide us and it can help my stu-

dents visualize possibility by challenging assumptions that they take for granted. My hope is that as students read the essays they will realize that there are many with a willingness to care. They will see that there is another way, and even if they struggle to accept this new model, there will be movement in their lives towards a culture of peace — a culture they yearn for but have little hope for. *Educating for a Culture of Peace* can provide that hope.

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The New Teacher Book: Finding Purpose, Balance, and Hope During Your First Years in the Classroom

Edited by Kelley Dawson Salas, Rita Tenorio, Stephanie Walters, and Dale Weiss

Published by Rethinking Schools (Milwaukee, WI), 2004

Reviewed by Andrea S. Libresco

"Only connect the prose and the passion," wrote E.M Forster in *Howard's End* (1921, 187). The teachers of *Rethinking Schools* have written a book for new teachers that will call on both their reason and their passion. The teachers in this volume share the specific ways they found, through trial and error, to balance realism and idealism, and to navigate the school system while retaining their social consciousness and activism.

The book acknowledges the enormous pressures weighing down new teachers and invites them to "put the immediate demands of your classroom on hold for a little while" so that they might contemplate the big-picture questions of how they can be committed, successful teachers. For these authors, successful teachers:

- invite their students' lives, languages, and cultures into the classroom and start building a classroom community on the first day of school.
- provide an academically rigorous curriculum that prepares students for the challenges that await them outside the classroom — and teach them to analyze the world around them, instead of uncritically receiving the messages pushed upon them by the media, the government, and the other powerful forces.
- understand that injustice is a reality today, and that children and adults can and should work together to eradicate it.
- care about students and their lives, about our communities, and about making a difference to bring about a better world. (pp. 2-3)

The book is divided into four sections, with about eight different pieces by varied educators in each section. The first section addresses how to get one's classroom together, obtain resources, establish support networks, and take care of oneself during the first year of teaching. The second section deals with creating lessons and units, as well as homework policies and strategies for addressing controversial topics. Section Three discusses how to relate to students, emphasizing the culture students bring into the classroom. The final section looks beyond the classroom to the development of professional relationships with colleagues, administrators, and parents.

While many of these topics could appear in almost any new teacher anthology, the difference in this volume is that all of the authors discuss these nuts-and-bolts teaching issues in the context of teaching for social justice. These authors know that while all new teachers want to do well by their students, those who are committed to teaching as part of their mission to make change in the world have more riding on the endeavor. The authors' often raw, and always hon-

ANDREA S. LIBRESCO is Special Assistant Professor of Social Studies in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Hofstra University. She has taught secondary and elementary social studies on Long Island and was Social Studies Teacher of the Year in 1997. catasl@hofstra.edu

est, remembrances reflect the pain that this high level of commitment can bring when the ideals of changing the world through the classroom come into conflict with the realities of discipline, administrative responsibilities, and standardized tests.

This tension between ideal and reality is addressed throughout the book with practical applications for resolving specific dilemmas in the teachers' classrooms. Almost every challenge is discussed in terms of the connections that must be made: connections to students and their cultures, to curriculum, to colleagues, to unions, to administrators, to the community, and to the larger society. Thus discipline issues raised by a number of different authors are dealt with by teachers who see the connections between their students' behavior and the use of an engaging and relevant curriculum that is sensitive to the home cultures of their students. Kelley Dawson Salas (p. 15) remembers recognizing this link between discipline and curriculum in her first year: "Teaching about something real and important is more effective in creating an orderly, disciplined classroom environment than acting like a drill sergeant." She also points out:

> No teacher has to wait until the students are "under control" to start teaching them worthwhile stuff. It's actually the other way around. Over and over again, I have found that the moment I start to teach interesting, engaging content, I experience immediate relief in the area of discipline. (p. 185)

Rita Tenorio (p. 81) makes the connection between curriculum, political consciousness, and relationships when she notes that "curriculum is everything that happens. It's not just books and lesson plans. It's relationships, attitudes, feelings, interactions."

Connections between curricular materials and one's political beliefs can be made without purchasing all new books or compromising those beliefs. William Bigelow points out that if you have to use a textbook that you find to be problematic, besides trying to rally colleagues around alternative sources, you can use the text by teaching against it, encouraging students to find other perspectives not represented in its pages. Similarly, Linda Christensen notes that if students begin with a critique of standardized testing and deconstruct the tests, themselves, they can better maneuver within the tests.

Most of the authors make the connection between discipline and classroom community. Bob Peterson (p. 184) stresses that "a well-organized class that is respectful and involves the students in some decision-making is a prerequisite to successful learning." Other authors remember ruefully the times they lost their temper in their classrooms; they note the value of an apology for classroom community and, in turn, for classroom management. Stephanie Walters (p. 170) confesses that

> It wasn't easy admitting I was wrong in front of 27 kids, but I thought it was important for them to see me as human. It also helped with discipline. When I later had to ask a student to apologize to another … the students had already seen me do the same. And they had seen one of their classmates accept an apology rather than continue a cycle of anger and revenge.

The wealth of specific anecdotes in the book remind all new teachers that they should ignore the popular advice "not to sweat the small stuff." On the contrary, these teachers know that all of these small events are choices that are indicative of a teacher's values and her/his political commitment. As Gregory Michie (p. 194) notes

> once you're in a classroom of your own, you begin to realize that it's in the details, as much as in the big-picture theorizing, that critical conceptions of teaching find life…. Teaching for social justice, in practice, is as much about the environment you create as it is about the explicit lessons you teach.

Several pieces in the book deal with multicultural, anti-racist education, giving teachers strategies to connect to the home cultures of their students, and to connect the classroom with the larger community. Enid Lee (p. 141) emphasizes that multiculturalism must go beyond the superficial, "the dances, the dress, the dinner," to examine the power relationships that shape culture, ultimately "equipping students, parents, and teachers with the tools needed to combat racism and

ethnic discrimination, and to find ways to build a society that includes all people on an equal footing."

A final article urges that teachers connect to their colleagues in teacher unions, and that they connect with the written contract with its hard-won provisions that protect teachers. This article could have been meatier, especially in light of the lack of experience that most young people who enter teaching have with unions.

One of the book's central recommendations is to realize, as Salas (p. 18) says, that "I do not have to act like a boss, follow prescribed 'teacher-proof' curriculum, or agree to excessive test-prep activities. As a professional, I have the authority to do what I think is most beneficial to my students." William Ayers (pp. 23-24) encourages teachers to use their power to

> see your students as whole human beings [and] resist the alphabet soup of deficits and the toxic habit of labeling kids that infects most schools…. You have more power than you might think. No one will prevent you from bringing a plant into your classroom; no one will stop you from putting maps on the walls or books on the shelves… [from being] the architect of [your] space.

Other powers new teachers have are their willingness to analyze their practice, and the availability of time to do so, given that most new teachers are younger and less encumbered by family responsibilities.

Once teachers recognize their power, their mission ought to be to raise questions about everything they do: Why am I organizing my classroom this way? What purpose will it serve? Why do I have this display up? Which seating arrangements send what sorts of messages to students? How much organization should I do for students and how much should they do for themselves? Is it a sellout to use a textbook? Bigelow (p. 37) points out that the answers to these questions are less important than "the process of answering them." He and almost every other author extol the practice of forming a study/support group with other teachers who share a collective vision of "classroom life and the kind of world we wanted to build" (p. 41), either in, or beyond, one's own school building. Such groups help teachers work through the answers to specific classroom problems, think about content for units, and discuss larger educational issues.

One of the devices throughout the text is the Question/Answer box that appears periodically, set off from the article to which it is related. Thoughtful questions from these boxes include both those one might find in any new teacher book and those that teachers committed to social justice might pose. Even when the questions seem to be generic new teacher questions, the answers given by the teachers in this volume never are. One example of the thoughtfulness of response can be seen in the excerpt below of the answer to the homework question. Tenorio (pp. 88-89) answers the question with her own series of questions that require reflection on the part of the new teacher:

> Why are you giving homework? Is it a school policy or is it up to the teacher? What is the purpose served by homework? Is it a real opportunity for students to review or practice a skill? Is it meant to let families know what is going on in class? Or is it just "busy work"? What happens to the work that students bring back? Who looks at it? How is it used or not used? Is there a place for the students to do work at home? Will there be another person available to help with the work or to see that it's done? What resources does your student have outside of school? Does the family have access to computers or other technology?

She then provides some answers:

> Involve students in the development and use of the information in their homework. Let them know that you and they will need the data they collected, or the words of the person they interviewed, to continue the work in the classroom during the coming days.

A book like this filled with remembrances of teachers' first years cannot help but remind us of our own lows and highs, and the epiphanies that resulted from both. One of the difficult revelations I had in my first year came during an after-hours talk with a few of my colleagues. Our conversation turned to the reasons we had gone into teaching, and I was stunned to discover that I was the only one at

the table who had decided to teach for largely political reasons. Moreover, these colleagues with whom I had previously thought I had a lot in common were rather shocked that I wanted to share non-mainstream resources with students so that they would look at their world, their government, and their lives from different perspectives. At the time, that conversation made me feel very alone in the school and in the largely white suburb in which I was teaching. I remember deciding that I either had to try to raise awareness levels among colleagues or teach in a different district. I chose the former course, which led to one of the highs. I made a pitch to the entire faculty at a monthly meeting for commemorating Women's History Week (it had not yet become a month back then). I did my homework, having created a handout of films, speakers, resources, and teaching ideas for every subject area so that all teachers could do something special in their classes if they so desired. I had great trepidation about giving this talk, expecting such ridicule from the men that I included several jokes I thought some on the faculty might make in response to the suggestion of a whole week devoted to women's history. Imagine my surprise when, at the conclusion of the talk, the women on the faculty gave me a standing ovation and crowded around me, seeking further lesson ideas. My colleagues were not initiators, but they turned out to be receptive to new ideas that raised issues of social justice, as long as they were approached in a respectful and helpful way.

These memories of my own first year in a white suburban school system raised questions for me about whether the book would be as helpful for teachers in non-urban areas. The four editors are teachers in the urban system of Milwaukee, and many of the other contributors come out of urban systems as well. Would teachers in the suburbs be as likely to find other teachers who share their commitment to social justice? Would their students be more resistant to multicultural education? Might testing pressures actually be greater in high-SES districts that demand that students achieve mastery (scoring over 85%) so that real estate prices will stay high? If so, how can new teachers negotiate around those testing demands and stay true to their values?

This volume may resonate a little less with suburban teachers, but it is still both a practical and inspirational book for all new teachers. Its subtitle's emphases on purpose, balance, and hope are recurring themes. All of the authors point out the many choices teachers have on both micro and macro levels, from selection of materials, to communicating with parents, to learning about and honoring the cultures of those in whose community one teaches, to talking with veteran and new teachers about *their* choices. All of the pieces address some aspect of finding balance between one's personal life and professional life, between idealism and realism, between fitting into the culture of the school and changing the culture of the school, and, in terms of one's mental health, between what Ayers refers to as "criticism and forgiveness" of one's own teaching. After all, Ayers (p. 25) reminds us that "We are, each one of us, a work in progress."

All the pieces bring hope to new teachers, either implicitly or explicitly. Even the pieces where teachers reveal that they endured stress-induced health conditions are ultimately hopeful in tone; for the reader knows that these teachers stayed in the profession and got a little bit better each year at connecting their commitment to social justice with their practice in the classroom. New teachers can read this book and feel that if they only connect to students, colleagues, and the larger school community, they will foster the kind of "communicated experience" of which Dewey (1916, 87) spoke. And veteran teachers might read this book and re-connect to the caring, joy, and activism that brought them into teaching. The students of these teachers can only benefit.

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Author-Prepared Discussion Questions
Based on Articles in this Issue
May be Found on the Web at
<www.great-ideas.org/Enc182Guide.htm>.

It's Your Fault! An Insider's Guide to Learning and Teaching in City Schools

by R. G. Brown

Published by Teachers College Press, 2003.

Reviewed by Alexandra Miletta

Writing about life inside urban schools in ways that illuminate their complexities, joys, heartbreaks, and challenges, especially when the writer has held a leadership role in the school, is at best, tricky, and at worst, inadvisable. Successful examples of such books do not come readily to mind. Rexford G. Brown's book, *It's Your Fault! An Insider's Guide to Learning and Teaching in City Schools* (2003) takes an unconventional approach to the task of writing about the charter middle and high school he founded and led in Denver, Colorado. In five chapters, Brown takes on big ideas about inclusion, time management, learning communities, and leadership by adopting a different voice and genre for each essay.

Unfortunately, what becomes increasingly apparent in this book is the author's disdain for the adolescent students in his charge. Even in the preface, where he begins to list the stories he might tell, he includes examples such as

> The loudest boy in the world, who was diagnosed as a "counter-phobic learner," someone who won't learn anything because it's more important for him to believe that he already knows it…. And the boy who started out as the straightest kid in school and became the kinkiest. (pp. vii-viii)

As the list goes on, Brown juxtaposes descriptions of parents, teachers, and students as if to suggest that the task of managing them is impossible, that a leader cannot be held accountable for the endless rush of problems he or she is asked to solve. A central paradox is established even before the first chapter begins: P.S. 1 is a great school, but those people really put me through hell.

Alexandra Miletta is an Assistant Professor of Childhood Education at the City College of New York. She teaches courses in curriculum and research, and works with student teachers in the public schools of New York City.

The first chapter, titled "Annie," is about a 13-year-old developmentally disabled girl enrolled at the school from its first day and weaves together her story and that of her parents' struggles to find the right educational setting for her. The story is accompanied by a commentary on special education and the politics of inclusion. Although Brown points out the problems with the medical model for diagnosing and treating disabilities, he inserts commentary born of his experiences that falls prey to the very thing he is seeking to criticize, as in the following generalization of children diagnosed with Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD):

> Many ADHD children, in addition to these traits, are explosive and inflexible. They misbehave constantly and seem unable to learn from the ensuing punishments or consequences or long, rational discussions about their behavior. Many can't be reasoned with and do not think that what they do is wrong — for instance, hitting other kids. You can go on and on with them about the Golden Rule and their behavior contracts and the law, and they just keep doing what they do. They can be absolutely maddening. (p. 22)

It is clear from commentaries such as these that Brown had his share of kids being sent to his office, and beyond the usual fare of Golden Rule lectures, he was at a loss as to how to help them cope with their problems.

Even more troubling than such stereotyping and lack of educative solutions to problems are the anecdotes about Annie. Although Brown's purpose is to suggest that Annie was happy at P.S.1 because she was made to feel included in the school's community, it's not clear that Annie was really learning anything. Brown describes his English class in which Annie scribbled lines while others wrote, and would "share" even though she had

> no more idea what they meant than the rest of us did. Annie did not know that writing was *about* something. It was an act she could imitate, but not understand. If a classmate asked, "Is it about your trip with your dad?" she'd answer, "Yes. My trip! Went to MOTEL!" But if the classmate had asked, "Is it about your dog Sparky?"

> she would have said, "Yes! Sparky's my dog!" and launched into a disjointed, but highly entertaining, soliloquy about Sparky. It was entertaining because Annie could be very funny and she knew it. She wouldn't just say, "Sparky's my dog," for instance; she'd say, "Sparky's my DAWG," and she'd draw the word out for comic effect, breaking us up every time. (p. 29)

Although Brown is the storyteller and was a witness to Annie's humorous style, his retelling is more suggestive of participants laughing at Annie rather than with her. He readily admits that the school had no special educator and the approach to helping Annie learn was "decidedly informal" (p. 31). Her parents hired tutors and her mother argued for specialized instruction that might help Annie learn to read, but Brown informed her that the school was not set up for such things and that they ran counter to the approach they had been experimenting with for three years.

Brown's central argument in telling Annie's story is that the entire special education enterprise is founded on a misguided legalistic notion. His solution is to change all curricula and differentiated instruction so that no one is "special" yet he offers no clear indications of what such changes would entail. He also calls for a civic and community orientation that was central to the success of Annie's social integration:

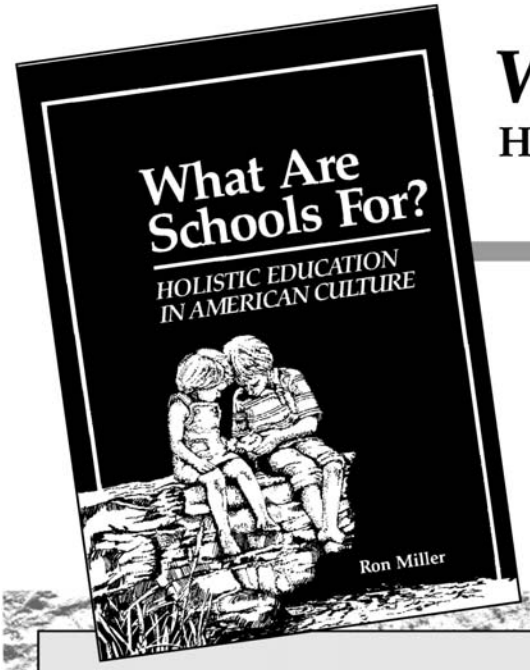
> Education cannot rest on a legalistic foundation alone; it must be animated by a widely shared civic philosophy … that every individual *must* contribute to his or her community if we are to be a great nation. (p. 37)

Certainly it's hard to argue with Brown's point, but it's not as though he's offering the "insider" advice alluded to in the title of his book. Parents who look to Brown to provide insight into navigating the maze of Individualized Educational Plans, programs of inclusion, and mainstreaming are not likely to be consoled by Annie's lack of academic progress, despite Brown's claims that she flourished socially. Furthermore, he goes so far as to say that schools with a "critical mass of unsocialized, multiproblem students" (p. 41) should be closed regardless of the political consequences. If Brown had truly offered a visionary alternative to the status quo, such a harsh statement might have been called for. Instead, the reader is left with the usual feelings of despair that the system is broken and nothing can fix it.

Brown's breezy style takes a nasty and bitterly sarcastic turn in two ensuing essays, "Full Moon Over Middle School" and the chapter from which the book takes its title. The first is a bizarre attempt to humorously capture the day in the life of the school, beginning with the students' schedule, then the teachers' schedule, and ending with the list of phone messages and notes left on the principal's chair. Students are portrayed with animalistic and grotesque imagery such as "pricking arms and sucking blood" and even "gnawing on the desk like a beaver" (p. 45) while teachers are on Prozac and Valium and light a confiscated block of hash during the Testing Committee meeting after school. The second essay is an extended shame-on-you rant against the stakeholders in education: parents, students, teachers, principals, schools of education, school boards, and policymakers. Breaking this offensive whining by offering to "help out here," Brown interjects his litany of complaints with advice such as "mess with kids' minds … throw them curveballs" (p. 101). He then offers an illustrative example: When an angry student is sent to the principal's office, try telling him he should drop out of school and hang out with drunks at the construction site, because in his experience sarcasm is better than the usual "song and dance."

> Curve balls like this work. The truth of the matter is, they're just kids, and they're not as smart as they think. They're very easy to manipulate. You just have to break type. (p. 102)

Some readers may smile at Brown's banter; some may even find it clever. But for those who spend their days inside urban schools seeking creative answers to the myriad and serious problems participants face in those large, impersonal, and frustratingly bureaucratic systems, it's hard to imagine finding a ray of hope in these pages.



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