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Special Issue: Hope

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Editorial

Personal Reflections on Sources of Illusion and Hope

There is more than a touch of irony in writing about hope in such desperate times. At a time when children experience daily violence, abuse, neglect, loneliness, and alienation, every word of hope is shadowed by despair. Reflections on the need for hope seem like a pep talk or perhaps a bit of sniffing glue. What good is hope in the face of such despair? On the other hand, how can we expect children to grow into reasonable, whole, and healthy human beings if they have no hope?

We may look at the societal causes of human misery and that of growing children in particular. We may set our goals as the transformation of institutions of oppression and the creation of a more humane culture. However, such significant societal changes take time while children live with immediate needs; they know and can imagine only in the short term. What, as educators, can we offer children, not so much to make them optimistic, but to give them some strength that may help them through desperate times? I believe we need to reflect on the fundamental sources of hope from which they may draw and those we can provide as caring human beings. The concern here is one of fundamental responsibility rather than sentiment.

In this context, I write this editorial as a personal reflection on sources of hope — sources often so subtle that they go unnoticed or are set aside as idealistic delusions. In the paragraphs that follow, my goal is not to create an intellectual architecture of hope but to offer a personal sense of what lives in children and how we may respond to them inwardly as well as systemically.

We often think of hope as a desire for something, such as wealth or health for ourselves and/or others. We may think of it as a toying with future possibilities for things we want and need. But sometimes we may mistake the object of hope for its source.

Why do we hope? When things are bad, when suffering is daily fare, where do we find the strength to continue? While, in some cases, hope may be a matter of playing the odds, it may be that, despite our circumstances, we have the sense we have not been abandoned. We feel we have not been created and left to ourselves to twist in the wind. Whether we think of life in terms of God or our biological families or other communities, we hope because we feel we are with God, others, or simply at one with Being; we know we are not alone, that our identity and plight have meaning to and for others. In being united, we tap into a source of vigor and connectedness, transcending our immediate suffering. So enmeshed, we can feel that irrespective of our particular wants or needs, who we are and what we do matters.

The saying goes, "misery loves company," but, viewed conversely, so long as there are others vested in our lives and we in theirs, there is hope. Hope, once again, not *for* something, but as a source of meaning and courage, an affirmation of engagement in rather than a withdrawal from life.

Just minutes ago, I saw a girl, perhaps seven or eight years old, sitting beside her mother on a plastic box by a street corner. The sign propped against the box read "Homeless Family. Any Help Would Be Appreciated." The two of them were laughing together as they leafed through a children's book. No one could deny their desperation nor their will to see their way together. While I imagine the mother suffers terribly each time she thinks of her daughter's life, I believe she may well find that her daughter, a human being whom she appears to embrace fully, is a source of strength for her to persevere, to overcome the temptation to let despair flood over her. The little girl found hope in her mother to dispel in unknown measure her sense of vulnerability and helplessness.

In some respects, our intellectual sentiments may fail us here. We might feel such anger and

bitterness at a nation which sustains homelessness that we focus only on institutional concerns. We may focus on the cycles of poverty and privilege with the piercing question of how as a nation and a people we can allow such suffering. Yet, in so doing, we may mistake the sociological concept of "poverty" for the full concrete, daily experience of living it. Perhaps as great as the daily fear and physical deprivation of poverty is the toll taken in the sapping of the spirit, the experience of being cut off from sources of hope — in essence, feeling like an island of being surrounded by a sea of beinglessness.

The need for a hope grounded in connection to others was made clear to me in a recent discussion I had with a male teenager. He, unlike the homeless girl on the street corner, lives with a family of relative affluence. He also is loved by his parents and does not suffer from abuse or neglect. His health, like all the members of his family, is good. It would seem that this young man has a substantial measure of everything he could reasonably hope for. Yet, through our discussion, I learned that he suffers from a sense of despair. He lives in pain — a pain so profound that at times he feels there is no source of hope.

He said "People live and they die and they struggle in between. For what? What is the point of living? If we are supposed to be learning something, what is the point in learning? It does not seem as if anything matters or that there is a reason for anything. How could there be anything to this world when God could allow a holocaust or the birth of a child with AIDS?" He was asking questions about the nature and purpose of his life and all life. He was asking about the nature of being human in a universe of Being or beinglessness. While it is rare to hear such ultimate questions asked so succinctly, definitively, and straight from the heart, they live more or less compellingly in each one of us. We provide varying degrees of hope and despair in the way we help children to answer these questions in the course of their "lived lives."

While I do not generally believe that philosophical discussions with young teens have the personal substance to make much of a difference in their lives, the questions asked required me to offer a response basic to my own understanding. I focused on my own sense that beyond all of us as separate beings, beyond the communities we form, we, by virtue of our humanity alone, have rights and positive obligations to others — that beyond all the illusions of our identity borne of difference, we are all meaningfully and fundamentally united.

Someone once said that "the absurd" is a human being calling out into a Godless universe for meaning. I wonder if the opposite is not more accurate — that the absurd is really our being oblivious to the meaning within and around us, the unity beyond our fragmenting intellects, the responsibilities we have, and the sustenance we may receive.

While I will not speculate about divine intentions, I question what must happen, how much suffering we must cause, allow, or experience before we recognize what we are called to do. Through our encounters with others, we are given the opportunity to develop the highest aspects of ourselves — to transcend self-centeredness and *be* with and for others.

Like the young man, we may wish to confront God. In our frustration for answers about the meaning of suffering, we may demand that God be confined to the limits of our imaginations. We demand answers that both remain within the comfortable limits of our understanding and permit us to be removed from the fundamental moral obligations that stream from the answers. We seek knowledge in terms that fit together tightly enough so that we may refer them somewhere rather than carry them within us as seeds of inward transformation. We fail to recognize that human suffering cannot be understood in material terms alone — that true understanding requires personal inner activity and carries with it absolute positive moral obligation.

How could we stand in judgment of God or meaningfully rise against the forces of societal oppression if we ourselves fail to serve, first and foremost, the cause of humanity? If there is a God, He must ask Himself what must happen before we assume a hand in our own destiny. It is only when we choose to recognize our union with others, our mutuality in Being, that suffering will decline, for

it is only then that we shall have the vitality and commitment to transcend ourselves and transform society.

Where there is no sense of participating in "Being," where there is no sense that we share in existence beyond ourselves, hope is abandoned and we are left in a vacuum with no direction or purpose, no identity. We can draw strength from nothing; we can lend ourselves to no effort of substance. All action seems pointless. To say that an individual has chosen a life of hope is not a statement of psychological mechanics. It is not to say that an individual has chosen to be optimistic as a way of coping with otherwise untenable circumstances. Rather, hope, as I define it in these pages, is a statement of character. Hope, as such, arises out of what Paulo Freire calls "an existential concrete imperative." He writes:

> I do not understand human existence, and the struggle needed to improve it, apart from hope and dream. Hope is an ontological need.
>
> ...when [hopelessness] becomes a program, [it] paralyzes us, immobilizes us. We succumb to fatalism, and then it becomes impossible to muster the strength we absolutely need for a fierce struggle that will re-create the world.
>
> The idea that hope alone will transform the world, and action undertaken that kind of naiveté, is an excellent route to hopelessness, pessimism, and fatalism. But the attempt to do without hope, in the struggle to improve the world, as if that struggle could be reduced to calculated acts alone, or a purely scientific approach is a frivolous illusion. (1994, p. 8)

We commonly accept as fact the illusion that we are separate individuals — that we are not only individuated physically but that we have no common foundation in Being. The "I" is abstracted, removed from a sense of belonging or responsibility to others individually or collectively except as we choose. In this context there is no mooring for humanity; each of us seems adrift. We take for ourselves an unrestrained personal liberty where we are independent agents in the cosmos, and we pay the price of an isolation bearable only with continuous doses of material goods (among other things) — spiritual anesthetics.

The injustice, inequity, and inhumanity of our institutions and policies arise from the removed sense of individuality — of being not grounded in Being or a unity of beings. It is not enough to rise up against social forces by which we oppress and are oppressed. It is not enough to forge political, economic, and social remedies when the fundamental illness of our time lies within our souls. To address children first and foremost as human beings, we must look beyond the models of education that serve the national economy or particular social agendas. As human beings, they can come to know, as inner experience, their unity with all other human beings, their kinship with all life on the earth, and, perhaps, their union in Being. These are the sources of hope that may provide the courage and strength to shoulder full human responsibility. Only with them can we address the real sources of human suffering.

— Jeffrey Kane, *Editor*

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The Partnership Model: A Signpost of Hope

A Dialogue Between Riane Eisler and Rob Koegel

> To engage with our students as persons is to affirm our own incompleteness, our consciousness of spaces to be explored, desires still to be tapped, possibilities still to be opened and pursued.... We have to find out how to open such spheres, such spaces, where a better state of things can be imagined; because it is only through the projection of a better social order that we can perceive the gaps in what exists and try to transform and repair. (Maxine Greene)

Koegel: My work with students suggests that it's hard to feel hopeful unless we have a vision that sustains us, that offers a life-affirming model of what can be. In his book about the civil rights movement, Vincent Harding spoke of an evening he spent with some Afro-Americans who, after graduating from elite universities, returned to a community which was haunted by drugs and violence. He recounts how one of the teenagers from the community said, "You know, doc, out on those streets it's like being on a dark, dark country road at midnight, with no moon and no lights to guide you; and you can't see any signposts at all. So they're lost, don't know where to go, and they can be pulled down into any hole." He then pointed to his friends and added, "What we need are signposts to help us find the way ... people we can look at, be with, listen to, people like Gene and these folks here. That's what we need. Signposts."[1]

I have found that many people — young and old — yearn for "signposts" that "we can look at" and use as models. I believe this is why your work on partnership and dominator *models* of organizing human relations has struck such a responsive chord in people throughout the world; it's also why the three books you have written about the costs of domination and the possibilities of partnership offer such rich resources for educators.[2]

Rob Koegel holds a Ph.D. in sociology and is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Farmingdale. He has a longstanding interest in promoting multicultural education, applying feminism to his life and teaching, and creating an equitable society in which partnership prevails and diversity is valued.

Riane Eisler is best known as the author of **The Chalice and the Blade, Sacred Pleasure,** *and* **The Partnership Way.** *She has taught at UCLA and Immaculate Heart College and is an educational and media consultant. Her works have been translated into fifteen languages, including Russian, Japanese, and Chinese.*

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Eisler: I am very moved by what you just said. One of the ways that societies orienting to the dominator model maintain themselves is by providing very few signposts of hope. The stories they tell (religious, scientific, and in popular culture) and the beliefs they instill make it seem that the way things are — however unpleasant it may be — is "natural," normal, and inevitable. Frequently, for people who are at the very bottom of hierarchies of domination, hopelessness can become unbearable. For some, the only way out is through escape ... by drugs and hurting others.

So, for all of us, both children and adults, it's urgent today to reexamine not only what is, but what can be. We need to look at human possibilities.

This is what my work on the partnership and dominator models does. My studies of these distinct models of interaction are based on crosscultural and transhistorical materials that uncover underlying social patterns. These patterns, of course, were there all the time. What I did was to name them as the partnership and dominator models.

Koegel: I remember being very excited when I first read your work. The term "partnership" speaks to my yearning for mutually enhancing, respectful, and empowering relations; it also evokes my hunger for a caring community — what Martin Luther King calls "the beloved community" — that fosters equality, mutuality, democracy, and justice. Thinking about partnership makes me feel hopeful. The term "dominator," in sharp contrast, triggers an almost visceral aversion to the

pain, fear, insecurity, injustice, and denial that I associate with "domination." I believe that partnership nourishes, enriches, and honors life, while domination destroys, diminishes, and deforms it. My work with students suggests that many other people feel this as well.

As you show in *The Chalice and the Blade* and in *Sacred Pleasure*, the various elements of these social patterns have been documented by scholars in archaeology, art, religion, and the social sciences. But the data uncovered by these various scholars lacked a theory, a framework that connected them, and an accessible way of describing them. This is precisely what your work on "cultural transformation" provides. Could you talk more about the social, cultural, and historical patterns that you analyze?

Eisler: My work suggests that if we look beneath the vast differences across time, places, racial and ethnic groups, and ideologies, we find underlying configurations. These patterns, however, only become visible when we examine that which most studies of social life, social systems, and social change ignore: how the roles and relations of the two halves of humanity — women and men — are structured.

If we think about it, there are only two basic ways of structuring relations. All societies are patterned on one of two models (with, of course, variations in between that combine both models). On the one hand, we have the dominator model in which an unequal system of ranking — beginning with the ranking of the male over the female half of humanity — is ultimately backed by force or the threat of force. On the other hand, we have the partnership model. Here, difference (be it based on gender, race, religion, sexual preference, or belief system) is not automatically converted into superior or inferior social and/or economic status. Rather, the central principle of social organization is *a more trusting, reciprocal, and egalitarian linking*, not a fear-based hierarchic ranking.[3]

Koegel: Your work is therefore not just about gender narrowly defined, but about social systems.

Eisler: My work explores the implications of how we organize relations between the two halves of humanity for the *totality* of a social system. The way that these relations are structured has crucial implications for the personal lives of both men and women. But equally important, although generally ignored, is something that, once articulated, seems obvious: that the way we structure the most fundamental of all human relations (without which our species could not go on) profoundly affects all our institutions (from the family and religion to politics and economics), our central values, and thus the direction of our cultural evolution.

Models of society are abstractions, tools that help us understand social life. However, societies that orient more to either the dominator or partnership model tend to have certain patterns. For example, when we examine social systems from a gender-holistic perspective — which takes into full account the roles and *relations of* males and females — we find that societies with rigid male dominance in the family, the economy, and the state have three interactive components: First, the male is ranked over the female, and the traits and social values stereotypically associated with "masculinity" are valued more highly than those associated with "femininity."[4] Second, a generally hierarchic and authoritarian structure. And third, as is required to maintain rigid superior-inferior rankings, a high level of institutionalized social violence, ranging from wife and child beating to chronic warfare.

Koegel: Your gender-holistic perspective stresses the mutually reinforcing relationship between the social construction of gender roles and relations, and the entire social system. Your work therefore invites us to explore how the gender-related patterning found in a particular society influences its cultural beliefs and values, its social life, and its social structures.

More specifically, your work shows how the degree to which male dominance exists in a society shapes the extent to which it has authoritarian social structures, institutionalized violence, and fear conditioning. Your pioneering analysis of *systemic patterns* therefore shows how the ranking of men over women is a basic template for all rankings of domination. As a result, societies primarily based on the dominator model have *ranking* as the basic principle of social organization. They rely heavily on pain or the fear of pain. They also promote ways of feeling, being, and relating that make inequitable rankings appear "natural" and violence seem normal. Your analysis of the dominator model helps us to look for and make sense of a particular type of social pattern.

Eisler: Exactly. And when we move to the other side of the continuum, we see a very different social pattern which I call a partnership rather than a dominator "systems configuration." Here we find a more equitable connection between people. Rather than emphasizing "ranking" people over each other, the partnership model of interaction emphasizes what "links" people together. This egalitarian linking is made possible by institutional structures that support economic and political democracy and (since there is no need to maintain

rigid rankings of domination) a relatively low level of systemic or institutionalized violence.

There are *hierarchies*, but power is primarily conceptualized not as power over (symbolized in the title of one of my books by the blade or the power to dominate and destroy), but as power to create and nurture (symbolized by the life-giving, supportive, and illuminating chalice). Hence hierarchies of actualization (helping to bring forth our highest human potentials) rather than hierarchies of domination (requiring the suppression of empathy, creativity, etc.) can evolve. As a result, what I call "technologies of actualization" are built into institutions rather than pushed to the social margins.[5]

Koegel: You're saying that in a society which is primarily oriented to the partnership model, caring and caretaking are highly rewarded — indeed, they are the most valued human activities.

Eisler: In such a society, females and males are equally valued in the governing ideology, and *stereotypically* "feminine" values such as nurturance and nonviolence can be given operational primacy. As a result, the life-sustaining labor of nurturing, helping, and loving others is fully integrated into the economic, political, and social mainstream. And, since there is no need for sharply distinguishable "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics and domains as the basis for ranking one gender over the other, both sexes are encouraged to value caring and to engage in caretaking. But I want to emphasize *stereotypically* "masculine" and "feminine." What we are talking about is *not* inherent in men or women — as we see all around us in the changes that women and men are making.

Koegel: I've found that when I mention partnership, many people tend to assume that I'm talking about a utopian society that has eliminated violence, pain, conflict, and fear. They therefore conclude I'm speaking about something that we may want but can never have.

Eisler: This is why it's so important to also emphasize that all is *not* peace, love, and cooperation in a partnership model of interaction. To begin with, there is also cooperation in the dominator model. However, it is very different. For example, the cooperation entailed in preparing to launch a war. Conversely, there is also competition in the partnership model. But again, it is different from the dominator kind of competition designed to harm/eliminate the opponent (as in putting someone out of business). It is achievement-oriented, a way of motivating ourselves to excel while nourishing the achievement of others.[6]

Moreover, it's not realistic to assume that partnership societies have no violence, pain, or cruelty. These aspects of human life, unpleasant as they are, seem to be part of the human equation. Nevertheless, my point is that violence, cruelty, and domination are neither idealized nor institutionalized in partnership societies because they are *not* needed to maintain rigid and coercive rankings of domination.

Koegel: You're saying that violence, intimidation, and imposition do exist in a partnership society, but that such behaviors are neither required by institutions nor supported by their operation. Thus, whereas a dominator society needs *chronic* violence, pain, and fear to ensure its survival — these modes of relating are literally built into the very core of a dominator social structure — a partnership society does not.

Eisler: Right. Khomeini's Iran provides us with a current example of the dominator model, while Scandinavian countries orient more to the partnership model.

Koegel: It's interesting that you just cited examples from the present since your writings provide such inspiring illustrations from the past. I still remember when I first came across your work. I was visiting an aunt who, when I told her that I taught courses on gender, asked me what I thought about *The Chalice and the Blade*. When I replied that I had not read it, she said "How can you teach about gender if you've never read *The Chalice*?" and immediately handed me the book.

When I turned to the first page, I read that "This book opens a door" and that "even opening this door a crack reveals fascinating new knowledge about our past — and a new view of our potential future." You then asked three questions that speak to me and, I suspect, to anyone who yearns for or possesses hope: "What is it that tilts us toward cruelty rather than kindness, toward war rather than peace, toward destruction rather than actualization? Is a shift from a system leading to chronic wars, social injustice, and ecological imbalance to one of peace, social justice, and ecological balance a realistic possibility? Most important, what changes in social structure would make such a transformation possible?"[7]

Your aim is to offer new knowledge and to nourish hope as you answer these questions. You do so, in part, by inviting the reader to examine what you called one of the "best-kept historical secrets." Could you say more about this?

Eisler: Until recently, the general assumption has been that human society never was, and by implication, never could be, anything except male dominant, highly unequal, and warlike — or that if there was anything different in our prehistory, it was so primitive as to be unworthy of much attention. There also has been a widespread assumption that however bloody things

have been since the dawn of civilization, this was the unfortunate prerequisite for technological and cultural advance. These views simultaneously reflect and reinforce a dominator perspective.

However, in the past few decades, many archaeologists, linguists, evolutionary scholars, sociologists, systems scientists, as well as historians of religion, art, and myth have gathered evidence that challenges this conventional view of our past. Yet, despite the sheer volume and immense importance of their work, their central finding still remains one of the best-kept historical secrets — namely, that there is strong evidence indicating that nearly all the material and social technologies fundamental to and associated with civilization were developed thousands of years before the imposition of a dominator society.

Koegel: You draw on a vast scholarly literature to explore this new picture of our past — and its implications for our present and future — in detail. Can you mention some key findings of these scholarly works?

Eisler: Certainly. First, for roughly 15,000 years of human history, most people — except for those living in harsh habitats — seemed to have lived in relative peace and plenty. Second, rather than male dominance, there seems to have been gender-balance: women and men working together in equal partnership for the common good. Although women in these more partnership-oriented societies appear to have had leading roles in religious and social life (as priestesses and heads of the clan), there is no evidence that the position of men in these social systems was at all comparable to the subordination of women that exists in dominator societies. On the contrary, there is strong evidence which suggests that power was equated with responsibility and caretaking rather than dominance and intimidation.[8]

Third, many scholars have found that these societies were, by any contemporary standards, remarkably egalitarian. That is, they lacked the massive gender and class inequities we have been *taught* are characteristic of ancient civilizations on the one hand, and the prerequisite for social progress on the other. Fourth, the consciousness of our oneness with nature was central to our lost psychic heritage. Indeed, as archaeologists, art historians, and mythologists have shown, many prehistoric societies not only revered nature; they also made no distinction between nature, spirituality, and the universally worshipped life-giving powers symbolized by female depictions of the deity or Goddess. Nor was there any separation between the sacred and the secular, between religious and daily life. And fifth, both the modes of relating and the spirituality found in these more partnership-oriented societies were far more inclusive, nonviolent, and in harmony with nature than that associated with a dominator spirituality.

Koegel: Your work certainly reminds us that partnership-oriented societies possess certain patterns, namely: they value both sexes equally, are more peaceful and nurturing, have relatively egalitarian social structures, honor nature, and are based on mutual pleasure. As you show in *Sacred Pleasure*, this partnership patterning creates a life-affirming form of sexuality and a holistic form of spirituality.

Eisler: There are, of course, connections here to education as well.

Koegel: Yes. I am convinced that holistic educators, regardless of our personal and pedagogical differences, are drawn to the gender-balanced patterns of partnership that you have described. This is why I'm surprised that *Holistic Education Review* has tended to ignore gender relations. In nearly ten years of publication, it has not had one journal issue that focused on gender. Nor, with few exceptions, have the articles it has published examined gender-related concerns, let alone the relationship between the organization of gender on the one hand, and education on the other. Your work stresses the need to examine the implications of how we organize the role and relations of the two halves of humanity for the *totality* of a social system. I hope that holistic educators will further explore the implications of a *gender-holistic perspective* for both the problems and possibilities of our school system.[9]

Having said that — and we'll explore the possibilities of education later in our discussion — I'd like to return to the new picture of the past that you and other scholars have been elaborating. I especially want to discuss one of the key insights that your cultural transformation theory offers: that societies which orient more to the partnership model of interaction evolve quite differently than societies that lean toward the dominator model.

Eisler: Until now, most studies of cultural evolution have primarily focused on the progression from simpler to more complex levels of technological and social development. Particular attention has been paid to major technological shifts, such as the invention of agriculture, the industrial revolution, and more recently, the move into the postindustrial age. This obviously has very important social and economic implications. But, as my work suggests, it only gives us *part* of the human story.

The other part of the story relates to a different type of movement: the social shifts toward either a partnership or dominator model of social organization. As I

noted, the central thesis of cultural transformation theory is that the direction of the cultural evolution for dominator and partnership societies is very different. I can only touch on this key point here, but *The Chalice and the Blade* and *Sacred Pleasure* tell a story that begins thousands of years before our recorded (or written) history: the story of how the original partnership direction of Western culture veered off into a bloody 5,000-year dominator detour. They show that since our mounting global problems are in large part the logical consequences of a dominator model of social organization, they *cannot* be solved within it. And they stress that there is another course which, as co-creators of our own evolution, is still ours to choose. This is the alternative of break*through* rather than breakdown: how through new ways of structuring politics, economics, science, and spirituality we can move into the new era of a partnership world.

Koegel: You just articulated something that I, as an educator, feel is an invaluable "signpost." Many of the undergraduate students I teach believe that the dominator model of interaction is the inevitable result of "human nature." Time and again, I find myself having some version of the following discussion with students. It's the "beast within," they often tell me, which "naturally" leads men to dominate women, to compete against and struggle with other men, and to oppress them if possible. "People are selfish, competitive, and violent. It's the way things have been, are, and will always be." "What if it hasn't always been 'the way things are?'" I ask. "What if there was a time when peace flourished and men and women lived as equals? What if there have been societies where partnership rather than domination prevailed? Would that change your beliefs about human nature?" "Of course it would," someone invariably answers. "If a society was based on partnership and promoted peace, this means that things were once different, and can once again be different."[10]

When I ask "How many of you know that there is strong evidence that such societies not only existed but, for thousands of years, actually predominated?" few — if any — students do. When I ask "Why not?" an opening often appears where previously there was none — much like the "door" you mentioned in *The Chalice and the Blade*. When students become aware that history offers them alternatives that they were not exposed to — and were in fact denied — many of them begin to explore questions such as: What were these partnership-oriented societies like? Why, in all the years spent studying history in school, weren't we ever taught about the existence and the possibilities of partnership? And what happened to these societies, and why?

Eisler: These crucial questions deserve a more comprehensive answer than I can give here. However, as I show in *The Chalice and the Blade* and *Sacred Pleasure*, from the very beginning warfare was an essential instrument for replacing the partnership model with the dominator model. In an ongoing process that spanned several millennia, nomadic invaders imposed a social system in which male dominance, male violence, and a generally hierarchic and authoritarian social structure was the norm. However, it took more than warfare and violence to consolidate the new dominator system. In the long run, nothing short of a complete transformation of the way people perceive and process reality would do. As a result, what we find is that over time, behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions that did not conform to dominator norms were systematically discouraged. This fear conditioning became part of all aspects of social life in Western societies, permeating child rearing, laws, and schools.[11]

Koegel: Did such "systematic discouragement" result in a truly complete dominator imposition?

Eisler: No society, regardless of how rigid its rankings of domination, can survive without at least *some* partnership elements. Indeed, like a plant that refuses to be killed no matter how often it is crushed or cut back, partnership has again and again sought to reestablish its place in the sun.

In fact, when we look at the past three centuries, we see that the modern era has opened the door for a groundswell of partnership resurgence that is far more powerful than any before. As new technologies and social relations destabilized entrenched habits, beliefs, and institutions, there emerged a wide range of social, political, and economic movements that have challenged the use of violence and the inevitability of dominance in human relations.

Koegel: Could you elaborate on this?

Eisler: In the 18th century American and French revolutions, the institution of Kingship — for many centuries a cornerstone of dominator social organization — was challenged. In the following century, both the socialist and anarchist movements had as their goal a time when the state would wither away and all power would be in the hands of the people. In addition, the 19th century gave rise to a struggle against racism which opposed the idea that "superior" races had the right to dominate and enslave "inferior" races. The 19th century also set in motion one of the most profoundly humanizing social movements of modern times — feminism — which, despite being ignored by history

books and maligned by the mass media, has worked to create a society where the female and male halves of humanity would no longer be forced into dominator-dominated rankings. All of these movements are clearly "signposts" which educators can explore with their students in age-appropriate ways.

Koegel: So you see these social movements as part of a growing effort to advance aspects of the partnership model?

Eisler: Exactly, although this has not been the way history usually is taught, educators *can* offer students real hope. They can show how the 19th century abolitionist, women's, socialist, and pacifist movements and the 20th century anticolonial, civil rights, peace, women's, and environmental movements all share a common goal: to build systems of relations free of domination and exploitation. Educators can show students that this too has been the goal of the far less publicized 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century movements toward a more egalitarian form of marriage and family life.

Looking at history in terms of the tension between a powerful underlying movement toward partnership and a strong dominator system resistance, students can begin to see the last 300 years — and our own time — as a struggle in which, once aware, they can play an important role. They can become conscious agents for partnership evolution. And they can also begin to integrate the "public" and the "private," and become aware of how this plays out in their own lives.

For instance, they can identify another movement during this same time which sought — often against great secular and religious opposition — to eliminate long-standing traditions of painful punishment of children. And they can see that, though this is almost never addressed in our history books, at the same time that people began to awake to the brutality and injustice of political, economic, and racial rankings backed by force and fear, there was also a gradual awakening to the brutality and injustice of rankings backed by fear and force in parent-child and man-woman relations.

Koegel: As you discuss in *Sacred Pleasure*, these attempts to shift intimate relations from domination to partnership were only partly successful.

Eisler: In fact, these progressive developments generated enormous dominator resistance in the 19th century and suffered periodic setbacks since then — neither of which I want to minimize. Even so, there have been crucial gains in the continuing democratization of Western society and the Western family. Indeed, by the second half of the 20th century, a number of crucial developments gave rise to what I call a partnership resurgence. At the same time that the civil rights, anticolonial, women's liberation, antiwar, and environmental movements gained momentum, the challenge to relations based on domination in both the private and public spheres again accelerated.

Koegel: You relate all this to a revolution in consciousness and the regressive pull of entrenched traditions of domination that still have a powerful, often unconscious, hold.

Eisler: Yes. The resistance to partnership is both unconscious and conscious. As opposition to all forms of inequity, violence, and abuse continues to mount, dominator elites have been attempting to maintain and even strengthen their hold. As a result, disparities between haves and have-nots are widening nationally and globally, causing even greater conflict, deprivation, insecurity, and stress. This, in turn, results in more scapegoating. It also encourages people — especially those who, due to their cultural conditioning, cannot envision anything except dominator-dominated relations — to deflect their anger and fear onto members of traditionally disempowered groups, as you show in your article, "Responding to the Challenges of Diversity: Domination, Resistance, and Education."

Koegel: Simply put, as the partnership thrust has accelerated, so has the dominator resistance. In *Sacred Pleasure*, you aptly describe this complex dynamic as "forward push, backward pull."

Eisler: Many people find it hard to sustain hope in the "forward push" when there is so much "backward pull" in our country and in the world. Yet, there are unmistakable signs that despite the dominator backlash, the challenge to traditions of domination, and to violence as a normal and legitimate means of attaining and maintaining power, continues to mount.

Koegel: So many people I speak with are painfully aware of what you call the "dominator backlash." They typically feel depressed by this "backlash" and often feel overwhelmed by it. I think it would be very helpful if you could talk more about what you call the "partnership resurgence."

Eisler: Let me first say that if we look only at what is conventionally considered political — governments and political parties, terrorism and armed revolutions, international agencies like the United Nations — the prospects for change seem slim. Indeed, there are today undeniable signs of massive dominator systems' resistance and regression, be it the election of rightists and even fascists in the West, the mounting fundamentalist terrorism, the "ethnic" cleansing of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, or the huge concentration of eco-

nomic power in transnational corporate giants. These developments are as real as they are disturbing.

But if we also look at what is happening on the grassroots level, despite press reports of growing alienation and apathy, we find that there are worldwide more people today involved in groups and organizations to create a more just and equitable society than *ever before* in recorded history.

Many of these groups are either explicitly or implicitly beginning to recognize the interconnection between the so-called private and public spheres. Hence many are beginning to integrate women's and children's rights, as well as sexual and spiritual issues, into their activities. Not only that, many are taking a much more holistic approach to politics, integrating activities to promote greater social justice, economic equity, and environmental consciousness with activities designed to empower people to right power imbalances in their day-to-day lives. And by so doing, they are beginning to provide the much needed nuclei for an emerging international partnership movement based on a new integrated politics of partnership — a politics aimed at nothing less than transforming our familial and sexual relations, our economic and work relations, our intranational and international relations, our educational relations, our relations with nature, and even our relations with our bodies.

Koegel: The enormous growth of such grassroots movements provides yet another "signpost" of hope. Most people, however, are not aware of these movements and, despite the promise of the popular maxim, do not find that "ignorance is bliss." If anything, they find it demoralizing. You, in sharp contrast, are aware of these movements — you discussed dozens of organizations in the final chapters of *Sacred Pleasure* — and this knowledge gives you hope. These organizations range all the way from grassroots groups working for women's and children's rights to groups of businesspeople trying to create more equitable and socially responsible ways of doing business to civil rights, indigenous, and environmental groups, as well as groups of all kinds working for nonviolent ways of resolving conflicts.

It is imperative that students explore the history of the partnership and dominator models of interaction as well as the tensions between them. The study of history can illuminate historical traditions that can inform and support our efforts to promote individual and social transformation. Think of how much more interesting and relevant history would be if students explored the many social movements that have challenged relations based on domination!

Eisler: I agree. Unfortunately, the way we're taught history tends to break it down into meaningless fragments and to focus on violence — especially warfare. More often than not, curricular guidelines, textbooks, and educators ignore reform movements (such as feminism) that create change through humane, nonviolent means. By minimizing both the emergence and the accomplishments of what I call the organized politics of empathy, they not only deprive us of a crucial part of our history, but they also devalue collective modes of relating which are necessary for a partnership mode of organization. As a result, few students have the chance to explore the alternatives posed by past or present progressive movements, let alone how these alternatives might be applied to their daily lives.

Koegel: In your work you emphasize that there is a positive movement, that the movement toward partnership has gained strength in the past few hundred years, and that this partnership resurgence is a key aspect of the modern and now postmodern era.

Eisler: Yes. Looking at the past three centuries nourishes hope. For example, when we systematically trace this movement — as I do in *The Chalice and the Blade* and *Sacred Pleasure* — we find in the 19th and 20th centuries something that is historically unprecedented: millions of people organizing to directly challenge institutionalized violence as a legitimate instrument to resolve conflict or to obtain and maintain power. It is vital that educators help students see how both our past and present offer many models of people who, as individuals and in groups, have worked and are working to create partnership-oriented modes of organizing their lives.

Koegel: I'd like to explore some of the more general implications of your comments for education. It seems to me that you are inviting educators to weave two related partnership strands into our work: *partnership literacy* and *the arts of partnership*.

I understand partnership *literacy* as the ability to use the partnership/dominator models to analyze personal, interpersonal, institutional, and societal life. Its focus is not limited to the past, to culture, to social systems, or to social movements. Rather, partnership literacy enables us to use these historical, cultural, and systemic sensitivities to delve into our — and others' — feelings and experiences. Entering into this process not only strengthens our capacity to analyze the interplay of partnership and domination in our personal lives, popular culture, and society; it also enhances our understanding of the complex ways that social forms

shape how we engage with, learn from, and value different modes of being.

As you and David Loye write in *The Partnership Way*, the difference between partnership and dominator beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, and processes is not a matter of "us" versus "them." Rather, as Walt Kelly's Pogo said, "I have met the enemy and he is us." Both models also operate within each of us, although in differing degrees. This is why all of us need to know what the dominator model is, where it came from, how it operates within and upon us, and what to do about it. We also need to know what the partnership model is, where it came from, how it operates within and upon us, and how to use it. Partnership literacy is vital for our own clarity and for human advancement.

Partnership literacy enables people to treat the past and the present as a resource for life-affirming ways of perceiving diversity, organizing power, and dealing with conflict. It fosters the capacity to recognize *patterns* of partnership and domination in our psyches, our relationships, and our society; to appreciate the costs of domination and the benefits of partnership; to analyze different ways of nourishing partnership; and to imagine humane yet effective ways of responding to and transforming domination.

Eisler: Such a version of "literacy" also provides a foundation for what you call the "arts of partnership."

Koegel: Yes. The arts of partnership enable us to build personal relationships and social forms that support equality, reciprocity, dialogue, nonviolence, and democratic social processes.[12] Rather than linking assertion with imposition and control, these partnership competencies foster what Jean Baker Miller calls "agency-in-community."[13] This assertive mutuality provides the personal foundation for the arts of partnership.

These arts consist of the interlocking and interdependent ability to cultivate:

- open, caring, and connected forms of communication
- empathic, collaborative, and egalitarian links between individuals
- democratic and synergistic relationships within groups
- power with others rather than power over them
- conflict that is both creative and productive
- the respectful engagement of social differences
- an empathic, reverent connection to nature [14]

Since we are often confronted with personal and institutional relationships built on the dominator model, we also have to develop ways of functioning in dominator contexts that do *not* reproduce dominator modes of being and relating. It is hard not to respond to dominator dynamics with dominance or submission — especially when this behavioral repertoire is rewarded by our institutions, fostered by our culture, and embedded in our psyches.[15] Although our cultural conditioning and hierarchical institutional structures often push us to become victims and/or executioners, these are clearly not the only alternatives.

It is also vital to remember, as Audre Lorde put it, that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may temporarily allow us to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change."[16] It requires self-awareness, imagination, and courage to foster partnership when confronted by dominator pressures.

Eisler: This leads us to another important issue. Most of the images and stories we still find in our mainstream culture are more like a rearview mirror reflecting our dominator past than an accurate reflection of much that is happening in our time. For example, more and more of us are becoming aware that the old model of courage is not adequate, that it is a courage born of anger, fear, and hate. Even more important, we are becoming aware that there is another kind of courage, a courage that at its most basic level is rooted in a different type of caring for self and others, be it for those we love or even total strangers: the courage to stand up to injustice.

Koegel: It takes guts to challenge injustice. It takes strength to forego dominance and to avoid violence when possible (I believe in self-defense when attacked). And it takes courage to adopt a partnership-oriented stance amid a dominator context.

Eisler: We might think of the courage to challenge unjust authority from a position of love rather than hate as spiritual courage. This is the kind of courage today being displayed by countless women and men in all walks of life who, through their lives and actions, are defying still firmly entrenched millennia-old dominator traditions.

Some of these courageous individuals are educators who refuse to teach what they call the "hidden curriculum" of fear, obedience, uniformity, hierarchy, and exclusion.[17] Instead, they are helping students to recognize and resist all forms of oppression and to work for a more equitable society, both through social action and by learning skills needed for living more productive and peaceful lives — as through new programs in nonviolent conflict resolution and peer mediation that are slowly entering our school curriculum.

Koegel: The conventional "hidden curriculum" that you just spoke of tends to reflect, reinforce, and legitimize a dominator model of interaction in our schools and our society. In the past few decades, however, a growing number of progressive educators have been constructing more partnership-oriented forms of education.[18] Initially, most of these educators strongly identified with one or another distinct perspective — for example, holistic education, humanistic education, critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, and multicultural education — and dialogue between advocates of these approaches rarely occurred. More recently, several educators underscored the need to integrate the insights, sensitivities, and strengths found in these diverse approaches.[19] As transformative educators learn from and work with one another, we are beginning to combine the liberatory dimensions of these perspectives into what I call *partnership education.*[20]

Eisler: Partnership education, as the subtitle to *The Partnership Way* suggests, cultivates "New Tools for Living and Learning, Healing Our Families, Our Communities, and Our World." There are, of course, not one but many ways of educating for what David Loye and I call "the partnership way." Yet, in one form or another, partnership educators focus on six topics that *The Partnership Way* considers to be vital to a partnership education:

1. The degree to which we are constrained and conditioned by social forces shaped by the dominator model.

2. What these forces are and how they work on and within us.

3. Why we need to develop more partnership in our lives, our society, and the world.

4. What this would look like and feel like.

5. What personal, relational, and institutional resistance we can anticipate.

6. How we might create new visions, pathways, and social supports to enhance the degree of partnership in our lives and in our society.

The challenge is ultimately to create a new curriculum design. I took a step toward this recently when I put together the outline for such a curriculum along with sample resources in a booklet called *The Partnership Perspective: Curricular Guide and Resources.*[21]

Koegel: A vast, rapidly growing literature offers several ways that educators can promote partnership ways of relating while encouraging students to resist dominator modes of social organization that hinder their and others' highest potentials.[22] Ernest Block once wrote that "learned hope is the signpost for this age, not just hope, but hope and the knowledge to take the way to it."[23] Partnership educators can and *are* nourishing "learned hope." There is hope.

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Notes

1. This story comes from Vincent Harding's *Hope and History: Why We Must Share the Story of the Movement* (1990, 13-15).

2. The three books are *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future* (1987), *The Partnership Way: New Tools for Living and Learning, Healing our Families, Our Communities, and Our World* (co-authored with David Loye in 1990), and *Sacred Pleasure: Sex, Myth, and the Politics of the Body — New Paths to Power and Love* (1995).

3. As used here, the term *hierarchic* refers to what we may call a *domination* hierarchy, or the type of hierarchy inherent in a dominator model of social organization — namely, one based on fear and the threat of pain. Such hierarchies are quite different than a second type of hierarchy, which may be called an *actualization* hierarchy. An example from biology is the hierarchy of molecules, cells, and organs in the body: a progression toward a higher and more complex level of function. In social systems, hierarchies of actualization equate power with the power to create and to elicit from oneself and others our highest potentials. See also the discussion that follows in the text of this dialogue.

4. Please note that the terms "femininity" and "masculinity" as used here correspond to the sexual stereotypes socially constructed for a dominator society (where masculinity is equated with dominance and conquest, and femininity with passivity and submissiveness) and *not* to any inherent female or male traits.

5. See Eisler's "Technology at the Turning Point" (1990).

6. For a suggestive discussion of how the structural competition that shapes our major institutions unleashes an "against-ing process" that frequently pits people against one another, see Alfie Kohn's *No Contest: The Case Against Competition* (1986).

7. These quotes come from Eisler's *The Chalice and the Blade* (1987, xiii-xv).

8. Because they left us no written accounts, we can only infer how the people of the Paleolithic and the later, more advanced Neolithic thought, felt, and behaved. One important source of data is excavations of buildings and their contents. Another is the excavation of burial sites. And overlapping both of these data sources is our richest source of information about prehistory: art. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see *The Chalice and the Blade* (1987, chapter 2).

9. For an insightful, accessible introduction to this crucial topic, see Peggy McIntosh's "Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision: A Feminist Perspective" (1983) and "Curricular Re-Vision: The New Knowledge for a New Age" (1989). See also Emily Style's excellent article "Curriculum as Window and Mirror" (1988).

10. For a brief analysis of "our human origins," see Eisler's *Sacred Pleasure* (1995, chapter 2). Eisler writes that "both men and women are capable of a wide range of behaviors, from the most self-centered aggression to the most empathic caring. And we humans can have, and in fact do have, relations structured primarily as fear-and-force-based rankings or as mutually trusting linkings. So one can say that *both* these ways of structuring human relations are natural in the sense that they are part of our human repertoire — and therefore that *both* societies orienting primarily to a dominator or partnership model are human possibilities" (1995, 39-40).

11. I focused on Western societies in *The Chalice and the Blade* because of the greater availability of data on these societies (due to the ethnocentric focus of Western social sciences). However, there are also indications that this change in direction from a partnership to dominator model was roughly paralleled in other parts of the world. See, in this respect, both the somewhat broader discussion and more recent references in *Sacred Pleasure*. See also Jiayin Min, editor, *The Chalice and the Blade in Chinese Culture* (1995). This collection of essays by scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other institutions of higher learning tests the application of cultural transformation theory to Chinese culture.

12. The inspiration for this phrase came from Frances Moore Lappe and Paul Du Bois' discussion of what they call "the arts of democracy" in *The Quickening of America: Rebuilding Our Nation, Remaking Our Lives* (1994, chapters 10, 11). Like Lappe and Du Bois, I choose the term "art" because it suggests that these "arts" are highly valued and, if practiced, can be learned by everyone (1994, 238).

13. For a suggestive analysis of the personal and social forces set in motion by relationships based on "power-over" as compared to "power-with," see Jean Baker Miller's *Toward A New Psychology of Women* (1976).

14. For a brilliant exploration of the psychological, relational, and organizational differences between "power with" (which is based on collaboration, sharing, and mutuality) and "power over" (which is

built on domination, control, and imposition), see Seth Kreisberg's *Transforming Power: Domination, Empowerment, and Education* (1992).

15. Many people assume that individuals either are dominant or submissive. However, as Gregory Bateson noted, "If we know that an individual is trained in overt expression of one-half of one of these patterns, e.g., in dominance behavior, we can predict that the seeds of the other half — submission — are simultaneously sown in his [sic.] personality. We have to think of an individual, in fact, as trained in dominance-submission, not in either dominance *or* submission" (1972, 92). For a provocative analysis of how the structure of this society supports a sadomasochistic social psychology, see Lynn Chancer's *Sadomasochism in Everyday Life: The Dynamics of Power and Powerlessness* (1992).

16. This passage came from the marvelous collection of essays published in Audre Lorde's *Sister Outsider* (1984, 112).

17.The concept of the "hidden curriculum" refers to the unstated, unintended, and often hidden ways that schooling affects students.

18. These progressive forms of education are by no means new. As Patrick Shannon's *The Struggle to Continue* (1990) and Ron Miller's *What Are Schools For?* (1990) show, the roots of such educational forms go back more than a century.

19. For example, Maher (1987), Schniedewind and Bell (1987), Sleeter and Grant (1988), Purpel (1989), Shannon (1990), Purpel and Miller (1991), Sapon-Shevin and Schniedewind (1991), Edelsky (1991), Luke and Gore (1992), Shor (1992), Kesson (1993), Miller (1993), and Purpel and Shapiro (1995).

20. I'm working on an anthology called *An Educational Dialogue for a Change: Learning from and with Transformative Educators*. The anthology opens up a dialogue between transformative educators broadly defined (not just critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, and multicultural educators, but humanistic educators, holistic educators, and whole language educators). This dialogue, which takes place *within* particular perspectives and *between* them, shows: First, there are different approaches within each perspective and that fields which are often viewed as homogeneous possess internal debates. Second, perspectives such as humanistic education, holistic education, whole language as well as feminist pedagogy and multicultural education have politicized partnership-oriented approaches. Third, each perspective has liberatory sensitivities, resources, and teaching strategies that complement and strengthen the rest. And finally, when synthesized, these perspectives provide "partnership education."

21. This booklet is available through the Center for Partnership Studies, P.O. Box 51936, Pacific Grove, CA 93950.

22. See, among others, Nancy Schniedewind and Ellen Davidson's *Open Minds to Equality: A Sourcebook of Learning Activities to Promote Race, Sex, Class, and Age Equity* (1983); Nancy Schniedewind and Ellen Davidson's *Cooperative Learning, Cooperative Lives* (1987); Louise Derman-Sparks' *Anti-bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children* (1989); Riane Eisler and David Loye's *The Partnership Way: New Tools for Living and Learning* (1990); Sonia Nieto's *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education* (1992); a recent issue of *Cooperative Learning* called *Cooperative Learning and the Challenge of the '90s* (1994); and the articles as well as the teaching resources in the special issue of *Rethinking Schools* called *Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching of Equity and Justice* (1994). For a few outstanding journals, see *Rethinking Schools, Democracy and Education, Holistic Education Review, Feminist Teacher, Cooperative Learning Magazine, Radical Teacher, Multicultural Education,* and *Transformations.*

23.This quote comes from Ernest Bloch's *Man on His Own: Essays in the Philosophy of Religion* (1970).

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Where Does the Light Come From?

Sources of Hope in Environmental Education

Peter Blaze Corcoran

Building on classroom discussions of student feelings of hope or hopelessness for the environment, the author surveyed his professional colleagues and identified what they perceived as the nine major sources of hopefulness.

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The piano composition left the class and me bedazzled, both exhilarated and reflective. Entitled *Where Does the Light Come From?* and conceived in response to an undergraduate class assignment on the skills and qualities of an effective teacher, the music raised for me questions of hope. What is the significance of hope for teachers? What responsibility might we have to offer hopeful visions to our students? How do we construct hope in the classroom? Where *does* the light come from?

In this paper I share my concern, which has grown over a generation of teaching, with questions of hope in environmental education. My experiences with students' hopelessness, and even despair, led me to find ways to help them build hope in their lives. In sharing this work at professional environmental education conferences, my students and I became intrigued with the role hope plays in the work of teachers at all levels and with the hopefulness and hopelessness of students, as their teachers perceive it. I offer preliminary results of a study based on those questions of interest.

Constructing hope in an age of worries

These questions took shape for me in the early 1980s, an era of rising superpower tension. I remember Reagan's gleaming vision of Star Wars weapons blasting away Soviet threats as in some Fourth of July tableau. I also remember my college students' angst over that vision and their decreasing sense of hopefulness about peace in the world as it arose in education class discussions, particularly those related to their decisions to become teachers.

I had previously worked with elementary students' fears of nuclear war and had found that training in Joanna Macy's "despairwork" helped greatly. I returned to those insights in thinking how to work with the worries of older students. Macy, in *Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age* (1983), analyzed

the disempowerment that can overtake us with knowledge of the planetary crisis. In the introduction she wrote:

> The present crisis includes the growing threat of nuclear war, the progressive destruction of our life support system, the unprecedented spread of human misery and the fact that these developments render questionable, for the first time in history, the survival of our species.
>
> Despair and empowerment work helps us to increase our awareness of these developments without feeling overwhelmed by the dread, grief, anger and sense of powerlessness that they arouse in us. The work overcomes patterns of avoidance and psychic numbing; it builds compassion, community and commitment to act. (p. xii)

Motivated by the worries of my teachers-to-be and drawing on my earlier experience with children, I began to invite discussion in my environmental education classes on what Macy calls our "pain for the world." Through many conversations among college students, I realized the enormity of their dread, their fear, and their anger at the condition of the world they have been willed, particularly its environmental degradation.

I also experienced again these feelings in myself from a generation earlier. I wondered, is every age an age of worries or is the environment that sustains creation now truly diminished — deepening despair? Was Alexander Pope right about the eternal springs of hope "in the human breast?" Or is hope itself diminished by tragic apocalyptic visions of the inevitable destruction of the planet that seem particular to this time of students' coming of age.

Concerned with the implications for teaching of student hopelessness, I began to work with education students on two related issues: balancing hope and despair in their own lives and the timing and types of knowledge they, as educators, would provide their students. Believing that in order to be effective in assisting their future students, *my* students needed to be in touch with their feelings for the future, I proceeded to engage in discussions of the depth of the environmental crisis.

Joanna Macy believes that we pay a high price for the repression of our feelings of fear for the future. Using the term coined by Robert Lifton in his study of Hiroshima survivors, she names various kinds of "psychic numbing." These range from resistance to painful information to a sense of powerlessness. Her despairwork draws its theoretical strength from the insights that the pain we feel for the world is natural and that the unblocking of our repressed feelings not only can be cathartic but also a way to reconnect us with the web of life. Through Macy's activities, lengthy discussions, and deep reflection on the experience of both the pain and the interconnection, students discovered a power and a hope they had not previously known.

The purpose of my course is to explore the philosophical and methodological power of environmental education to solve the daunting problems of our time, both environmental and educational. My presumption is that the field needs new intellectual and emotional power to address the devastating urgency of these problems. I find that by critically analyzing several emergent philosophical views, students are able to envision powerful and creative possibilities.

One such philosophy is deep ecology, as described by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess. It provides insights as to the human feelings of enmeshment in the world. Deep ecology, as it has emerged in recent theory, describes the intuitions and experiences of an expanded self, what Naess calls "an ecological self." The field, drawing as it does on roots as various as ancient religious traditions and modern American speculations from the likes of Rachel Carson and Aldo Leopold, attempts a comprehensive worldview in which humans' self-realization extends to all life and in which no life form is privileged over another. As I began to understand the enormous implications of this philosophical perspective for informing environmental education, I searched for ways to help students experience the concept and to decide if it provided a more helpful vision of education about the environment. For many students, deep ecology moves them from detached spectators to dynamic community members. For others, it helps weave scientific theories of evolutionary biological and ecological relationships into a meaningful and engaging cosmology.

We work with enthusiasm, no matter what the odds, because any other way of life is unthinkable.

Through this process, students develop a sense of efficacy about their work as educators-to-be. We also examine, in various versions of the course, ecofeminism, conservation biology, bioregionalism,

and socially critical analysis in light of their capacity to enrich environmental education. I then invite the students to reflect upon the sources of their hope, working from the assumption that hope is not a given, that it remains to be constructed.

Hope among environmental educators

I began in the 1990s, with the help of my students, to take the subject of hope in environmental teaching beyond their classroom. From presentations at several professional environmental education conferences, we have realized there is a great challenge in providing a balance in environmental studies; for example, balancing a realistic understanding of the impact of human overconsumption on the natural limits of the planet with a sense of efficacy and possibility that we will learn in ways that make change possible. Concerned with such balances and with the factor of hope in environmental education, I wanted to know more about the thinking of my professional colleagues. Were *they* hopeful about the future of our environment? Did hope play any significant role in *their* teaching? How did *they* view the hopefulness and/or hopelessness of their students? What were the sources of their *own* hope?

I recently gathered answers to these questions, offered as an optional part of a survey instrument on the formative experiences of environmental educators. I am only beginning to analyze fully the content of the answers; I share here general and preliminary results.

The questionnaire was sent to approximately 2,000 members of the North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE) with addresses in the United States. NAAEE is the largest professional society in environmental education in the world. It is active in Canada and Mexico and has members from all sectors of the education community, ranging from resource agency staff to university professors, from school teachers to museum educators. 517 responses were received (with no follow-up) for a return rate of 25.8%. The respondents were 55% female and 38% male, 6% did not state a gender; 10% were under 30, 68% were 30 to 50 years old, and 21% were over 50. Of those who responded, 87% chose to answer the four questions related to hope.

The relative hopefulness and hopelessness of respondents covers a huge spectrum, with responses like: "I have moments of despair and hopefulness." and "It changes daily or weekly." "Hope, for me, exists on a number of levels — as does despair (and I find it difficult to discuss one without including the other)."

The most common response by far is some kind of conditional hopefulness. In some of these, hope is tied to a definition of optimism or pessimism.

> Optimism and pessimism are partly matters of faith or emotion. The "objective" stance is that of "conditional optimism": that is, that we may come out okay, IF we do certain things in time. So no doubt I am a conditional optimist. This formulation focuses on action; it takes one out of the stance of the observer who says yes we will, or no we won't, survive.... In part my hopefulness is apart from the question of success. As my high school teacher said, she is an optimist "by conviction" — I take this stance also, when reason and fact offer no basis for deciding, as they ultimately cannot. I take this stance to mean that one recognizes that it is in a climate of hope that human potentials fructify — and that is important whether we save the environment or not.

> I feel that the future is truly in the balance, and the terrible destruction that is already happening is likely to intensify. So I am not an optimist. But neither am I entirely a pessimist, because I believe that both people and the natural world hold potentials of resilience.

In some responses, hope is created: "My world does not provide me with messages of hope; I must find them for myself. They are subtle at best and often ephemeral."

For many respondents, hope was tied to action. They are entitled to hope if they take action consistent with what they regard as necessary.

> I also believe that the effort of trying — the process — may be valuable whether success is attained or not. It may be intrinsically satisfying, it is where the growth and learning happen, and it brings out the best in everyone. It may be essential for self-respect.

> We work with enthusiasm, no matter what the odds, because any other way of life is unthinkable.

It is clear that hope plays a significant role in the teaching of these environmental educators. It is not so clear in what ways. At the most fundamental level of the decision to teach, hope is crucial, with many respondents saying that without hope they could not teach. Stated even more strongly is the idea that to teach *is* to hope. The very act of teaching — being with the young, sharing knowledge, nurturing an ethic of caring — provides hope to the teacher.

Clearly, hope is an evocative topic. The range of philosophical reflections on hope is wide. The respondents' efforts to define hope and to elucidate the conditions under which it arises tend to be thoughtful, authentic, and sometimes emotional.

While much analysis remains to be done of the content of responses to the question, I would like to share important, albeit preliminary, responses to the question at hand. What do environmental educators say when asked to share the sources of their own hope?

The responses are a gift. I have felt privileged to share in the images, ideas, beliefs, and experiences that give rise to hope among my fellow environmental educators — and to share in their despair.

Several answers to this question reiterated a lack of hope, but among those who were hopeful, several sources of that hope emerged. Six sources were mentioned from 25 to 50 times: success stories; personal experience with nature and the wilderness; family and friends; fellow environmental educators; young people; and the earth itself.

> Letters and projects done by children can give you great hope that people can turn back towards caring about their environments.

> Nature — watching a butterfly sip nectar, seeing flame azaleas bloom or a proboscis monkey honk.

> My peer group struggling toward this same tenuous goal that drives me.

> Hopefully we as environmental educators will be models for others who provide learning opportunities as to how such opportunities should be structured to encourage a lifetime of learning that continually enhances the creative abilities of all human beings....

> I have worked with a lot of inner city youth who have never been to a forest or seen wild animals. Just their excitement is rejuvenating.

> The earth itself is a great source of strength and hope. How can you not see hope in the cycle of life?

Even more prominent, mentioned 60 to 85 times, were three other sources of hope: the idealism and effectiveness of students, the educators' own attitudes of efficacy, and a personal sense of the divine (conceived in both traditional religious and nonreligious terms).

> That there are still students whose mission is *serving*, not necessarily material gain.

> Each time I act upon my own set of values, beliefs, assumptions, and theoretical orientations, I feel hopeful. Each time I create a context and conditions for others to explore, clarify, question, reflect upon, and transform their own values, beliefs, assumptions, and theoretical orientations toward a more socially and ecologically just, caring, and responsive way of living and thinking, I feel hopeful.

> Faith in the basic, ascendant tendency of mankind. We are all from the Creator, from God, who is a benevolent source of love.

For environmental educators, the origins of hope are many and diverse. Their light comes from everywhere, it seems.

Implications for teaching

The quality of the responses to the survey indicates the high interest of the participants with the topic. This was evidenced by the length of responses, including many suggestions for reading, quotations, and additional material returned to the researcher; the large number who expressed interest in the results of the survey; many anecdotal comments, including offers to assist in the research; and many expressions of thanks for the opportunity to think about the subject. This perhaps is an indication of the importance of reflecting on hope and of the significance of constructing hope for environmental educators.

What does this mean for our teaching? Should we share our hope with our students? In what ways might we educate for hope? My experience tells me there is a great need to foster environmental hope among young people. My research tells me environmental educators bear substantial, if qualified, hope.

We certainly could begin by revealing the subject of worry for the world by providing opportunities for expression of the angst and dread our students sometimes feel. We can provide opportunities for experiencing the interconnectedness with all life that gives authority to human decisions. We can encourage sustained reflection on the sources of students' hope and assist them in processes by which they can construct hope. By simply bringing the subject to light, we can begin to answer the questions — and the needs from which the questions arise.

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Expanding the Goodlad Agenda

Interprofessional Education and Community Collaboration in Service of Vulnerable Children, Youth, and Families

Hal A. Lawson

The educational renewal approach of Goodlad and the National Network for Educational Renewal (NNER) can be expanded more fully to incorporate the needs of vulnerable children, youth, and families.

The author appreciates the suggestions provided by John Goodlad, Susan Schwager, Bernard Badiali, Jim Ziegler, Katharine Hooper-Briar, and Julie Underwood, but is himself responsible for the contents of this article.

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John Goodlad is an internationally acclaimed educator. His publications (e.g., Goodlad 1982; 1990; 1994) are unique in that they are action-oriented, not just descriptive and explanatory. Goodlad's ideas and those of his colleagues (e.g., Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik 1990) are compelling, as evidenced by the reform initiative they have mobilized. Colleges and universities across the United States, together with their respective partner schools, make up the National Network for Educational Renewal (NNER). More than an association of organizations piloting key reforms, NNER also represents a change strategy and an identifiable "school of thought."

All such schools of thought are selective. Some ideas or phenomena are emphasized, while others receive little emphasis, and still others are ignored or neglected. By identifying selectivity and silence, analyses and expansions of such schools of thought constitute a valuable service. For example, the dialogue they stimulate may itself become an educative process. Additionally, responses to these analyses often result in more clarity, needed qualifications and contingencies, and a better understanding of the terms and conditions accompanying the reform initiative. Ideally, the accompanying dialogue contributes to unity and holistic thinking.

I offer the following analysis and extension from the perspective of an empathetic "insider." Since 1991, I have had the privilege of working with NNER, John Goodlad, and his associates. I also helped write the application grant that led to my university's inclusion in NNER.

Shortly thereafter, I was selected to participate in a newly formed associates program. Along with 19 others from NNER sites, I traveled to Seattle four

times during a one-year period to learn from and interact with John Goodlad, his close associates, and other national school reform leaders. An integral part of the NNER change strategy, this associates program allowed us to gain deeper understandings of the entire reform effort (i.e., the school of thought). In my case, this program also contributed to my development as a human being; the professional and personal benefits have been inseparable.

Expanding the Agenda for Vulnerable Children, Youth, and Families

I will not address here all relevant aspects of Goodlad's work, NNER, and the attendant change strategy. Even though I have shared a draft of this paper with Goodlad, I do not claim that my rendering of key elements in this school of thought corresponds exactly to his. Indicative of my selectivity, my analysis is framed by my commitments to vulnerable children, youth, and families.

I use the adjective "vulnerable" rather than "at risk" because "risk" connotes deficits and problems and initiates tendencies to stereotype people and blame them. Vulnerability calls attention to environments (e.g., Garbarino 1995; Kozol 1995), and their injurious effects on people. Vulnerable persons, in this view, are harmed by socially toxic environments in which poverty; unemployment; crime; racism and classism; insufficient family supports; psychological states of dependency, despair, and hopelessness; personal social problems such as substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and dropping out of school; and homelessness interact. Approximately one in every five school-aged children is vulnerable; approximately one in every four children below the age of six is vulnerable. In short, the number of vulnerable children and youth is increasing, expected to grow from some 14.6 million today to 20 million by the year 2000. I worry about neglecting vulnerable children, youth, and families when we plan for school reform. Even when we target vulnerable citizens in school reform, I also worry about the extent to which school reform alone will result in outcome improvement.

My analysis proceeds as follows. First, I offer reminders about several related contributions of the Goodlad/NNER agenda. Identifying these as strengths also reveals some of my value commitments. Then I present a map characterizing the plight of vulnerable children, youth, and families. Although I do not describe this map in detail, hopefully it is like a picture that says a thousand words. This map depicts the complex, simultaneous influences upon children and youth as well as their relationships with these influences. This map lays the foundation for two important questions. *Can school reform alone result in improved outcomes and conditions for vulnerable children, youth, and families? If other helping professions and their respective health and social service agencies are involved, how can we facilitate interprofessional education and community collaboration?* With these questions in mind, I search for unmet challenges in the Goodlad/NNER agenda.

Mindful that criticism is not constructive when feasible alternatives are not offered, I suggest that outcome improvement for vulnerable children, youth, and families requires a second generation of partnerships. These new partnerships advance those of the first generation, which are specific to identifiable fields such as education, health, and social work. I view NNER's partnerships with schools, colleges, and departments of education (SCDEs), schools, arts and sciences units, and state education agencies as examples of the first generation model. The emergent second generation of partnerships brings increasingly complex change initiatives involving professionals from social work, health, juvenile justice, recreation, and their agencies working collaboratively with educators and schools (e.g., Adler and Gardner 1994; Dryfoos 1994; Hooper-Briar and Lawson 1994; Lawson 1994; Lawson 1995; Lawson & Hooper-Briar 1994). If diverse professionals are to work together with vulnerable citizens as partners and co-authors, they need appropriate preparation for it. Interprofessional education provides a common denominator of knowledge, sensitivities, commitments, values, skills, and language needed for community collaboration, especially collaboration in school-community linkages. I conclude by revising some of the Goodlad/NNER postulates for interprofessional education and community collaboration. I also add three new postulates. All such work, I believe, serves to advance the Goodlad/NNER. I do not believe that this work dishonors the agenda, nor do I believe that it transforms it to the point where its core values and characteristics have become unrecognizable.

Notable, Exemplary Strengths in the Agenda

Among the noteworthy contributions stemming from the agenda and Goodlad's work are the following:

- A deep and abiding commitment to a demo-

cratic society, including all of its idealized benefits and known requirements for democratic citizenship.

- A deep and abiding commitment to improvements in schools, colleges, and universities and in programs for the education of educators—all with an eye toward sustaining and advancing a democratic society and achieving its benefits.
- An identifiable agenda, including core values, postulates, supportive research, related literature, and a national network for design, implementation, evaluation, and mutual learning.
- Ethical-moral imperatives and democratic principles that surround and inform the work.
- The documented claim that we cannot improve schools unless we recruit and prepare better teachers and other educators.
- The core concept of simultaneous renewal, emphasizing partnerships among education schools, colleges, departments, and special K-12 schools, together with accompanying organizational structures, cultures, roles, and allocation-reward systems.
- An emphasis upon areas of responsibility, accountability, and quality control for education programs that have needed but lacked these features.
- A deep and abiding commitment to the learning and success in school of all children leading to productive, healthy lives as adult citizens.
- With the agenda and core values serving as a common denominator, allowances for differences and local tailoring among higher education institutions and their partner schools.

There is a healthy tension stemming from this last feature. On the one hand, I have heard Goodlad and his associates repeatedly emphasize that the agenda (e.g., simultaneous renewal and better teachers help improve schools) and its core values (moral dimensions of education) are "non-negotiable." On the other, local tailoring and accommodations are expected, even invited. This tension also is evident in my critique.

What About Vulnerable Children, Youth, and Families?

I provide in Figure 1 a depiction of the challenges and conditions surrounding vulnerable children, youth, and families. (The accompanying narrative is not provided here because this is the subject of a companion paper.) Although some of these vulnerable citizens reside in rural areas, most reside in our nation's urban areas. Urban ghettos often have "ghettoized" schools. Indeed, we have a special category of schools — formerly Chapter One, now Title 1 — where at least 90% of the students are on free and reduced-cost lunch programs. In many communities, schools and a neighborhood organization or two are all that remain to improve outcomes for children, youth, and families. Recognizing this, some authors refer to these schools and agencies as sanctuaries (e.g., Curcio and First 1995; McLaughlin, Kirby, and Irvin 1994). Parents pin their children's hopes and dreams on these schools and community organizations.

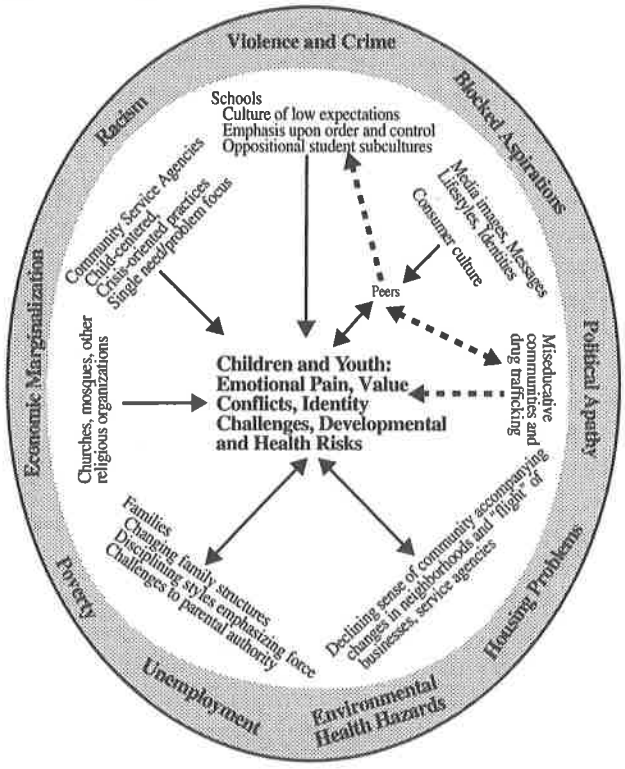

Figure 1. Mapping Vulnerable Children's Challenges

These schools and organizations also are vulnerable, however. They suffer from acute and chronic resource shortfalls. Educators working in these schools often feel embattled. Like the children who come to them (Garbarino, Kostelny, and Dubrow 1991; Kotlowitz 1991), these educators suffer from a kind of "battle fatigue" that accompanies work in war zones. Nevertheless, these children and educators not only endure, but many experience successes. The successful performances of these educators are nothing short of heroic. In partnership with vulner-

able children, youth, and families, they are developing a new knowledge base for "best practices" in these settings (e.g., Battistich, Solomon, et al. 1995; Ladson-Billings 1995; Swadener and Lubeck 1995).

Working alone, often without sufficient services, supports, and resources, these educators cannot, however, turn the larger tide of school dropouts and failures. Instead of being praised, these educators often feel blamed. They know that their schools frequently are stigmatized and labeled as "bad and unsafe" or, at best, "challenged schools." There are stark contrasts between these schools and the presumed characteristics of Goodlad/NNER partner schools.

Goodlad's Partner School and Its Characteristics

Partner schools, for Goodlad and NNER, might be called "best practice schools." The idea is to place future teachers and other educators in school settings that maximize the probability that they can gain competence and a deeper understanding of the knowledge, values, commitments, sensitivities, language, and skills imparted during preservice education programs. Schools and programs for the education of educators work and renew collaboratively around shared goals of simultaneously improving preparation and practice. These partnership agreements help remedy and prevent two enduring problems accompanying reform: SCDEs are out of step with each other, and innovative, more appropriate preparation given to future educators is "washed out" in schools that value other goals for education and other ways of educating students. There is considerable merit in the Goodlad/NNER agenda because it addresses these related problems.

Criteria for Partner School Selection and Conceptions of Best Practices

In principle, schools that serve as urban sanctuaries, most of them Title 1 schools, can be selected as a partner school in NNER. In reality, most do not fit the characterization of "a best practice school." The main difficulty may reside in the likely interpretation of what it means to be a partner school more than criteria advanced in the Goodlad/NNER Agenda. It would be easy for SCDEs to ignore the most challenged schools, choosing instead to form partnerships with more established schools. I see at least three problems when this happens.

First, there is a growing literature in support of the ways in which higher education institutions should and can respond to the needs of urban communities, with schools playing central roles (e.g., Griener 1994; Harkavy and Puckett 1994; Lawson and Hooper-Briar 1994). Such responsive work is a moral imperative. It is critical to the future of our democratic society. The growing disparities between people classified as "haves" and "have-nots" threaten democracy around the world (e.g., Kennedy 1993).

The Goodlad/NNER also is founded upon moral imperatives and democratic citizenship. In short, if challenged schools for vulnerable citizens are not selected as partner schools — meaning that we leave them to their own devices instead of supporting their improvement — we face a significant contradiction in the Goodlad/NNER agenda. We cannot neglect vulnerable citizens and their school communities during this era of unprecedented need and threat while advancing democratic ideals through the simultaneous reform of schools and programs for the education of educators. I believe that it is immoral to ignore or neglect vulnerable children, youth, and families and their school communities. If we expect these school communities to improve themselves without the assistance offered by partnerships, we will find ourselves waiting at the station for a train that will never arrive.

In identifying this potential contradiction and making such a moral claim, I do not intend to minimize the trade-offs involved in selecting a challenged school as a partner school. I am suggesting that we have a moral obligation to select challenged schools as partner schools, simultaneously committing ourselves to making them best practice schools. Goodlad's work points in the same direction (e.g., Goodlad and Keating 1990; Goodlad 1994). And this observation introduces a second problem in the Goodlad/NNER agenda.

The second problem stems from the uniqueness of these challenged schools. "Best practices" in these school communities differ in significant ways from those, for example, in suburban schools for upper-middle-class children, youth, and families. A research literature in support of best practices in these schools is beginning to emerge (Ladson-Billings 1995), including support for new teacher preparation programs (e.g., Cochran-Smith 1995). At the same time, a new theory of public sector practice in social work (Garbarino, Kostelny, and Dubrow 1991; Hooper-Briar 1995) is identifying changing conceptions of best practices in communities that correspond to those in schools. New knowledge, values,

sensitivities, skills, language, commitments, and norms are developing through simultaneous renewal of schools, community agencies, neighborhood organizations, and higher education institutions. Heretofore separate professions and agencies are working together. Vulnerable children, youth, and families are not just partners, but coauthors in this work. Although some of Goodlad's work (e.g., Goodlad 1994) points in the same direction, this promising work and the school communities in which it is being advanced have not been featured as much as they need to be.

The third problem is inseparable from the other two, and it stems from the increasing cultural diversity of vulnerable children, youth, and families served by many of our school communities. In one sense, cultural challenges are familiar and enduring, accompanying the American experiment with universal public schooling. But in another sense, we are gaining new appreciation and insights about best practices.

Simply stated, if we want schools and community agencies to contribute to outcome improvement, then we must make them more culturally responsive to vulnerable citizens. Culturally responsive work is aimed at developing symbiotic and synergistic relationships between children's family/neighborhood culture(s) and the school culture(s) (Ladson-Billings 1995, p. 467). This work transforms teachers' work orientations, curriculum materials, classroom practices, and school cultures as well as structures. Such culturally responsive work contrasts with efforts called culturally appropriate, culturally congruent, and culturally compatible, all of which connote that work is directed toward orienting students to accommodate and accept mainstream culture (Ladson-Billings 1995). In other words, responsibilities for change rest with vulnerable citizens, not educators and schools.

As far as I can determine, the Goodlad/NNER agenda is not as emphatic as it needs to be on issues of culturally responsive practice, even though Goodlad and his associates are aware of the issues. Assuming for the moment that making school communities culturally responsive is a key to outcome improvement, we can identify questions associated with this silence in the agenda. If culturally responsive practices are not developed and documented, what are the implications for the knowledge bases for teaching and teacher education? If schools requiring culturally responsive practices are not accepted as partner schools, where will future teachers, principals, other educators, and university professors gain the knowledge, skill, commitments, and understanding needed for effective work with vulnerable children, youth, and families? Will the Goodlad/NNER agenda contribute to schools, community agencies, and higher education institutions that remain culturally blind?

These three problems lead to others related to work on behalf of vulnerable children, youth, and families. What are other challenges inherent in the present configuration of the Goodlad/NNER agenda?

Challenges in the Goodlad/NNER Agenda

Since I write from the perspective of an empathetic insider, I will not provide the detailed explanations that are warranted, or the precise citations from the Goodlad-related literature that some readers may seek. I do need to acknowledge that, in Goodlad's view (1995), critical analyses and extensions are invited and needed; indeed, some of his work and writing pave the way for this work.

Mere identification is risky in its own right. I run the risk of being viewed as dogmatic, overly simplistic, or both. I have in mind the need for clarity and understanding, along with additional dialogue, when I resort to the following "bullets." With vulnerable children, youth, and families foremost in my mind, here are challenges in the Goodlad/NNER agenda:

- It is child- and youth-centered: Family-centered practices are not emphasized, nor are parents and adult community leaders identified as change agents and co-authors.
- It is school-centered: Health and human services agencies and other community organizations are mentioned but not emphasized. Schools remain as stand-alone institutions in which educators remain isolated from other professionals and community leaders who can offer needed services, supports, and resources to all members of the school community.
- It appears to embody an implicit academic-cognitive bias: It reinforces the idea that schools exist only for students' learning, rather than for building upon known relationships between learning and the development, health, and well-being of children and youth in the contexts of their families.
- It is categorical: It invites school- and educator-

specific policies and practices, continuing silent competitions with other professions and public agencies. For example:

- It does not emphasize interprofessional education programs needed for successful school-community collaborations, aimed at the integration of schools, health agencies, and social services.
- It does not address the broader process of sustainable social development, nor does it take into full account the ways in which schools and educational communities, as hubs of family support and neighborhood enhancement initiatives, can contribute to as well as benefit from sustainable social development initiatives.
- It does not develop fully the importance of nurturing the learning, development, health, and well-being of helping professionals working in schools (and, by extension, in other health and human service agencies); thus, it does not build upon known relationships between the overall well-being of helping professionals and the quality of their work and interactions with children, youth, families, and other helping professionals.

In brief, because the agenda does not focus specifically upon vulnerable children, youth, and families, it may be open to criticism once their needs, problems, strengths, aspirations, and challenges become the focus for dialogue. In fairness to Goodlad and his close associates, however, we must emphasize that they *are* concerned about vulnerable children and youth, especially their access to knowledge (Goodlad 1994; Goodlad and Keating 1990). However, their agenda was not developed to focus exclusively upon vulnerable citizens and their school communities. We might even say, in deference to the comprehensiveness of the Goodlad/NNER agenda, that it is not limited to vulnerable citizens and their school communities.

The agenda offers some universal prescriptions, notably providing equal access to knowledge, encouraging democratic citizenship, and asking teachers and other educators to engage in pedagogical nurturing while stewarding their schools. This agenda also requires the simultaneous renewal of programs for the education of educators and schools. In brief, one of the agenda's strongest assets (universality) also limits its applicability to the specific, complex challenges confronting vulnerable children, youth, and families. We attend to either the advantage or the limitation depending upon our frame of reference and vested interests.

Granting the agenda's advantages, we also can pinpoint some of its limitations:

- Because the Goodlad/NNER agenda is not designed to target the needs and wants of vulnerable children, youth, and families, it proceeds with a somewhat different approach to problem-setting, to framing and to naming "what's wrong and needs fixing."
- Since school reform (also called problem-solving, change, or intervention strategies) hinges upon problem-setting, we should not be surprised to find that the Goodlad/NNER reform strategies do not correspond as much as they might to the needs and wants of vulnerable citizens, their schools, and surrounding communities.

Understood in this perspective, differences are understandable and predictable. Ideally, these differences will occasion informed dialogue about alternative approaches and results accompanying problem-setting — including targeted constituencies, aims, goals, and objectives. Questions abound.

Perhaps the most important questions are: Do we want to expand the Goodlad/NNER agenda to incorporate and accommodate work on behalf of vulnerable children, youth, and families? In other words, can the limitation, once addressed, become another advantage? If so, in what ways would some of the core ideas and reform strategies change? With these changes, is the agenda being advanced or transformed?

I argue next that the agenda can be expanded without dishonoring or transforming it. Goodlad (1995) agrees:

> We assumed that this agenda would be daunting, and it has proved to be so. I am delighted that you and others embrace a larger agenda. Ours was never intended to solve the entire human malaise of our democracy. I shall look to you and your colleagues for that. (p.1)

Four Ways to Advance the Agenda

How, then, might we advance the agenda while honoring its core principles and values? There are many ways to do this. Four alternatives are presented here, beginning with the core idea of the moral dimensions of teaching and education.

Expanding the moral dimensions

To reiterate, interprofessional practice and new kinds of collaboration among people and organizations are being designed to serve vulnerable children, youth, and families. Interprofessional practice and community collaboration require a shared foundation comprised of knowledge, values, sensitivities, skills, and language, and interprofessional education programs are being designed to provide this foundation.

One way to advance the agenda is to extend the moral dimensions of teaching and schooling to all of the helping professions. This kind of thinking is easier once we recall that education is more than schooling. Other helping professions, as well as families, help educate children and each other, either enabling or constraining work in schools (Lawson 1995). Such an expanded version of the moral dimensions of education and the helping professions is offered in Table 1.

Table 1.
Expanding and Extending Goodlad's Concepts and Renewal Agenda

Goodlad's Concept	Expanded Concept
Moral dimensions of teaching and schooling	Moral dimensions of human development, education, and well-being
Pedagogical nurturing for children and youth	Caring relationships and communities for families, community leaders, and helping professionals
Stewardship of schools	Stewardship of educational communities in schools, health and social services agencies, and neighborhoods, including access to needed services, supports, and resources
Access to knowledge for children and youth	Equitable access to educational opportunities for everyone, including support systems for receiving, retrieving, applying, creating, and interpreting related knowledge
Enculturating the young in a social and political democracy	Enculturating the young by empowering families, democratizing family–professional relationships and building sociocultural, political, and economic capital in neighborhoods and communities.

Second generation partnerships

The Goodlad/NNER agenda calls for a particular kind of partnership. My colleague, Katharine Hooper-Briar, and I call these "first generation partnerships." Like those involving schools, SCDEs, and colleges of arts and sciences in the Goodlad framework, there are other profession-specific partnerships in higher education institutions and communities. For example, there are partnerships among social work departments, schools and colleges, children's and family services departments in state governments, and community child welfare agencies. There also are partnerships among health-related higher education units (e.g., medicine, nursing, public health, and health education), community health agencies, and state public health departments.

Currently, there is little interaction among the partnerships. Even on the same campuses, one partnership may not even be aware of the other(s). The pattern is a familiar one, involving profession-specific, or categorical, policies, funding streams, practices, and boundaries. Unfortunately, there is growing evidence in support of the contention that these categorical, first-generation partnerships may not help vulnerable citizens. Even worse, these partnerships unintentionally may result in harm because they are not framed to respond to the needs and wants of vulnerable persons and the institutions that serve them. While vulnerable children, youth, and families seek holism in the services, supports, and resources offered, they experience instead fragmentation and conflict.

A second generation of partnerships is emerging in many parts of the nation. This second generation builds upon needs for interprofessional practice and community collaboration. In some of these partnerships, children, youth, and families are considered partners, co-authors, assistant teachers, and helping professionals. Key features of this second generation of partnerships, contrasted with those of the first generation, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.
A Comparison of Two Approaches to Partnerships

	First Generation	Second Generation
Purpose	Improve schools and teacher education programs	Change all systems for children and families
Theory of change	School reform as a stand-alone strategy (categorical). Reformist bias: Fix existing systems.	Family–community renewal (relational). Transformational bias: Within and across systems change.
Kind of collaboration	Two-way	Multiple ways
Role of families	Clients	Partners

Expanding the Center of Pedagogy

Goodlad's (1990, 1994) Center has three partners: SCDEs, arts and sciences, and partner schools. Interprofessional practice and second-generation partnerships allow expanded ideas of "a center of pedagogy." Figure 2 presents these ideas.

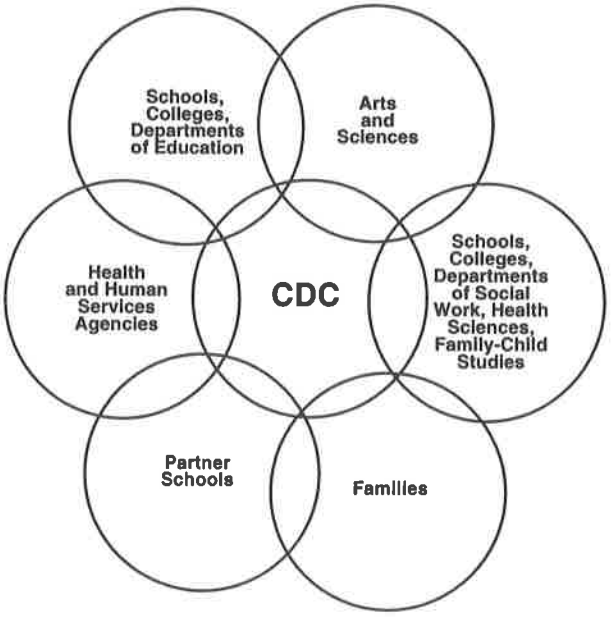

Figure 2. An Expanded Conception: A Collaborative Development Center (CDC)

Like the Center of Pedagogy concept, the expanded version stems from recognition that effective communication, shared planning, and sustainable change in higher education needs to be facilitated by an organizational structure that transcends the boundaries of existing departments, schools, and colleges. Once they begin interacting regularly in a new structure, helping professionals, faculty, and administrators will help construct new work cultures. Both the original and the expanded versions emphasize needs for such structural and cultural change.

Expanding the postulates

The fourth way to expand the agenda is to amend Goodlad's 19 postulates. These postulates help identify the equivalent of necessary conditions for effective change. In other words, the postulates help identify pre- and co-requisites for simultaneous improvements in preparation programs and schools. The question is, can these postulates accommodate interprofessional education and community collaboration in service of vulnerable children, youth, and families?

I believe so, and I have revisited the postulates with this in mind. I have contrasted Goodlad's original postulates (italicized) with revisions framed for interprofessional practices and community collaboration. Possible changes in wording and amendments to the original postulates are offered in my revised ones. I have also added three new postulates.

Postulate One. *Programs for the education of the nation's educators must be viewed by institutions offering them as a major responsibility to society and be adequately supported, promoted, and vigorously advanced by the institution's top leadership.*

Revised Postulate One. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals (educators, social workers, health leaders, etc.) must be viewed by higher education institutions offering them as a major responsibility to society and be adequately supported, promoted, and vigorously advanced by the institution's top leadership.

Discussion. No major changes. All of the other helping professions face the same challenges and have the same needs as education (Glazer 1974).

Postulate Two. *Programs for the education of educators must enjoy parity with other professional education programs, full legitimacy and institutional commitment, and rewards for faculty geared to the nature of the field.* (Note: Wording is changed from the original.)

Revised Postulate Two. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must enjoy resource and prestige parity with other degree programs, including tailored rewards and appropriate supports for faculty engaged in academically based public service.

Discussion. Higher education institutions are prestige-conscious. Internal and external prestige structures drive decision making and resource allocation. Parity without specific reference to prestige and resources may not be concrete enough or sufficiently strong. The mandate for higher education institutions to respond to societal needs and problems is a window of opportunity for gaining increasing prestige and resources. And toward this end, Harkavy and his colleagues (e.g., Harkavy and Puckett 1994) have coined the phrase "academically based community service" to designate the ways in which higher education institutions can respond effectively to local school communities through new strategies that unite teaching, advising, research, and service. This work is not only compatible with the Goodlad/NNER agenda; it advances it.

Postulate Three. *Programs for the education of educators must be autonomous and secure in their borders, with clear organizational identity, constancy of budget and personnel, and decision-making authority similar to that enjoyed by the major professional schools.*

Revised Postulate Three. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must be secure in their borders and relationships, with clear organizational identities, constancy of budget and personnel, and appropriate decision-making authority.

Discussion. I have made minor changes in wording, but the intent is the same.

Postulate Four. *There must exist a clearly identifiable group of academic and clinical faculty members for whom teacher education is the top priority; the group must be responsible and accountable for selecting diverse students and monitoring their progress, planning and maintaining the full scope and sequence of the curriculum, continuously evaluating and improving programs, and facilitating the entry of graduates into teaching careers.*

Revised Postulate Four. There must exist a clearly identifiable group of academic and clinical faculty members for whom professional and interprofessional education programs are the top priority. The group must be responsible and accountable for selecting diverse students and monitoring their progress; planning with students, families, and community leaders formal courses, workshops, and degree programs and informal socialization experiences; continuously evaluating and improving programs; and facilitating the entry of graduates into their careers.

Discussion. Two changes are introduced. Informal socialization in all fields exerts a powerful influence upon recruits. Faculty may not be able to control it, but their planning needs to take it into account. Additionally, professional education in its broadest sense needs to include vulnerable children, youth, and families as partners, co-authors, and joint teachers. Best practices are difficult to identify and disseminate without them.

Postulate Five. *The responsible group of academic and clinical faculty members described above must have a comprehensive understanding of the aims of education and the role of schools in our society and be fully committed to selecting and preparing teachers to assume the full range of educational responsibilities required.*

Revised Postulate Five. The responsible group of academic and clinical faculty members described above must understand the relationship among individual, family, and community and societal well-being, including the aims of education and the roles of schooling in enhancing this well-being; and it must be fully committed to selecting and preparing future professionals to assume the full range of responsibilities required of their respective professions and of themselves as informed citizens.

Discussion. If we focus upon vulnerable citizens, then we must incorporate in our thinking and reform strategies professionals other than educators and organizations other than schools. Yet, schools and educators are the cornerstones of improvement strategies. It is crucial that everyone recognize the connections and interdependence among people's needs, wants, problems, and aspirations; and among families, professions, and governmental policies. Interprofessional practices are founded upon such recognition.

Postulate Six. *The responsible group of academic and clinical faculty members must seek out and select for a predetermined number of student places in the program those candidates who reveal an initial commitment to the moral, ethical, and enculturating responsibilities to be assumed, and make clear to them that preparing for these responsibilities is central to this program.*

Revised Postulate Six. The responsible group of academic and clinical faculty members must seek out and select for a predetermined number of student places in the program those candidates who are committed, or at least receptive, to the moral, ethical, nurturing, stewarding, and enculturating responsibilities to be assumed, making it clear to these students that their professional education is founded upon these responsibilities.

Discussion. Reflecting the erosion of moral values and language and the accompanying emphasis upon technical performance competencies (e.g., Brint 1994), many recruits in the helping fields are not prepared to talk and think in moral terms. Assessing their receptivity to such thinking, talking, and other practices is one thing; hoping to find established commitments is another. This is especially the case for students who are among the first in their families to gain entry into a college or university.

Postulate Seven. *Programs for the education of educators, whether elementary or secondary, must carry the responsibility to ensure that all candidates progressing through them possess or acquire the literacy and critical-thinking abilities associated with the concept of an educated person.*

Revised Postulate Seven. Professional and interpro-

fessional education programs for helping professionals must include assessment methods and criteria that document each student's progress toward becoming an educated person; in addition to literacy, relevant abilities include thinking critically, understanding contexts and cultures, collaborating with other learners in educative communities, and engaging in reflective-reflexive practice.

Discussion. The revisions are aimed at a clearer, more concrete connection with liberal education. And, the importance of reflective-reflexive practices is added, incorporating a key ingredient in professional education reform agendas in all fields.

Postulate Eight. *Programs for the education of educators must provide extensive opportunities for future teachers to move beyond being students of organized knowledge to become teachers who inquire into both knowledge and its teaching.*

Revised Postulate Eight. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must provide extensive opportunities for future practitioners to move beyond being students of organized knowledge to becoming creators, interpreters, action-planners, and teachers of it in local contexts and in response to unique cultures.

Discussion. Today, we are gaining new understanding of the many kinds of knowledge and knowledge-use strategies that are available. Knowledge about knowledge access, retrieval, interpretation, and use is an important addition. It dovetails with ideas about reflective practice, practitioners as researchers, and the roles of professionals as change agents. Furthermore, knowledge is defined and bounded in local contexts and in response to unique cultures. For example, culturally responsive practice for African-American children requires understanding the importance of concrete knowledge in their lives (e.g., Ladson-Billings 1995). Hence, future teachers and other practitioners need knowledge about children's cultural knowledge. Revisions in postulate eight thus introduce needs for culturally responsive practice.

Postulate Nine. *Programs for the education of educators must be characterized by a socialization process through which candidates transcend their self-oriented student preoccupations to become more other-oriented in identifying with a culture of teaching.*

Revised Postulate Nine. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must be characterized by a socialization process that nurtures norms of altruism, caring, and advocacy, together with a unified personal-professional identity.

Discussion. "Other-oriented" is ambiguous and potentially misleading. For example, I can be oriented toward my peers and less self-centered, but not focused upon moral ideals. I would argue that we are seeking to cultivate altruism — service to society and humankind. Work involving vulnerable citizens also involves caring and unrelenting advocacy, manifesting themselves in a no-reject ethic. I would argue that altruism, caring, advocacy, and related moral ideals are not just "out there." Rather, these ideals need to be(come) internalized, linking who I am with what I do. In short, professional education and practice, in the most positive senses, are about identity-construction, meaning-making, and their relationships. The original postulate does not make this sufficiently clear.

Postulate Ten. *Programs for the education of educators must be characterized in all respects by the conditions for learning that future teachers are to establish in their own schools and classrooms.*

Revised Postulate Ten. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must be characterized in as many respects as possible by ideal learning and working conditions, which enhance the learning, development, and well-being of everyone involved — professionals, children, youth, and families.

Discussion. Most schools are child- and youth-centered. We have neglected the adult professionals, paraprofessionals, parents, and parent advocates who work in school communities. These caring adults cannot sustain their nurturing and help to children and youth, or steward the organizations employing them, unless their organizations safeguard the learning, development, and well-being of these adults. In a fundamental sense, reform is about caring persons and organizations — caring, educative communities.

Postulate Eleven. *Programs for the education of educators must be conducted in such a way that future teachers inquire into the nature of teaching and schooling and assume that they will do so as a natural aspect of their careers.*

Revised Postulate Eleven. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must be conducted in such a way that preservice students, experienced practitioners, and faculty model and develop lifelong commitments to inquire collaboratively and critically into the nature

of their work, their personal-professional identities, the characteristics of their organizations, and how all impact upon outcomes for children, youth, families, and communities.

Discussion. A missing component in many reform plans is results-oriented (or outcome-oriented) accountability. I am not referring here to outcomes-based education in schools, which has a separate meaning. I refer instead to what Schorr (1989) called "rotten outcomes" in vulnerable citizens. Reform efforts need to be tied to outcome improvement, and best practices are not "best" unless they can be linked to such improvement. Absent this kind of accountability and planning structure, change can be pursued for its own sake. For example, we can feel good about partnerships, even if partnerships haven't improved outcomes. This kind of thing is nearly immoral. A focus upon outcomes also facilitates renewal, i.e., learning, development, and change that accompany the pursuit of best practices and outcome improvement. Identities get interrogated repeatedly as professionals weigh their profession's self-interests and guidelines against the requirements for responsive, appropriate, and effective practices for vulnerable citizens.

Postulate Twelve. *Programs for the education of educators must involve future teachers in the issues and dilemmas that emerge out of the never-ending tension between the rights and interests of individual parents and special-interest groups and the role of schools in transcending parochialism and advancing community in a democratic society.* (Note: This postulate has been slightly revised and expanded.)

Revised Postulate Twelve. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must involve students and experienced practitioners in the issues, opportunities, and dilemmas that emerge out of the never-ending tension among the rights, responsibilities, and interests of individuals, families, and special-interest groups, emphasizing the essential role of schools and other educative organizations (e.g., health agencies and child welfare organizations) in transcending parochialism and advancing community in a democratic society.

Discussion. "Rights talk" alone may not be beneficial (e.g., Etzioni 1993; Glendon 1991). Known tensions between and among rights and responsibilities, individual and societal needs, are important parts of what the Goodlad/NNER agenda calls "the human conversation." Similarly, educative organizations other than schools as well as families need to be included in the dialogue.

Postulate Thirteen. *Programs for the education of educators must be infused with understanding of and commitment to the moral obligation of teachers to ensure equitable access to and engagement in the best possible K-12 education for all children and youths.*

Revised Postulate Thirteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must be infused with understanding of and commitment to the moral obligation of teachers, parents, and other helping professionals to ensure equitable access to and engagement in the best possible P-16 education for all children, youth, and families.

Discussion. Access to knowledge, opportunity, and experience is a shared responsibility. Moreover, equality of opportunity is unlikely without equality of condition. A healthy, "even start" for all children includes preschool or early childhood education. It also requires family support for the prenatal period and the years from birth to age three. The needs of vulnerable citizens compel a broader agenda than K-12.

Postulate Fourteen. *Programs for the education of educators must involve future teachers not only in understanding schools as they are but also in alternatives, the assumptions underlying alternatives, and how to effect needed changes in school organization, pupil grouping, curriculum, and more.*

Revised Postulate Fourteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must involve future and experienced practitioners in understanding schools as well as health and human service agencies as they are; and these programs should emphasize appropriate alternatives, together with ways to evaluate their accompanying assumptions and necessary conditions and change strategies for implementing and evaluating them.

Discussion. The intent is the same. We seek clarity in the revised version in which important features stemming from culture and context are implied.

Postulate Fifteen. *Programs for the education of educators must assure for each candidate the availability of a wide array of laboratory settings for simulation, observation, hands-on experiences, and exemplary schools for internships and residencies; they must admit no more students to their programs than can be assured these quality experiences.*

Revised Postulate Fifteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping profes-

sionals must assure for each candidate the availability of a wide array of laboratory settings for simulation, observation, hands-on experiences, and internships-residencies in exemplary partner schools and agencies; they must admit no more students to their programs than can be assured these quality experiences.

Discussion. No significant change from the original.

Postulate Sixteen. *Programs for the education of educators must engage future teachers in the problems and dilemmas arising out of the inevitable conflicts and incongruities between what is perceived to work in practice and the research and theory supporting other options.*

Revised Postulate Sixteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must engage future and experienced practitioners in the issues and challenges related to professional and interprofessional knowledge bases, including enduring tensions in identifiable theory-practice frameworks, alternative conceptions of knowledge, and influences accompanying diverse cultures in different organizational and social contexts.

Discussion. The original is not as detailed or as concrete as it needs to be. Again, local culture(s) and context(s) are emphasized in the revised version. The intent in both postulates appears to be the same.

Postulate Seventeen. *Programs for educating educators must establish linkages with graduates for purposes of both evaluating and revising these programs and easing the critical early years of transition into teaching.*

Revised Postulate Seventeen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must establish linkages with their graduates who, as clinical faculty, mentors, or critical friends, may help plan degree programs and ease the transitions of novices into their initial years of full-time work.

Discussion. The expanded version adds examples and implies that graduates who provide feedback also are agents for simultaneous renewal.

Postulate Eighteen. *Programs for the education of educators require a regulatory context with respect to licensing, certifying, and accrediting that ensures at all times the presence of the necessary conditions embraced by the 17 preceding postulates.*

Revised Postulate Eighteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals require a supportive regulatory context, especially the criteria and review processes for licensure and certification of individuals and program accreditation, which is aimed at continuous quality improvement.

Discussion. The intent is, I think, the same in the revised version. Credentialling for interprofessional practice is a separate and important issue that I have addressed in another paper (Lawson, in press). The language of "continuous quality improvement" offers some political appeal and gives expression to a result of "simultaneous renewal."

Postulate Nineteen. *Programs for the education of educators must compete in an arena that rewards efforts to continuously improve on the conditions embedded in all of the postulates and tolerates no shortcuts intended to ensure a supply of teachers.*

Revised Postulate Nineteen. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must advance clear visions, professional-organizational missions, and conceptions of competent practice that promise improved outcomes for children, youth, and families; these visions, missions, and conceptions of competent practice must be grounded in sustainable, social development initiatives, and the achievement of ideals for citizenship in a just, democratic society.

Discussion. This revised postulate takes us to the heart of best practices in support of outcome improvement for vulnerable children, youth, and families. It stipulates some of the necessary conditions for a valid, outcome-oriented change strategy. Building upon known connections among visions, missions, and conceptions of competent practice, it requires that they be connected to sustainable social development strategies and democratic ideals.

Postulate Twenty. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals must provide a common denominator of knowledge, language, values, norms, commitments, sensitivities, and skills, which facilitate needed collaboration on behalf of children, youth, and families, especially the most vulnerable ones.

Discussion. If professionals are to work together, they must be prepared for it. Interprofessional education programs are designed for this very purpose. Programs for the education of educators, which respond to the needs and wants of vulnerable citizens, will have an interprofessional component.

Postulate Twenty-One. Higher education institutions, schools, health and human service agencies, and state governmental agencies share responsibil-

ity for professional and interprofessional education programs as well as organizational redesign initiatives; all are partners committed to simultaneous renewal and improved outcomes for children, youth, and families.

Discussion. Simultaneous renewal involves commitments for all of the persons and organizations serving children, youth, and families. Norms for the kinds of consortia that may facilitate this work are available (e.g., Hooper-Briar and Lawson 1994). Needs remain for an interprofessional code of conduct.

Postulate Twenty-Two. Professional and interprofessional education programs for helping professionals are founded upon postulates and conditions embedded in them that are themselves subject to critical inquiry; and as the postulates are revised in the quest of continuous quality improvement, appropriate changes in programs also are effected.

Discussion. Renewal is easier to practice if its components are explicitly identified and targeted. Fidelity to an agenda or change strategy is a fault, not a virtue, when it blinds implementors of change to problems, challenges, and flaws. This postulate is offered as one kind of safeguard.

Pieces in the Puzzle for Improving the Lives of Vulnerable Citizens

Schorr (1989) suggested that solutions for rotten outcomes in vulnerable children, youth, and families were "within our reach." We might conclude that improvements are merely a matter of political will and professional training and perseverance. It is not so easy.

The complexity and enormity of the challenges confronting vulnerable citizens is all the more formidable when the connections and interdependence among them are recognized. We, like others, are finding pieces in an improvement strategy, while we continue to search for the rest of the puzzle. We cannot postpone work in school communities or in preparation programs until we find all of the pieces. In fact, the more we do in practice settings, the faster we will learn. Here are some of the areas meriting improvement, together with some of the concrete action steps involved.

Ensure that every child has a healthy start:

- Develop, support, advance, and connect three related kinds of programs: Prenatal; Birth to Three; and Early Childhood Education; and ensure that programs for children simultaneously support and educate parents.

Position schools, community health and social service agencies, parents, community leaders, and criminal justice professionals so that they share responsibility for outcomes in children, youth, and families:

- Create and support family resource centers in schools.
- Encourage and support teacher-led and classroom-based partnerships.
- Develop school-linked and school-based response teams for children and teachers.
- Initiate training and development programs for parents and community leaders for paraprofessional roles in schools and community agencies.
- Invite parents to serve as partners and joint authors in their children's learning and development and provide appropriate supports for their work.
- Begin community school and education programs for children, parents, and community members, including violence prevention and conflict resolution.
- Use strength- and asset-based language and improvement strategies.
- Develop school-family-community consortia that address risk factors and barriers to learning, healthy development, and success in school.
- Develop collaborative planning among clusters, or "families," of schools serving the same communities and find ways to rebuild community ownership and involvement in local schools.
- Support interprofessional training and technical assistance strategies, especially those that result in data-driven reform and evaluation strategies.
- Support performance-based, instead of rule-based, accountability systems and encourage role release and redefinition.

Connect community development, family preservation, and school reform:

- Give families supports and resources, not just services, and provide flexible dollars to agencies who help families.
- Address transitions and challenges of families that stem from housing and employment problems.
- Develop occupational ladders for parents and

community leaders, allowing them to proceed from volunteers to part-time paraprofessionals to full-time child and family advocates.

- Provide small business loans and job assistance.
- Initiate peer-delivered substance abuse programs.
- Emphasize community policing in concert with neighborhood development.
- Offer service learning and employment opportunities for children and youth that advance school-to-work and school-and-work programs and advance norms for democratic citizenship.
- Encourage and support involvement of post-secondary education institutions in high-risk schools and communities (e.g., internships for physicians, nurses, social workers, teachers; enrichment programs for college readiness; service learning for all students).

Clearly, this is more than a school reform strategy, yet schools are centerpieces because they are the only universal entitlement for our nation's children and youth. The change strategy involves sustainable, social development for our families, neighborhoods, and communities. The characteristics of our children constitute the most important measure of our success. To the extent that we inform, nurture, protect, and empower them and their families, we invest in our schools and help safeguard our democracy.

Summary

I have offered a critical analysis of the Goodlad/NNER agenda and change strategy. I have focused upon the needs and wants of vulnerable children, youth, and families, along with the school communities that serve them. Building upon the several strengths in this agenda and change strategy, I also have offered one perspective on the ways in which it can be expanded.

I favor responsiveness to vulnerable citizens, and so I have tried to advance — not abandon — the Goodlad/NNER agenda. Toward this end, I have offered a second generation of partnerships, expanded the original version of a center of pedagogy, extended ideas about the moral dimensions of the helping professions, and provided a revised and amended set of postulates. I have identified parts of an improvement strategy. And, I have claimed that this work is a moral imperative. Democracy is threatened unless lives of our most vulnerable citizens are improved. This work unites our roles as professionals with our responsibilities as citizens, renewing each of us at the same time we engage in educational renewal.

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Seeking a Pedagogy of Hope

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We will begin to teach hope to our students by offering them the opportunity to witness the changes that our own spiritual search have wrought in our own lives.

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Ours is becoming a culture of despair, where fear and cynicism often seem to be the most reasonable responses to the events of our daily lives. Bill Moyers (1995) suggests that the mark of an educated person is to be deeply moved by statistics — then he tests us with these: there were 2.7 million *reported* incidents of child abuse or neglect last year; between 1986 and 1992, the number of children killed by firearms rose by 144%; a 1990 survey in Baltimore found that 25% of young people had witnessed a murder and 75% knew someone who had been shot; a midwestern survey showed that 55% of youth had been involved in a violent incident in the past year.

Yet this crisis does not hide itself in numbers. In the face of such symptoms as this epidemic of violence against and among our children, we bicker incessantly over causes and remedies; divided by class, gender, race, and a myriad of other boundaries in the midst of political confusion, social disarray, and ecological disaster. Certainly we would have hoped to find within our cultural repertoire some means to address such problems; instead we find ourselves in a postmodern (and postliberal) world, within which the loss of certainty in the Academy has finally intruded into Middle America. The things we thought would make our society work have failed; the things some of us still think might work are being abandoned for a cult of neonostalgia; a reprise of the themes from isolationism and protofascism go unrecognized, or at least unacknowledged. And, in struggling to be pluralistic, we seem to have succumbed to a primitive relativism. Clive Beck (1995), speaking of moral education in the context of postmodernism, describes such an approach, to which he later takes significant exception:

> People commonly see morality as part of the bedrock of life, a foundation that is unchanging and universal. According to postmodernists, however, there is no such foundation, in morals or in any other sphere. Rather, values are a cultural construction, changing over time and varying from culture to culture. There is no external moral reality which ethical inquiry seeks to uncover. Rather, humans create morality, in accordance with their varied interests, traditions, and

> circumstances. Moral values are not "objective," written in the heavens somewhere. They arise within human life. (pp. 127–128)

While the apparent success of the postmodernists in deconstructing these foundations has offered us a freedom associated with the knowledge that our socially constructed world is only one of many possible ones, by their irreversible actions in breaking these social constructs, the postmodernists have also left themselves, and the rest of us, with unacknowledged burdens at least as great as those from which they claim to have freed us:

> Yet the freedom that comes with such insights and awareness carries with it a paradoxical burden — "an unbearable lightness of being." Into what are we being freed? In a world that is shown more and more to be arbitrary — one among many possibilities, where reality is always and only the illusory effect of images and symbols and where all such realities are undergirded by power — emancipation seems only to offer more of the same. Freedom becomes nothing more than the endless task of doubting — and challenging — the veracity of whatever "regime of truth," as Foucault calls it, we find ourselves living in. Freedom offers little more than the never-ending opportunity of deconstructing the beliefs, assumptions, commitments, and ideologies that structure our world. A kind of freedom that formats what Peter McLaren calls "the restless subjectivities" of those with "broader identities." Yet such emancipation without grounding, freedom without anchorage, surely offers a nightmarish prospect. Endless doubt about what we see, hear, feel, and know is surely the royal route to what the contemporary German scholar Peter Sloterdijk calls "cynical consciousness" (the dominant consciousness, he asserts, in the modern world). It is a consciousness without conviction about the possibilities of a truly different and better world and without the commitment to struggle for it. Freedom brings with it only the possibility of being different from what we are today — but for what reason and to what benefit.... It is, of course, into this emancipatory cul-de-sac that conservative commentators have so effectively injected themselves ... with a call to the epistemological order of yesteryear. (Purpel and Shapiro 1995, pp. xx-xxi).

An early perception of this cultural crisis, this absence of moral compass in the company of the violence and meanness so common to our everyday lives, led Abraham Heschel (1963) to say of our time, "New in this age is an unparalleled awareness of the terrifying seriousness of the human situation.... Are we the last generation? Is this the very last hour for Western civilization?" (p. 13). It would certainly not be correct to claim that, as educators, we have made no effort to answer him, to offer responses to this crisis. The social elements that comprise it — especially when they manifest in well-defined phenomena such as racism, sexism, political repression, and ecological destruction — are not infrequent topics of discussion in our classrooms and in our journals. The question under discussion is, rather, what do our responses say to children about their future in such a world? Is it our intention to encourage children about their prospects? The fact that we are writing about how we might foster hope suggests that there is a need to argue against a perception that pessimism is the more defensible response.

One educator who has sought to respond to that question is Martin Seligman, the director of training in clinical psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, and an authority in the study of motivation. He is best known for his development of the concept of "learned helplessness," where failure resulting from the inability to control painful stimuli produces "giving up." This work has been widely replicated and applied, offering insights into many aspects of the human condition, especially depression, as a function of optimistic and pessimistic explanatory styles. In an elegant conceptualization of the explanatory styles characteristic of pessimism, in explaining a test instrument that measures "hope," among other things, he tells us:

> Whether or not we have hope depends on two dimensions of our explanatory style: pervasiveness and permanence. Finding temporary and specific causes for misfortune is the art of hope: temporary causes limit helplessness in time, and specific causes limit helplessness to the original situation. On the other hand, permanent causes produce helplessness far into the future, and universal causes spread helplessness through all your endeavors. Finding permanent and universal causes for misfortune is the practice of despair. (Seligman 1991, p. 48)

I suggest that the principal problem that this cultural crisis poses for education is the danger that such a "practice of despair" will increasingly characterize our schools, unless we successfully engage the problem of finding and applying a pedagogy of hope.

What is the hope we would teach?

What has been called *hope* spans the range of human endeavor, the same worn word having been used to describe the most base of motives and the most sublime of truths. It can be seen as the epitome of credulity, the poppy from which is distilled the opiate of the masses, the Judas-goat that leads the gullible to slaughter. This same word, to others, names the only alternative to absolute despair: hu-

manity's only chance to turn aside from an irreversible descent.

In this one word we invest our attitudes toward birthday presents, the lottery, financial success, social reconciliation, species survival, spiritual understanding, and salvation: a behavior that must be at least unimaginative, if not self-defeating. Yet, we seem to understand its usage rather well from context: taking hope psychologically, as a motivation based on statistical likelihood, few are uncomfortable with speaking of a market economy as driven by the hope for profit, or with a parent expressing a hope that children might experience an increasing standard of living; and no confusion seems to ensue from that same person then saying that he/she has a hope for eternal life so certain that it may be annulled by no event.

As an educator, I do not want to lose sight of this broad usage; the complex nature of our culture is nowhere more obvious than when one examines the hopes that are stated and implied in the educational enterprise. Whether taken as expectation, belief, anticipation, aspiration, refuge, certainty, or sophistry, each of the stakeholders (e.g., students, faculty, parents, government, community, the past, and the future) brings several kinds of hope to our table, many of them confounded and conflicted, yet each one dearly held. Just as David Purpel (1989) has argued that there is no morally neutral curriculum, in the same sense (and on the same and similar evidence) I would argue that there is no pedagogy without hope. The point at issue is not if there is hope, but rather, "Hope in and for what?" For example, North Carolina's public school curriculum proudly grounds hope in the alleged capacity of the state to shape its population to fit the needs of the current economy for labor. (At least we cannot be faulted for aiming too high.)

As educators, our responses, unlike strictly governmental ones, seldom invoke such nakedly economic prescriptions for despair; rather they more typically tend toward the rigor and rationality offered by intellectual approaches that hope either in science (or scientism) or in engineering (whether technical or social). Yet, I suggest that these are the very elements from our cultural repertoire whose failures we have just noted.

As a part of our European cultural baggage, we each come equipped with varying degrees of that, "faith in the possibility of science" which Whitehead (1967) describes, and it is there that many of us would first turn, seeking a response to our crisis. There is certainly a widely held assumption that science is the pursuit of truth, a truth that would set us free, a truth that would offer a ground for hope. That assumption is now just as widely challenged, as when Huston Smith said, "Values, life meanings, purposes, and qualities slip through science like sea slips through the nets of fishermen" (1974, p. 16) and:

> It is the signal feature of our century's close that we recognize that this turn to science was mistaken. Not entirely mistaken, for science (and its spin-off, technology) have their place. What was mistaken was to expect science to answer ultimate questions, for its method doesn't connect with them. (Smith 1994, 10)

It may be fair to say that science, with its concern for facts and theory might be interested in studying hope, but not in generating it. Science would simply not find hope to be a relevant question, except to the extent that it might constitute a confounding variable, compromising the objectivity of one's observations. Similarly, modern businesspeople and educators alike seem to embrace an unqualified faith in sciencelike thinking to define and engineer solutions to all problems. Many take, without reflection, the role of the "middle manager" of intellectual life, with a confident expectation that all problems have doable solutions, discoverable by adequate analysis. This pragmatic optimism easily entertains the possibility of generating hope. As educators, much of what we do takes its methodology from this approach, regardless of how we might feel about the underlying assumptions. For example, in addressing questions of self-esteem, we frequently borrow from the techniques of cognitive therapy, which can empower a person, giving him or her the capacity to dispel depressive states through a learned skill. This cognitive process involves acknowledging the constructed nature of one's self-image, an insight which implies and allows reconstructing that image so that it is not self-destructive.

However, despite its usefulness, this approach has a focus characteristic of what Bellah and his associates have termed "utilitarian individualism," which is, Bellah maintains, pervasive in our culture and which comprises "...an understanding of life generally hostile to older ideas of moral order. Its center is the autonomous individual, presumed able to choose the roles he will play and the commitments he will make, not on the basis of higher truths, but according to the criteria of life-effectiveness as the individual judges it" (Bellah et al. 1986, p. 47). This is a limitation that Seligman recognizes in his own

work, and which I would suggest is characteristic of the entire range of such social pragmatism — an association of radical individualism with despair:

> But our epidemic of depression is not merely a matter of the paultry comfort we get from society at large.... The growth of [individualism], for example, means that failure is probably my fault — because who else is there but me? The decline of the commons means that failure is permanent and pervasive. To the extent that larger, benevolent institutions (God, nation, family) no longer matter, personal failures seem catastrophic. Because time in an individualistic society seems to end with our own death, individual failure seems permanent. There is no consolation for personal failure. (Seligman 1991, 286)

It is instructive that the failure of this engineering mindset becomes apparent not in some lack of substance such as postmodernism might predict for it, but in its successes. If we had found no understanding of human nature, no useful means by which we could address our problems, acknowledgement of this failure could be postponed with another chorus of "further research is indicated." However, we have discovered a great many useful things: it might be maintained that we have in hand the solutions to many problems that are the cause of great human suffering. Yet, these insights go unused; seemingly we lack the vision or will to change, or more ominously, as Doris Lessing said, perhaps the very basis upon which we attempt change may be fundamentally flawed:

> I think when people look back on our time, they will be amazed at one thing more than any other. It is this — that we *do* know more about ourselves now than people did in the past, but that very little of this knowledge has been put into effect.... There is this great mass of new information ... but our ways of governing ourselves haven't changed. Our left hand does not know — does not want to know — what our right hand does.... [Speaking of the human tendency to form groups based upon bigotry and intolerance] such groups continually spring into existence everywhere, have periods when such beliefs are their diet, while they hate and persecute and revile anybody who does not agree with them. It is a process that goes on all the time and I think must go on, because the patterns of the past are so strong in us that criticism of a society and a desire to change it fall so easily into such patterns. I believe that we are in the grip of something very powerful and very primitive, and that we have not begun to come to grips with it. To study it, yes, that goes on in a hundred universities. But to apply it, no. (1987, pp. 5 and 28)

We know things that should help us along our way, but we lack the sense of meaning and purpose that might have led us to make an appropriate use of these means. Despite its many successes, the engineering mindset has foundered upon the same issue that Huston Smith diagnosed for science. Once again, the answers that we have come to know through this work, while potentially useful, are insufficient for the questions before which we stand.

If we are not to find a ground for our hopeful pedagogy in science or in the optimism of engineering, are there other fields to which we might turn? Certainly, in the context of the cultural crisis that pervades our daily lives, the confidence that we have previously placed in economic growth and progressive political persuasion now seems questionable. Much of our philosophy either advocates despair or implies it, in courting that "ruinous relativism" with which Gabriel Marcel contends (1967, p. 37). And, speaking of the present condition of religious faith, the protestant theologian Walter Brueggemann finds that what the texts make clear our society contravenes:

> that the full, hoped-for self is a self who will live in full communion with God, enjoying God's presence, being utterly safe, at home, at peace in God's presence. This affirmation may strike us as odd and offensive, but it belongs to the core of our faith. It is clear, in my judgement, that modernity has almost completely talked us out of this hope. We fear that such an affirmation sounds mystical, or romantic, or otherworldly, or only for those with a particular "spiritual aptitude".... Hope that leans toward God in desperate urgent expectation that God will indeed liberate the world from its terrible decay and bondage ... cannot be easy to utter in a technological society. (1993, pp. 44–45)

Spirituality as a context for educational response

It would be quite understandable for a reader to have grave reservations about setting aside so much that is important to the Academy as unhelpful in our search. To such a critic, I would propose a thought experiment. Let us imagine that we are trying to fulfill the commission that this issue gives us, to foster hope in the child who must, "go to school in fear and return home through menacing streets" by means of any of the preceding approaches that might be politically possible within our schools. Examine your own feelings as you imagine teaching such a curriculum. Does it inspire *you* with hope as you teach it? Isn't it true that in that light we know these promises to be hollow? Who among us would not indict themselves for hypocrisy in the midst of pressing so questionable a case upon a child? Why this systemic failure? Why do the tantalizing promises of science, social pragmatism, and a litany of other re-

sponses offered by the Academy, even when they do seem to have some measurable effects upon our world, still seem empty when put to such a test?

This emptiness represents a challenge not only to our capacity to develop a pedagogy of hope but also to our right to employ it in a world seemingly more conducive to despair. It can come as no surprise to us that we face children who have become cynical in the face of such emptiness; or that we face those whose remnants of innocence leave them subject to uncritical acceptance of what we offer them; and that, frequently, we face both conditions in a single child. The responsibility of a teacher for what is taught can never be greater than in such a circumstance: to evade the issue of hope is to invite the child to a life of despair, to teach a false optimism, soon unmasked by events, to further harden a heart too young for the cynicism it already bears. And we ourselves are subject to these same hazards, as well as to the world-weariness that often arises in the course of a life of teaching.

Our own situation is analogous to that described in the first chapter of *Problematic Man*, where Gabriel Marcel (1967) considers the state of an occupant of a refugee camp in postwar Europe, bereft of every element of his past upon which his identity was founded. Marcel says that the encounter this person has with the question, "Who am I, what is the purpose of my life?" only differs from our own because of our inattention. I want to suggest that the difference between the prospects for hope of the child from menacing streets, whom we are asked to consider, and our own prospects, seem to differ only because of a similar neglect: because, as Marcel tells us, we have not yet faced the temptation toward nihilism that arises from a life experience that implies some unarticulated betrayal, as a result of which it seems, "... the unity which one believed indissoluble between life and the confidence in life was illusionary." Thus these questions of a pedagogy of hope are not only about the children; they must also be engaged personally if we are to have anything to offer our students.

And there always seem to be a few people who do successfully engage these questions, whose work does foster hope, even though their fields consist of these very approaches that, in themselves, fail to inspire us. *Their* use of these same uninspiring tools changes those who learn from them, filling them with a sense of energy and possibility. Almost everyone has had the good fortune to meet such a person, either in education, or work, or play; the handful I have met have been my Teachers, in that capital-letter sense of the word to which I would aspire. Why are there such people; and then — why are there so few? I suggest that it is because we are generally disposed to too shallow a search: the hope for which I seek a pedagogy is far more than optimism, far more than a game of probabilities. Abraham Heschel certainly knows what such hope is, and while I cannot yet confess so profound a faith, I honor it as pointing in the direction that my heart wants to go:

> Over and above the deep sadness of our melodies, fears and experience of persecutions, rituals of mourning and memories of sorrow, hovers the power of hope.
>
> Hope is our power. It is a vital quality always at work within a person, anticipating freedom from misery. It is a power of perception, an intuition, a foreseeing.
>
> Hope cannot stand alone, It must be morally substantiated, faithfully attended. It must not lose the element of constancy and the intensity of expectancy.
>
> Hope is not cheerfulness, a temperamental confidence that all will turn out for the best. It is not an inclination to be guided by illusions rather than by facts. Hope is a conviction, rooted in trust, trust in Him who issued the promise; an ability to soar above the darkness that overshadows the divine.... Hope is the creative articulation of faith. (Marcel 1967, pp. 93–94).

David Purpel (1995) says that such faith is not a skill, as some psychologists of "Faith Development" might have it, a qualification that I would also add to hope. Rather, I suggest that hope requires that we engage an unspeakable mystery, a mystery in Heschel's sense that it is "...not a synonym for the unknown, but rather a name for a meaning which stands in relation to God." In that event, can we, as he requires, "...celebrate the mystery, rather than to penetrate or to explain it" (Heschel 1955, pp. 74, 185)? On the other hand, I have listened with sympathy while Seligman proposes his *Learned Optimism* as a pedagogy that might lead to hope. David Purpel says Seligman's spirituality is revealed by his attempt to "trick the soul" into an awareness of hope. The paradox implicit in affirming both the absolute nature of hope and the use of so crass a method for its attainment is reminiscent of the teaching style of many of the Masters, where such means are used in misdirecting the linear thought process (commanding self, monkey mind, ego, "left brain," etc.) so that real learning can take place. It is in entertaining such a paradox in the pursuit of wisdom that I contend that we shall find our pedagogy. Seligman does not make the reductionist error of confusing what his

psychology can accomplish with the hope that Heschel grounds in mystery. As he acknowledges, although the efficacy of human agency does allow change to take place, it is efficacious only in an appropriate context:

> Optimism is just a useful adjunct to wisdom. By itself it cannot provide meaning. Optimism is a tool to help the individual achieve the goals he has set for himself. It is in the choice of the goals themselves that meaning — or emptiness — resides. (Seligman 1991, p. 291)

Seeking the wisdom to choose goals in which meaning resides places us squarely in the midst of the perennial human quest and in a world that the literature seems to indicate is condemned to contend with such paradox. A recent book by the Harvard theologian Harvey Cox, which focuses upon American Pentecostalism, offers a model of the future of religion that also serves to illustrate this within our social context:

> As both scientific modernity and conventional religion progressively lose their ability to provide a source of spiritual meaning, two new contenders are stepping forward — "fundamentalism" and for lack of a better word, "experientialism." Both present themselves as authentic links to the sacred past. Both embody efforts to reclaim what is valuable from previous ages in order to apply it to the present and future. Which of the two rivals eventually prevails will be decided in large measure by which one grasps the nature of the change we are living through.... The proof for me [that experientialism is becoming an important force] is that there are so many ordinary people who ... are no longer content with either one-dimensional modernity or with stagnant religious practices. Though they might not use the words, they are more trustful of intuition and immediacy, and they are looking for ways to participate instead of observing. They are attracted to archaic and mystical modes of perception but do not want to surrender the more inductive ways of thinking recent history has evolved. Their worlds include both acupuncture and open-heart surgery, both meditation and international e-mail. They are fumbling for a new consciousness but do not want to live in a monk's cave. They appreciate a measure of material well-being but they envision a more equitable and inclusive society too. Which of the two challengers — fundamentalism or experientialism — seems more likely to touch their inmost aspirations? (Cox 1995, pp. 300–302)

To engage these questions, in seeking a pedagogy of hope, we must find ways to use the cultural resources available to us as means, without mistaking them for ends. Fortunately, we are not the first educators to confront this difficulty; we can avail ourselves of the experience of generations: the paradox of Zen, where teachers instruct disciples while denying that there is anything to teach; Meister Eckhart preaching a Christian doctrine that urges that we move beyond even the barest doctrinal concept of God; the Sufi master urging, "Stop looking at me and take what is in my hand." What we would describe today as the constructivist position, far from being a discovery unique to the postmodern world, has been taken for thousands of years by the masters of these and many other religious and philosophical traditions, certainly including those of the Hindu Vedantists after Sankara, and the Kabbalah (Scholem 1987, 94). Going beyond noting the socially constructed nature of our concepts, these teachers have consistently pointed out that retaining constructions past their time of usefulness converts them into obstructions, veils, things that must be set aside when their purpose had been served, so that a disciple might progress, by some series of increasingly refined constructions ("skillful means"), to a definitive, unmediated experience.

The emphasis that each of these Masters places upon letting go of a "skillful means" as soon as its purpose is accomplished derives from the fact that each means is, in itself, a lie. Each is a dualistic attempt to speak to the nondualistic, which can, at its best, only point; at its worst it becomes an idol mistaken for truth — a barrier to further understanding. However, these skillful means may, if used correctly, provide us with a bridge across the abyss, rather than an idol to divert us from our quest. I believe that we must traverse such a bridge if we are to offer hope to students; we must risk using science, engineering, philosophy, the pursuit of our individual traditions, and the other tools at our disposal, which by themselves are insufficient for hope, while maintaining the attitude of Chuang Tzu (Merton 1969, p. 154) toward such means and ends:

> The purpose of a fish trap is to catch fish,
> and when the fish are caught, the trap is forgotten.
> The purpose of a rabbit snare is to catch rabbits.
> When the rabbits are caught, the snare is forgotten.
> The purpose of words is to convey ideas.
>
> When the ideas are grasped, the words are forgotten.
> Where can I find a man who has forgotten words?
> He is the one I would like to talk to.

I am proposing that we respond to the emptiness of our cultural repertoire by heeding Marcel's caution about facing the temptation toward nihilism in our own lives and that we seek, through our personal quest, to become one of those exceptional persons to whom I referred earlier, whose work does foster hope, regardless of their fields. The pedagogy that I propose for bringing hope into our classrooms

is, simply put, to employ the personal journey of the teacher in search of wisdom. Whatever traditional curriculum employs the interests and capacities of the teacher could be employed as a "skillful means" by a teacher engaged in such a quest, although of course we might find some material more useful than others. It is our paradox once again: mundane means that are unimportant in themselves, utilized in a spiritual context, can have extra-mundane outcomes; the relative is interpenetrated by the transcendent. Paradoxically (naturally), I am not suggesting that we teach our own hope directly to our students; rather that we might take as an example the following advice from Arthur Deikman, who, although speaking to those in his own field, offers a perspective that I find highly applicable to the classroom. After his diagnosis of the meaninglessness that characterizes modern psychotherapy, he cautioned that it is not a task of the practitioner to burden others with a particular doctrine or ideology, but rather for the practitioner to first seek freedom from his/her own conceptional prisons and despair:

> We gradually come to understand that meaninglessness and the despair of "I am alone" are products of obscured vision and inappropriate extrapolation of rules covering objects, rules that are useful only for a narrow range of phenomena.... To the extent that therapists understand this wider context, their work will be oriented by a basically positive and optimistic perspective, instead of covertly supporting meaninglessness and existential despair.
>
> Thus the value of mysticism for psychotherapy lies not in the application of its technical devices to patients, as if these devices were a mental antibiotic or a superior tranquilizer, but in the change that mystical science can bring about in the therapist's worldview and concept of the possibilities of human life. (Deikman 1982, p. 173)

Similarly, I believe that, as teachers, we should speak hope to our students, not through offering them some idol created from our own belief and experience, but through offering them the opportunity to witness the changes that are wrought in our lives by our own spiritual search. It is through the sense of energy and possibility associated with those engaged in the search for faith or enlightenment that I believe we may offer students the opportunity to "catch" hope. In its application to the classroom, such a pedagogy does not require a complex strategy for reformation; any curriculum may be a vector for such contagion. Hope may simply arise (from wherever it arises) in response to that unhardening of the heart that comes with seeing a living exemplar. In fact, the absence of a specific agenda is its protection from becoming a vehicle for ideology. Through our own hope, we would be saying to a client, to a student, to a classroom, to a generation, "Your personal future and your social future can be different from your past. Meaning is discoverable. You can rebuild your community and repair your world. You may not yet know how, but understand that coming-to-know-how is your life's work. Knowing and sharing with others that you are not helpless is the place of beginning." Is it within our power to offer a greater gift to our child from "menacing streets" than such a beginning?

I have spoken of spirituality many times, seemingly without being enough of a scholar to define the term. Considering that humility appears to be universally recommended in spiritual undertakings — and is certainly a key to avoiding the hazards of idolatry and ideology — even if I felt competent to prescribe or describe a spirituality for others (which I do not), I would thus be dissuaded from doing so. With that disclaimer, however, I do feel the need to draw a personal boundary regarding one of the most frequently justified criticisms made of those who suggest a central role for spirituality in human affairs — a charge that we have a tendency to focus inwardly, withdrawing from the political arena and paying less attention to issues of morality, social justice, human community, and ecology than others might. It is my belief that, to the extent that such a charge proves to be accurate, it is a valid cause for reassessing one's views. I believe that compassion for other beings, another seemingly universal characteristic of spiritual paths, does not allow us to neglect such issues, does not allow us to evade the kind of activism and concern for community that seeks to bring the "beginnings" of which I spoke to fruition. I believe that it is compassion that grounds the hope we seek, and that the fruit of the pedagogy which I propose would be the sense of energy and possibility needed to overcome resistance to social change. I urge my colleagues to consider that view in their own searches and to extend such compassion not only to their students, but also to themselves.

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The Greening of Pedagogy

Reflections on Balancing Hope and Despair

Gregory A. Smith and Dilafruz R. Williams

Student responses to four courses designed to help them understand and confront the ecological crisis, to learn about potential solutions, and to encourage them to take action in their own lives.

Faced with the ecological crisis as one of the most pressing consequences of modernity, we, as postsecondary faculty members, have begun to address the need to integrate the issues within the field of education. A majority of our students are preservice or inservice teachers or administrators. We believe that it is critical to engage these students in a dialogue about the ecological crisis, since educators influence the selection of curricular materials that can provide opportunities for critical reflection on this crisis and ways their students at all levels can address these issues. Our past experience, however, has shown us that when we present data related to the ecological crisis, several responses occur: there is denial; there is an unwillingness to perceive the connection between education and the ways this crisis is perpetuated; there is despair; if there is acknowledgement, then there is a sense of urgency to "do something about it," to address the problem.

Our own recognition of the ecological crisis led us to address the question: How can we modify our pedagogy to begin a dialogue that would lead our students: (a) to recognize the ecological crisis and the role that each one of us plays in its perpetuation; and (b) to reflect critically on the ways in which the focus shifts from despair to hope? In the summer of 1995, we were specifically interested in addressing the ways that our students, as teachers and administrators in a variety of educational settings, could "green" their own pedagogy. Here we share with you a description of classes we have taught since articulating these questions, and the responses of students to these efforts. We also share the ways in which the two of us, as professors of education, have confronted the issues around gaining a sense of hope for ourselves in this task. We find it rejuvenating when students respond to our classes, and we take heart as they begin to reflect on the process of change and what this may mean for their personal and professional lives.

NOTE: Both authors have contributed *equally* to the article. The alphabetical ordering is in keeping with the norm of publication.

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Pedagogical Approaches

It has been about four years since we began our efforts to green our pedagogy. As examples of this modification, we will focus upon the following four courses designed on the framework of ecology that we have taught at our two institutions: Theoretical Models of Curriculum; Envisioning a Sustainable Society; Philosophy of Education; and Nonviolence and Gandhi's Educational Philosophy.

Theoretical Models of Curriculum. This course focuses on the need to develop environmental education that is cultural as well as scientific. It seeks to acquaint students with the way that generally unexamined cultural principles lie at the heart of the ecological crisis and that dealing with this crisis will require dismantling and reconstructing the conceptual platform upon which we live our lives. The central planks of this platform include our tendency to see the earth as a resource mine; people as inherently selfish, greedy, and violent; the aim of human life as enhanced material wealth and security; and large centralized institutions as the vehicles by which society can be managed to advance an economic agenda aimed at improving the standard of living of increasingly more people.

We also examine a number of educational models of promise to move us in a less ecologically damaging direction. Among these are Kiefer's Common Roots Program (Bowers 1995) in Vermont with its integration of agriculture and local history into the curriculum; Cajete's description of a more earth- and spirit-centered form of teaching and learning in *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (1994); and the Elmwood Institute's *Guide to Ecoliteracy* (1993). Each of these models stresses the importance of deepening students' understanding of their relationship of interdependence and the "obligation of care" as urged by Berry (1990). Cajete and Kiefer have taught segments of this class and have given students a wealth of practical suggestions and guidelines for curriculum development and implementation. A central priority of the course has been to encourage students to incorporate elements of these models into their own classwork during the coming year.

Envisioning a Sustainable Society. This class takes as its main purpose the exploration of education and development models that have contributed to ecological restoration and community regeneration. Premised on the belief that schools alone will be incapable of adequately addressing the ecological crisis, this course seeks to engage preservice and inservice teachers as well as graduate students in counseling psychology and public administration, in conversation about ways they can become contributors to the evolution of a more sustainable culture. One of the books read in the class provides an example of the role educators and public servants could potentially play in their communities. The book *Dharma and Development* (Macy 1983) chronicles the history of a community revitalization project in Sri Lanka known as Sarvodaya Shramadana. From its beginnings in the late 1950s as a voluntary workcamp experience for well-to-do students begun by an urban high school teacher, Sarvodaya Shramadana grew into a major self-help movement that touched the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in Sri Lanka. Sarvodaya Shramadana exemplifies the impact that committed teachers and students can have when they devote their intelligence, organizing abilities, and physical strength to projects designed in conjunction with the inhabitants of specific communities. U.S. teachers, with a sense of the possible, could conceivably play comparable roles in their own communities.

Philosophy of Education. The major objective of this course is to broaden and deepen students' understanding of the nature of education by exploring the ends as well as the means of education. That is, it includes both a critical examination of some of the distinctive characteristics of "educated" persons as well as the elements of the learning experiences that encourage the development of such persons. A critical assessment of the modernist framework guiding this development is undertaken. Introducing students to some of the important ideas and theories that make up the rich tradition of *postmodern* educational philosophy, Noddings (1992) provides a feminist perspective on the ethic of care while Orr (1992), Berry (1990), and Bowers (1995) provide an alternative ecological framework and lens through which the entire enterprise of education is reexamined. Insights are also gained through exposure to practical educational projects that enhance *ecological literacy*.

Nonviolence and Gandhi's Educational Philosophy. Using the frameworks of *ecology* and *development*, in this course students are presented with an overview of Gandhi's concept of nonviolence and its linkage with practices of learning and living that challenge and contradict the monoculture of modernity. Gandhi's alternative educational program addressed as *Nai Talim* or *New Education* (Gandhi, 1953)

is examined. A critique of modernity is presented through alternative ecocentric Gandhian notions of *sarvodaya (welfare of all), community, labor, self-sufficiency, advaita (non-dualism), enoughness,* and so on, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of ecological sustainability.

In all of these courses, we seek to do four things. First, we find it necessary to lay out the explicit nature of the ecological crisis and what we believe are its cultural roots. As Buddhists would argue, the beginning of personal transformation is our acknowledgement of suffering. Many of our students are somewhat familiar with the impact of human behaviors and numbers on the planet. Especially in the Pacific Northwest, it is difficult to ignore the consequences of a resource-based economy on the vistas we see from our homes or state highways. Still, many of our students have not internalized this knowledge in ways that have resulted in attitudinal or lifestyle changes. For some, the data they have encountered in the media remains undigested or suspect. One student, for example, could not believe David Orr's (1995) assertion that for every bushel of grain grown in the American Midwest, three bushels of soil are either washed or blown away. She called the extension agent for the county where she had grown up in Minnesota to check the data out. After some calculations, the agent confirmed Orr's graphic statistics, observing that this image provided a particularly powerful way to describe what is happening to the farmlands of North America. Even when students are conversant with such data, they may not see the relationship between the degradation of natural systems and the culture of modern/industrial societies. Two students going into elementary education had taken extensive coursework as undergraduates in environmental sciences. Both believed that dealing with the ecological crisis required regulatory and technological solutions rather than a shift in worldview and cultural practices. The course on sustainability enabled them to imagine a much richer set of options for dealing with ecological issues in their own classrooms.

A second concern that has informed the development of these courses is our desire to create a setting where people can confront information about the ecological crisis and remain willing to participate in dialogue about these issues. The possibility of global warming, the likely exhaustion of petroleum reserves within the next half century, the rising rates of skin cancer linked to ozone depletion — such topics can easily lead to emotional withdrawal. When thought through, the implications of these trends are frightening — if not for us, then for what they mean for our children. In order to acknowledge this natural reaction, we have adopted assignments that allow students to write about and then share their feelings about the ecological crisis and their own efforts to negotiate despair and hope. Incorporating discussions that invite emotional responses seems critical in courses that focus on the ecological crisis; this subject is disturbing, and, as teachers, we believe that its consideration requires acknowledging the role of nonintellectual and nonacademic approaches as equally important to the greening of pedagogy.

The power of this process can be seen in a short essay written by an experienced fifth-grade teacher. He told of traveling to Oregon from Los Angeles as a boy to visit his grandparents who lived in the coast range between the Willamette Valley and the Pacific Ocean. His family would stay for several weeks with his grandparents on their farm, far from the automobiles, pollution, and speed of California. He and his siblings would play in the woods and meadows, and fish in the stream that ran through his grandparents' property. He felt more alive during this time than at any other point in his young life, so alive that when he reached adulthood he vowed, like many Californians, to make Oregon his home. Before he migrated north, his grandparents' advancing age led them to sell the farm and find a home in town, and he had not returned to see where they had once lived. One summer, with his young daughters and wife in tow, he drove the out-of-the-way road in from the coast to show his family the place he loved so much. When they turned the corner to where the farm had once been, his heart caught. The acres of dappled green and gold that still colored his mind had been stripped of trees, clear cut, and all that remained of the forest of his memory were stumps and slash and thistles. He hasn't been back since, but he said that his awareness of the environmental crisis dates from that time. The reading of such stories illuminates the nature of our own grief as we confront the destruction of our home and what this means. When we share this grief with others, we recognize that we are not alone and begin to grasp the possibility of collective action.

A third common strand that runs through our courses is the exploration of alternative institutions or educational approaches that demonstrate the possibility of meeting important human needs without

relying on the increasingly globalized political and economic institutions that dominate our lives. Despite our dependence on these institutions, many of us are aware of the way they have become insensitive to the needs of people and the planet. Few of us, however, see many options for living differently. This, in itself, can become a source of frustration and hopelessness. A number of our students have acknowledged that they are inextricably caught between their beliefs in the values of sustainability and the requirements of their own lives that generally prevent them from acting on those values. In our classes, we believe that our students must be presented with a new vision of the possible. In many respects, our minds have been shaped by dominant social institutions to such an extent that we have become immobilized. Moving beyond this stasis requires familiarity with alternative institutions that have demonstrated their capacity to meet peoples' needs and do so in ways that are friendly to human communities and the biosphere. A slide presentation of Gandhian schools in India, for instance, opens up avenues for visualizing and comprehending the virtues of simplicity and enoughness associated with sustainable practices.

Students are also exposed to the work of environmentalists and educators in places like the Mattole River Valley in Northern California. Concerned ten years ago about the declining numbers of indigenous King Salmon, a small group of activists formed an organization that eventually became the Mattole Restoration Council. At around the same time, a related group, including some of the same people, started a small private high school for students who would have otherwise had to enroll in a public high school 40 miles away to complete their secondary education. Over the past decade, the council has brought together loggers, ranchers, salmon fishermen, and environmentalists to develop and implement a plan aimed at restoring the health of the Mattole watershed. Unused roads are being dismantled, clearcut acreage and riparian areas reforested, and indicators related to the health of salmon fishery carefully collected, tabulated, and interpreted. Students and graduates of the high school have played a significant role in these restoration activities — from planting trees, to stopping a logging operation at the headwaters of the Mattole, to participating in dramatic performances aimed at educating the broader public about the need to overcome political or lifestyle differences to protect what community residents share in common. Knowing what others have been able to accomplish can serve to inspire and encourage our students and demonstrate to them that the creation of alternative institutions is within the realm of possibility.

A fourth emphasis that can be found in all these classes is related to our hope that our students will become motivated to implement their own ideas and projects related to the development of a more sustainable society and join with others to accomplish this task. To this end, we bring in local speakers who are addressing these issues in the context of their own professional lives. Action, perhaps more than anything else, provides one of the most powerful antidotes to hopelessness, especially action that links people to others who are working toward the same end. In the class on envisioning a sustainable society, for example, individuals involved in efforts to protect and restore natural and urban areas in the Portland metropolitan region have spoken about their efforts to create an urban forest, restore a neglected watershed, construct affordable housing in a North Portland neighborhood, and influence public policy by creating a coalition able to give voice to a number of disparate and previously loosely organized environmental groups. The clear message from our classes is that action either in the classroom or the community must ideally follow from the learning we have shared with one another.

Student Responses to Green Pedagogy

As we have taught these classes, we have noted a wide range of student reactions. Some students treat our courses with detachment. These students tend to be individuals who have enrolled in the course not by choice but because it was required or scheduled conveniently for them. Other students have taken offense at the critique of modern/industrial society that underlies our efforts to adopt and transmit a "green" pedagogy. They resist, for example, the assertion that we live in a society where individualism is celebrated by pointing to their own generosity or concern for others, or they remain loyal to the belief that large-scale modern institutions represent a significant advance over the parochial and discriminatory practices encountered in premodern communities. It is not uncommon for some students to adopt a somewhat guarded stance toward class discussions and presentations. Our focus here, however, is primarily with students who have chosen to take these courses because of their concern about the eco-

logical crisis and what it may mean for them as educators or public servants. How do they maintain hope in the face of the news we bring, and how do they go about constructing a relationship with the earth and other people that incorporates the content and discussions of these courses? We clustered students' writings in our summer 1995 courses around themes that are presented below.

Both of us had been having a dialogue about our own struggles in not only "greening" our pedagogy but also our lives. We felt that the only ways in which our efforts could be sustained were through sharing with each other our grief, our hopes, and our successes as we actively engaged our students as transformative agents in their own school settings. Sustainability is a path that requires endurance and a way of living and learning that works against the grain of modernity. In presenting our students' own voices, as they struggled through their various roles — as parents, friends, partners, U.S. citizens, and teachers and administrators — we note the ways in which they reexamine the relationship of the *self* to others including nature; their sense of despair at the recognition that they are responsible for the ecological predicaments; and their emerging sense of possibilities.

Expression of despair as part of the process of awakening

> I am not a person who gives up easily.... There are times when the ecological mess we've gotten ourselves into seems so vast and so beyond repair that I come close to despair. Yet, it is that streak of stubbornness in me that keeps me from throwing up my hands and the towel in. I often see myself as a minuscule source of influence, yet when I think of the position I am in, a high school teacher who has the potential of reaching 150-200 kids each year, I feel enlightened and buoyed by the knowledge that each of those could possibly influence others, and so on.

Critically reflecting on the role we play in perpetuating the crisis

> I have never really taken the time to ponder how the [ecological crisis affects me and my life]. Although in the past I have been saddened by the gross misuses of natural resources, destruction of habitat, and lack of concern for the living creatures, I have seldom let it affect me....I did not see myself as a contributor to the crisis or a person needing to be concerned with contributing to the solution. I have started to notice the grave error of my mind-set. Yes, I participated in recycling and in other small ways, but I have not accepted the selfish, greedy, and ignorant misuses of our planet and its treasures as my problem.

> It never occurred to me that I could be fostering in my students the very things that deepen the effects of the ecological crisis.... I view the information that I am learning about the ecological crisis as a way to strengthen my curriculum.... Many things I teach are reflections of Western culture. For example, in science I often slant the issue of natural resources so that it sounds like they are there solely for human "use."

> I knew I was "supposed to" recycle and I did only because I was supposed to. For most of the [ecological] problems, I felt that I had little, if any, responsibility.

Moral understanding of the relationship of self with others and with the ecosystem

> I believe the ecological crisis is coming alive for me. It is no longer seen as a problem for other people to deal with, but a moral obligation of mine.

> Yes, I was definitely concerned about the ecological state of our planet, but in a detached way where I did not let my concern get in the way of my personal desires.

> To gradually alter the traditional educational norms of an isolated vision of the individual into an understanding of the self in relation to and in the context of the surrounding world is my current hope in envisioning the establishment of more a harmonious world.

> I am a typical American who is used to seeing problems that did not directly affect me as someone else's problem. However, once I was challenged to reflect on my own insights I saw drastic inconsistencies....I was caught up in the *self*.

Experience with the natural world

> Retreating to the woods kept me connected to nature on a daily basis (in my middle/high school years). Then, as well as now, I find a great deal of comfort/connection to the world when in nature. On a purely individual/emotional (somewhat selfish) level, I find it disconcerting to think that my time in nature and my (potential) children's time will be limited if not eliminated.

> I experience the environmental crisis most profoundly as a separation between myself and "natural" ecosystems. The chasm between myself and nature is at once real and imaginary. The real separation is my lack of easy access to land and water. With the patchwork of private property laid out across the valley floor, I am constantly reminded that neither the pleasures nor the responsibilities of land stewardship are much available to me....I also work with a group which is trying to enhance the quality of wildlife and human life habitat along a local creek. This gives me the opportunity to share work with others who would like to experience a more intimate and productive relationship with their environment.

Another aspect of the separation [from nature] is my work. My work, as it is now structured, requires that I stay inside most of the day. A closed classroom is the traditional mode of education. To break down that sad "reality" I undertook a pond/wetland construction project this year. We studied, planned, and constructed a "native" ecosystem, trying as much as possible to utilize native Willamette Valley flora and now fauna. This got my class outdoors a lot more than usual, and we relished every opportunity to work outside. Still, as far as total classroom time spent this year was concerned, it was only a drop in the bucket. My goal is to leave the school system and work in outdoor education, or to bring a healthy dose of outdoor education into a public school setting.

The lack of accessible natural spaces bothered me because it essentially removed the environment from everyday living. Thus, a walk in the woods became an outing which required planning, and the more complex the outing, the harder it was to see connections between all the life forms that share our world.

Transforming the basic structures of thought/ emotions/language

I believe the reason for my apathy about the crisis was that I did not have the proper mind-set to accept the problem as my own.

Education has always been on my agenda for a multitude of reasons, but my driving vision has evolved to focus on my belief that the world as a whole desperately needs to transform *basic structures of thought* in order to salvage the damage that our individualistic tendencies have caused. The self, perceived as an entity *separate* from the external world, is the isolating agent that limits human potential.

I found it interesting that when I picked up the paper last week I was motivated to read the article about the current problems facing the coho salmon; this would not have been the case several months ago.

Bringing about life-style changes

In my personal life, I deepen the crisis without even being aware of it. One example is we have a hot tub in our backyard, and it makes me cringe to think of the chemicals that have gone into the soil when we drain it, or into the atmosphere from the heat of the water. Our society's values are very damaging to the environment.

My husband and I are working to simplify our lives, both for ecological and spiritual purposes.

I grow my own vegetables in the summer because they taste so much better than what is available in store, and they have no chemicals.

Developing a sense of hope

My attitudes [about my role in the crisis] have changed and along with it so will my habits. These inner changes give me great hope for others. My hope is also derived from my belief that if I was awakened then I can awaken others and they will awaken others. Using this strategy, the concern for our planet will spread to become paramount in the lives of the world's inhabitants.

I hold sacred the fact that this global problem will only be solved by working as a unit, a world unit, struggling to face our mistakes and survive in the hope of giving our children the ability to safely walk into [the future].... Most call me an idealist, a dreamer, and perhaps this is only a dream. But it brings me energy and determination as I look at our beautiful forests, read about toxic waste, listen to the lists of endangered species, hear about the world's violence. I can only believe and act with the vision of a brighter and "greener" tomorrow. *Imagining* a sustainable world is my most valuable tool — the ability to rethink an accepted and socially defined construct is necessary for change.

I believe there is hope for our environment through education, learning that the environment is the responsibility of each individual and we all must do our part. Perhaps the education is too little, too late, but it is a start, and it is certainly better than sticking our heads in the sand and doing nothing.

More emphasis should be placed on making the public aware of the startling statistics involving the environment. Secondly, a great source of hope lies in educating the children not only of their local responsibility but also of their interrelatedness with the environment as well.

In the midst of gloom, however, there is hope. There is an awareness that is growing among the world population that is being given to our children through education. We are teaching our children the value of the ecosystem, making them aware of the dangers of abusing the environment, and teaching the importance of taking care of the world through individual responsibility. In other words, through small individual acts, such as recycling, larger steps to cleaning up and taking proper care of the environment can be made.

The sources of hope for this situation lie, I believe, in classes such as this. There is a trend, it appears, to educate the educators about the environmental crisis. If this is the wave of the future, I hope it picks up speed and rolls in *real* fast.

I worry for my children when I think of the types of environmental crisis situations they will likely encounter, situations that will go far beyond mild inconvenience. I am sorrowed by the probability that they will pay a heavy price for my generation's lack of concern. I balance despair with hope by focusing on the prospect that it is not too late for my generation to turn from self-serving environmental practices to conservational practices.

Regarding balancing hope and despair, I'm not sure I have achieved this balance. How does hope thrive? My main source of hope comes from examples of positive action. Just as it is true that teachers as positive role models are a powerful influence on students, it is also true that examples of positive action are also powerful and can lead to "copy cat" positive actions. It goes back to behavior modification theory: don't simply tell the "subject" (humans) what NOT to do; show him/her positive replacement behaviors.

What fills me with hope and keeps me true to myself during this critical time, though, are some of the wonderfully enlightened people I have met working for change. Slowly I am sensing an awakening among people who are beginning to see that the environmental crisis is connected to all the other crises around us. I am excited about efforts in the areas of sustainable development, natural systems development, organic farming, community development, and the flurry of seminars, workshops, and classes like this one that are beginning a dialogue toward change. People are starting to talk, and hopefully talk will lead to action.

Two Student Cases: Struggling Against Despair

Besides the above student comments that were clustered around themes, we felt that it would be valuable to have more complete statements that would capture the depth of thinking and emotions expressed in our students' writings. To this end, we have selected two students as examples to demonstrate their expressions of struggle with the materials at the beginning and toward the end of our classes. In their voices we find cries of despair, numbness, awakening, and a desire to rise above hopelessness toward a path of hope.

Jennifer's voice:

I don't like the word *crisis*. Everytime I hear it used, I cringe, flinch, blanch, and feel despair...that feeling of "it really is too late." Then I feel a twinge, a spark, and suddenly a real lighted torch of rage! "How dare *they* create another crisis!! *They* created another mess! *They* better fix it up now!!" Even though my anger is directed toward a "*they*" I most likely don't know, nor ever will, I recognize the powerful instinct behind that anger. Here is my will to survive. Here is real energy which I can direct and use in constructive, helpful ways.

The word "crisis" triggers despair and then anger in me. I see my own tendency to blame "others" when this word is used. I see this tendency in others as well. Getting stuck in anger (rather than learning to channel and direct it), or blaming "others" is a waste of time, energy, spirit. So, this morning, I decided to look up the definition of the word "crisis" to see if there was something within its meaning that I've been missing, that I could devise a different reaction from. And to my great surprise and delight there was!

In the definition of the word "crisis" two defining words immediately jumped out at me. These two words: *turning point (from the Greek krisis).* A turning point signifies that a change is impending, a decisive change. Yes, a crisis is a crucial point, an unstable situation. But turning point speaks to me. It says: Here is your opportunity for change. Here is your decisive moment. That idea inherent within the word's meaning helps me make a shift from despair to anger to seeing whatever the critical situation is as one of *opportunity*, an opportunity for positive change.

Our current state of ecological crisis affects me every day. As stated previously, I feel at times despair, even failure; and at other times, anger and blame. I also feel grief and fear, for the planet and all her species and peoples. These intense fluctuating emotions come when I watch the news, listen to NPR, buy a container at the store which is marked "3" but which presently cannot be recycled, and when I see the lowest hills right above Cannon Beach, Oregon, being clear cut. I understand fully the human tendency to slip into a state of denial. We are destroying our own home.... One is shattered again and again and then finally reaches the stage of total numbness. The numbness leads to denial.

Sharon's voice:

Here we sit on a page of despair. It is a page filled with the silent cries of forests, the far-off pleas of the endangered species, and the tears of the toxic rains. The scattered words of hopeless statistics stand clear and bold on this page as they hold a mirror up to humanity's sheltered eyes. But the message has not been grasped; it is as if the words themselves are not intelligible. We have trained ourselves diligently and proudly to read and write, and yet these vital words, the words of the earth, are ignored and distorted by our highly educated and intelligent minds. Our eyes blur the numbers, our watches tick louder and louder as we turn away thinking, *I don't have the time right now, maybe later — I'll check my calendar.* We hold our heads high and believe in the tomorrow, the mystical tomorrow where all problems will be solved. Standing on a self-centered pinnacle of merit we are profoundly confident in the human ability to solve problems. How could we get straight As and flunk life? (Walker Percy).

"Impossible" we conclude and proceed with our consumer-based comfortable lives. But, we have forgotten to check the calendar. The days go by, filled with all those *oh so important things we do,* while our calendar's pages show no signs of penciled-in time for reading the depressing words of this page. So there they sit. Will we ever be able to turn this page? "What would it mean to stand on the first page of the end of despair?" (Adrienne Rich).

With intellectual rhetoric and judgmental vision, the burden of our mistakes and their ramifications on the

> earth's ecosystem have often resulted in accusations: "It's all because of Reaganomics," "Our politicians are corrupt," "Capitalism is evil,".... The urge to blame someone or something stems from the underlying attitude that has led to our present predicament. We believe in the idea that there has to be a THEY, a THEY that is corrupt or wicked, a THEY that has nothing to do with the self.... So we wait for the THEY to change and fix things, because it is their responsibility. We isolate ourselves from the rest and stand on a righteous pedestal, proclaiming that WE didn't cause this dilemma....
>
> As we walk through the problems of the ecological crisis, we should apply the wisdom of Thoreau and leave our current notions of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on the hearth-side. With energetic vision and creativity, we should adventure into the world of ancient ideas and knowledge for guidance. Let us not fall into the easy habit of retracking familiar steps with the rhetoric of "technological sustainability...." We are each responsible for the destruction of the earth's resources. And yet, instead of feeling overwhelmed with guilt, let us collectively realize that we have reached this point with foggy lenses. We are tempted by the ideas of the consumer age and embrace them in a time when it seemed like *progress*.... We must let go of this "human as wicked virus" metaphor and grasp the beauty of our species and our ability to change and become participants, rather than controllers of the earth.

Since both of us believe in the power of community to help sustain such "greening " efforts, we feel it necessary to bring students from all of these courses together so that we can share our successes and our struggles, even *after* the coursework is completed. We plan to have a panel of environmental activists in our own community to share their practical stories with these students even as we listen to the stories of our past students. Such co-sharing and being involved in dialogue should enable all of us to persist with courage in greening our pedagogies.

Conclusion

Adrienne Rich's (1986) words from a poem — *"What would it mean to live in a city whose people were changing each other's despair into hope?...What would it mean to stand on the first page of the end of despair?"* — provide stimulus to the two of us to think of our own pedagogy and its impact on the lives of our students. The incredible range of responses that we have received from our students can also overwhelm us. The nuances associated with the greening of pedagogy — going against the grain of mainstream education — can be a challenge. At best, we see our work as essentially transformative — or as a confirmation of the transformation our students have already begun. This process is necessarily difficult. In one of our classes, a local environmental activist, the founder of a reforestation project called *Friends of Trees*, spoke of the need to deprogram ourselves away from the assumption that all is well with modern/industrial society and that a life focused on consumption should be our aim. He urged us to find ways to simplify our lives and by example showed us how one person with vision, determination, and faith had been able to "re-green" an environment increasingly covered with concrete and asphalt. On another occasion, this man spoke of his own grief as he confronted the juggernaut of modernity. Each time he picks up a shovel, he demonstrates what it means to "stand on the first page of the end of despair." In our classrooms, we and our students must do the same thing. The digging, however, can be hard work, and it is sometimes difficult to keep our eyes on the distant future when young saplings have become mature trees.

In a similar vein, Freire has recently written about the dilemmas faced by advocates of democratic socialism who have seen the machinery of representative democracy turn into a vehicle for oppression. In his book *Pedagogy of Hope*, Freire (1994) speaks of the necessity of retaining the dream of the possible, a dream we understand may never be realized, but a dream that nonetheless can inform our effort to create a world characterized by humanity, love, justice, and — we would add — a deep regard for and a sense of identification with the biosphere. In our own work, we seek to kindle such a dream in the minds and hearts of our students. We believe that by presenting such a vision, these teachers and future school administrators will become able to impart to their own students a sense of the possible, capable of supporting them as we all attempt the awesome task of moving our culture in the direction of ecological sustainability. We take heart from people in our classes who believe that all educators should be required to explore such issues. Their confirmation of our work nurtures our own hope and helps to keep before us the dream of a life we wish for ourselves and our descendants. By retaining and imparting the sense of the possible, we seek to do what we can to take our place in Adrienne Rich's city.

Our efforts remind us of a story told by a political activist in the Philippines prior to the overthrow of the Marcos regime. He spoke of attending a rally in Manila at which people were asked to gather by a fountain in the center of the city. The rally was sched-

uled in the early evening, and people had been asked to bring lighted candles with them to the demonstration. He had been one of the first people to arrive at the fountain, and with his lit candle he had initially felt alone, isolated, and vulnerable. The group remained small for many uncomfortable minutes. But eventually, streams of people holding candles began converging on the fountain from the surrounding streets. In time, the plaza around the fountain was filled with light. In a similar way, we see our classrooms as gathering places where people can find others who are holding candles in the night. We believe that in this era of ecological and social crisis, our hope lies in coming together to act, and talk, and create a sustainable and just future.

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Poverty and Advocacy in Special Education

Michael M. Warner

The largely ignored connection between poverty and disabilities needs to become part of the discourse of special education. Rather than focusing narrowly on educational technology, special educators should address the issue of poverty and the underlying social structures that maintain it.

Whether one is an adult or a child, to live in poverty in the United States is to suffer a triple insult. There is first the immediate insult of having to do without. The poor, more often than others, find themselves at various times without such necessities as food, shelter, medical care, transportation, and meaningful work. A second insult results from the relative nature of this scarcity. The poor do without alongside others, their fellow citizens, who often live in conditions of relative opulence. Finally, the poor are blamed for their own poverty (Katz 1989). This triple abuse is experienced by children of the poor as well. They soon understand the shame of their parents' poverty and make that shame their own (Rubin 1976).

Students with disabilities represent a different category of exclusion, but like the poor, they suffer. Whether their disabilities are rooted in biology or inferred from other characteristics, the disabled are usually stigmatized as being less than whole. There is, moreover, as in poverty, always a sense that without their disabilities, things would be better. In addition, students in special education frequently experience themselves as outsiders in the social space created by the school. Often experiencing academic failure, often stigmatized by the labels that authorities attach to them, and often lacking in popularity, students with real or imputed disabilities struggle for acceptance by those who have not been so categorized (Blomgren 1993; Hobbs 1975).

Special education professionals, through their association with the negatively valanced category of disability, are, like their students, often viewed as outsiders (Ferguson 1985; Tomlinson 1982). And it is often in this context that special educators take on the role of advocate for students who have been placed in the special education system. For disabled students attending large, impersonal schools, it is often the special education teacher who is the only

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adult the student feels comfortable confiding in, and the special education setting is often experienced by disabled students as a sanctuary.

It is not difficult for special educators to conceptualize their role in moral terms. They can readily understand Blomgren's (1993) comment that when teaching students with mental, emotional, or physical disabilities, teachers are constantly faced with the task of "recognizing and beholding them as valued and cherished human beings" (p. 243). Also, activities in the arena of special education are constantly rationalized by considerations of equality, a fundamental moral category in democratic society (Beyer and Wood 1986). But such moral considerations apply just as easily to children living in poverty. For clearly the poor go through a similar process of being devalued by others and just as clearly, the existence of poor children raises fundamental questions about the meaning of equality.

In the United States today, very large numbers of public school students are living in poverty or near poverty. Moreover, disproportionate numbers of these poor students find their way into special education classes. And, as argued below, poverty is strongly implicated in the biological and social creation of disabilities. For these reasons, I believe that those who are impacted by the presence of disabilities in schools (including, of course, both general and special educators) ought to advocate for policies that alleviate the many hardships associated with poverty. More generally, those educators who wish to be advocates for those with disabilities ought to be involved in active political struggle aimed at changing social structural conditions that produce poverty. Concomitantly, they should promote programs that materially and politically empower the poor.

One of the real dangers involved in discussing terms like poverty and disability is that reification can take place. That is, categories such as poverty and disability are usually thought of as fixed, discreet realities rather than the product of historic, ongoing processes of social and political construction. When we reify categories, we fail to think relationally. We forget that the concepts we use are "elements of institutional practice, historically formed patterns of power relations that provide structure and coherence to the vagaries of everyday life" (Popkewitz 1991, 15).

To counter this tendency, I will begin with a brief characterization of contemporary poverty and disability, noting how both are socially constructed categories of contemporary social life. Following this, I will present evidence that low socioeconomic status (SES) students are commonly identified as disabled and, as such, are somewhat over-represented in special education programs compared to their higher SES counterparts. I will then turn to a brief characterization of recent discourse within special education and explore the silences of that discourse when it comes to issues such as the poverty/disability connection, and the articulation of political issues that surround contemporary poverty. Finally, drawing on the work of Thomas Popkewitz, I will argue that discourse and practices within special education work to discourage advocates for the disabled from tying their efforts to a broader political movement for fundamental social change.

The social construction of special education

To be sure, some children are physically or neurologically impaired. But how a society or culture reacts to those impairments varies widely (Edgerton 1984). Conversely, some children can become defined as impaired, even in the absence of any documentable physical or neurological anomaly. One of the most important ways that disabilities in children in the United States have been socially constructed is through the institution of special education.

Special education is a formal subsystem of public schooling, but as described by Lazerson (1983), it was not always so. Only in the early 20th century, with the rise of compulsory urban education, did schools "that all were compelled to attend [convert] the problem of how to educate dependent and deviant children from a familial to a school concern" (p. 17). Children, who, relative to others, did not match the expectations of schools for achievement and social behavior (often children of poor immigrants) were frequently placed in separate classrooms or schools, their problems often blamed on an "intrinsic" lack of ability or inferior home environments (Tropea 1993).

Only a very small proportion of school-aged children were served in special education before World War II, but from the 1960s on, the situation rapidly changed. The parents of students with disabilities, angry with the neglect and segregation that their children experienced and prompted by the civil rights movement, fought politically and in the courts for better treatment of their children (Gilhool 1976). Their efforts were contemporaneous with a rapid

expansion of the federal role in both general and special education. By 1991, more than 60 federal laws were in place that served to regulate the lives of disabled people, both in educational settings and elsewhere (U.S. Department of Education 1992). This expansion of federal and state regulation of special education has been accompanied by growth in the numbers of students who are formally served. Nowadays, about 10% of the school-aged population are identified as disabled at any given time (U.S. Department of Education 1991). This means, of course, that the need for such things as specially trained personnel and various kinds of assessment and instructional materials and devices has expanded as well, resulting in greatly increased commerce associated with special education.

The process by which some children are actually identified as disabled, and thus in need of special education, is not a straightforward one. Evidence abounds that all sorts of factors, other than the presence of physical impairment or emotional disturbance, influence decisions concerning special education placement. These include ethnic group membership (Grossman 1995), SES (Gottlieb, Gottlieb, and Wishner 1994), technical inadequacies in the assessment process (Ysseldyke 1987), and the somewhat autonomous influences associated with the workings of the special education bureaucracy itself (Warner 1994).

In more general terms, special education can be thought of as a subsystem of American schooling. As such, it is caught up in the same contradictory processes that regulate its parent institution. In this regard, Carnoy and Levin (1985) point out that the schools in the United States serve deeply antagonistic functions. On the one hand they actively reproduce social inequality and the hierarchical structure of production and consumption that permeates modern life. Unequal patterns of school finance, the creation of ability groups, the bureaucratic organization of the school, the exposure of poor and affluent children to different kinds of pedagogy, and tracking, including special education classes, are institutionalized educational mechanisms by which the conditions of class and class conflict are reproduced in each generation.

At the same time, schools can serve as a primary force for expanding economic opportunity and democratic rights. Processes that support this agenda include the right to free public education; the inculcation of the values of democracy and equal opportunity; the promotion of student rights, including the legal rights of students with disabilities; varying degrees of community control of the schools; forms of democratic schooling that are sometimes extended to low-income children (see Smith 1993; Wood 1992); and various types of supplemental programs for disadvantaged or disabled students.

Any comprehensive and theoretically grounded conception of poverty and special education must, therefore, take into account the social context of special education and its ongoing evolution. This means, first and foremost, that special educators (and general educators as well) must avoid viewing disabilities as strictly technical categories and special education as a static and autonomous set of educational processes.

The social construction of contemporary poverty

In a similar way, the condition of poverty is also a socially constructed category. As Katz (1989) points out, poverty in the United States is no longer the result of an overall scarcity of goods and services, but rather is a product of the political economy of capitalism itself. Public discourse on poverty, moreover, has been channeled into narrow, market concerns, thus avoiding such critical issues as dignity, community, and distributive justice. Katz (1989) asserts that underlying the narrow discourse and contradictory policies concerning poor people are two basic processes:

> First, the culture of capitalism measures persons, as well as everything else, by their ability to procure wealth and by their success in earning it; it therefore leads naturally to the moral condemnation of those who, for whatever reason, fail to contribute or to prosper. It also mystifies the exploitive relations that allow some to prosper so well at the expense of so many. (p. 7)

Much of Katz's perspective is echoed by Handler and Hazenfeld (1991), who find that there are three structuring principles at work in the discursive construction of poverty:

> 1. Productive work is viewed as an individual responsibility, with failure to find work blamed on the individual.
>
> 2. Those who don't work fail to uphold the ideology of labor discipline, that of hard work, thrift, and reward through individual effort.
>
> 3. The moral degradation of the poor is used as a negative symbol to reinforce the work ethic. (Handler and Hazenfeld 1991, p. 18)

These principles, when combined with the need to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor, result in federal policies that are deeply contradictory. The reader is referred to both the Katz and the Handler and Hazenfeld texts for sustained discussions of the historical development of ideology concerning the poor and concomitant federal policies.

Children in poverty

The prevalence of poverty among children in the United States during recent years has been widely documented. An astounding 20% of U.S. children are living below the federal poverty line (Bane and Ellwood 1989). Of course, rates of poverty are not distributed equally across different ethnic groups or types of families. Poverty rates are much higher for Black children (50%), Hispanic children (40%), and children from single-parent homes (50%) (National Center for Children in Poverty 1992).

In 1990, the federal poverty line for a family of three (e.g., a mother and two children) was $10,419 (National Center for Children in Poverty 1992). This amounts to about $870.00 per month. If such a family were paying $500.00 in rent, they would, before receiving any public assistance, have only $370.00 per month for all other expenses, including utility bills, food, transportation, and medical expenses. Public assistance does not go very far in assisting such families. The National Center for Children in Poverty reports that in 1990, a maximum ADFC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) state benefit for a family of three was about $364.00 per month, or 42% of the federal poverty line that year.

Those living below the federal poverty line do not represent all those who are struggling economically in the United States today. Schwarz and Volgy (1993) argue that the official federal poverty line grossly underestimates the actual amount that families need to purchase basic necessities in the 1990s. They estimate that the minimum amount needed by a family of *four* in 1991 to purchase basic necessities was $21,600, or 155 percent of the official federal poverty line. Using a slightly higher percentage of the federal poverty line (185%), the National Center for Children in Poverty (1992) reports that close to 10 million children under the age of six (about four out of ten) lived in poverty or near poverty.

It is important to note that a large proportion of those in poverty today are employed, either full- or part-time. These are the so-called working poor. Using the official federal poverty line as a baseline, the National Center for Children in Poverty (1992) estimates that in 1990, 26% of poor children under six were in families where one parent or two parents (with their hours combined) worked the equivalent of a full-time job. The National Center reports that "any family with one full-time, year-round, minimum-wage-earning parent and at least one child, would have been poor" (p. 5). More generally, the fact that so many jobs that are available today pay low wages is a significant contributor to contemporary poverty (Schwarz and Volgy 1993).

The above data are cross-sectional — they reveal the condition of poverty for groups of people at a particular point in time. For some children, poverty may be temporary or cyclical; for others, it may be chronic. Some data exist to suggest that since the early 1970s, the *duration* of poverty has been on the increase (Kutscher 1987).

In summary, a significant proportion of children in the contemporary United States live in poverty, at least for some portion of their childhood. Those children living in poverty are disproportionally from families that are Black, Hispanic, or headed by a single female. Even with state-sponsored programs of financial and other forms of assistance, large numbers of school-aged children are experiencing the deleterious consequences of economic hardship.

Structural and policy features of poverty

It is important to view contemporary poverty both in terms of the stark maldistribution of wealth and income in the United States and in terms of basic changes in the way goods and services are being produced and consumed. Real wages (those adjusted for inflation) for blue-collar and low-income jobs have been declining since about 1973 (Harrison and Bluestone 1988; Krugman and Lawrence 1994). At the same time, the incomes of the most wealthy Americans have been on the rise, especially since 1980. Barlett and Steele (1992) report that between 1980 and 1989, the average wage (not adjusted for inflation) earned by people making less than $20,000 per year rose only 1.4%. During the same period of time, the average salary increase for those earning one million dollars or more rose 49.5%! Barlett and Steele stress that this was an increase in wages and salaries alone. Other major sources of income for these wealthy individuals included dividends and interest and profits from the sales of stocks and bonds. Barlett and Steele present evidence that

changes in federal tax policies, along with other federal policies, have contributed substantially to these disparities in income growth. They state that in 1989, the top 4% of wage earners garnered $452 billion in wages and salaries, the same as the bottom 51% of wage earners. The lowest wage earners compete for jobs that are too few in number and for which wages are too low to ward off poverty.

In addition to the influence of federal policies, structural changes in the U.S. and world economies are contributing to changes in the wage structure. Projections concerning the growth of new jobs in the future suggest that the vast majority of these will be in the service and retail trade sectors of the economy. These jobs will be characterized by low wages and minimal benefits. Many will be temporary or part-time jobs (Apple 1989; Harvey 1989).

In conclusion, both poverty and disability can be seen as the dynamic result of processes of historical and social construction. Poverty and the maldistribution of wealth in the U.S. can be seen as part and parcel of an economic, legal, and political system that favors some citizens at the expense of others. Moreover, since the late 1970s, inequities in the distribution of wealth and power have been exacerbated by specific policy initiatives that favor the rich and reap harm for the poor and working class (Apple 1989). The ideological structuring of both poverty and disability are often based on invidious distinctions, and those who "inhabit" these categories are often the same people.

The over-representation of the poor in special education

Although there are many students in special education who are not poor, poverty is implicated in important ways in the process of disability formation. First, the condition of poverty increases the chances that a student will exhibit the behaviors and characteristics associated with real or imputed disabilities in schools (Baumeister, Kupstas, and Klindworth 1990; Grossman 1995). Second, students who have been in the special education system, especially those from lower SES backgrounds, are more likely to experience economic hardship as adults (Haveman and Wolfe 1990; Lichtenstein 1993; Sitlington, Frank, and Carson 1992). It is beyond the scope of the present article to explore the various specific causal connections between poverty and disability. It is important to establish, however, that low-income students are both commonly found in special education and are over-represented in special education.

One source of data on the relationship between SES and special education comes from interviews with parents. Zill and Schoenborn (1988) summarize the findings from interviews of thousands of parents in the U.S. conducted in 1988. Families were asked "Has [name of child] ever had a learning disability?" An affirmative response was given by 8.4% of families with incomes of less than $10,000 per year, but only 5.8 % of families with incomes of more than $40,000 per year. In response to the question, "Has [name of child] ever had an emotional or behavioral problem that lasted three months or more?" 15.8% of the responses were affirmative for families earning less than $10,000 per year and 12.8% were affirmative for families earning $40,000 per year or more. Zill and Schoenborn suggest that their findings may under-represent the extent of SES-related differences, since better-educated parents may have been more aware of childhood problems and more complete in their survey reporting.

The correlation between socioeconomic status and mild retardation has been documented consistently for a number of years. One of the most comprehensive studies of this relationship was reported by Broman et al. (1987). They presented the results of a prospective study of thousands of children who were followed from birth to age 8. Among white children in the lowest SES quartile of their sample, 3.34% were classified as mildly retarded (i.e., scoring between 50 and 69 on an IQ test at age 7). Among white children in the highest quartile, 0.3% were so classified. For African-American children in the lowest SES quartile, 7.75% were classified as mildly retarded, whereas for African-American children in the highest SES quartile, 1.19% were classified as mentally retarded.

Studies with smaller sample sizes typically find no relationship between SES and the prevalence of more severe forms of retardation. Broman et al., however, report that among both White and African-American children in their very large sample, the prevalence of severe retardation (IQ below 50 at age 7) was about twice as likely among those in the lowest SES quartile (about 0.8%) as compared to those in the highest SES quartile (about 0.4%).

During the late 1980s, a national survey was completed by SRI International of the transition of more than 8,000 youth with disabilities from secondary schools to early adulthood. In a summary of the

findings of that study, Wagner et al. (1991) report that on several indicators of socioeconomic status, the special education students were disproportionately from lower SES backgrounds, compared to youth in the general population. For example, in the sample of youth with disabilities, 41% of the heads of household had less than a high school education (based on parent interviews). Based on data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Wagner et al. report that the equivalent number for youth in the general population was about 22%.

With respect to annual household income, 35% of parents in the special education sample reported incomes of less than $12,000 per year, with 68% reporting incomes under $25,000. Based on U.S. Census Bureau data from 1987, Wagner et al. report that about 18% of youth in the general population came from households where the annual income was less than $12,500, and 39% came from households where the annual income was less than $25,000. About 24% of the parents of students in special education reported receiving food stamps (compared to 13% in the general population). In fact, Wagner et al. report that "about half of all youth with disabilities came from households that were receiving benefits from at least one public source in 1987" (pp. 2–27).

Egeland and Abery (1991), in a prospective longitudinal study, followed 185 low-income children from birth through the third grade. The sample was 80% Caucasian, 15% African American, and 5% from other ethnic groups. Egeland and Abery report that about 40% of these low-income children were referred for school-based problems during the early grades. Of these students, most were receiving some type of special assistance, usually in the form of Chapter I remedial education rather than special education proper.

Poverty and disability in special education discourse

As the condition of poverty has become more visible and pronounced during the 1980s, its discussion within special education has increased. This is apparent, for example, in the widely cited work of Baumeister and his colleagues who have promoted the term "new morbidity" to describe increasing cases of disabled students whose conditions are potentially traceable to factors associated with economic hardship (Baumeister, Kupstas, and Klindworth 1990). It is also apparent in the work of Hallahan (1992), who speculates that increasing numbers of students are being identified as learning disabled as a result of broad social/cultural changes in U.S. society, including increases in poverty. Most recently, Grossman (1995) has published a textbook for future special education teachers, *Special Education in a Diverse Society*, in which he focuses extensively on ethnic and socioeconomic-class inequities and the implications of these for special education programming. Finally, there have been the occasional correlational studies, many of which have been cited above, which document specific connections between aspects of poverty and disability.

Although there are many students in special education who are not poor, poverty is implicated in important ways in the process of disability formation.

But these examples still tend to exist at the margins of the professional literature of special education. The vast majority of that discourse has disclosed a silence with respect to the relationship between poverty and disability. The focus instead has been on (a) technical issues of classification, assessment, and remediation in special education, (b) issues concerning the integration of disabled students with the nondisabled, and (c) the legal regulation of special education. Not only has the discourse on poverty and disability been sparse and on the periphery, it has, like the educational literature as a whole, been constrained in important ways. As Kovach (1991) notes, "few studies in education literature go beyond the family unit and incorporate conceptualizations which are tied to the larger social and economic realities which are the root of the problems experienced by poor children" (p. 204). The political dimensions of poverty are seldom directly addressed, so that notably absent in the discourse of special education are calls for advocates of those with disabilities, including especially teachers, to become directly involved politically in attacking poverty and economic inequality. Yet as Kovach points out, poverty is a "structural problem, inherent in our economic system along with unemployment and underemployment. This means that to deal effectively with poverty, educators must be involved with the

larger struggle for structural — that is, political and economic — change" (p. 208).

The national agenda

Typical of the dominant discourse on reform in special education is a recent document called *The National Agenda for Achieving Better Results for Children and Youth with Disabilities* (Rockne and Weiss-Castro 1994). This document was the outcome of a process, facilitated by the U.S. Department of Education, in which national representatives of various agencies and advocacy groups associated with disability policy met to "develop a national agenda for achieving better results for children and youth with disabilities" (p. 2). Participants included "representatives from the major disability advocacy groups, direct service providers, families, related services personnel, researchers, teacher trainers, teachers, and administrators..." (p. 2). The report is significant because: (a) it represents a wide array of current interests among those who work with disabled people, demonstrating the types of orchestrated coordination being developed across different groups and agencies; (b) it provides clear examples of the prevailing rhetoric among those who would formulate policies for the disabled; and (c) it remains largely silent regarding many of the structural issues surrounding poverty and disability that have been raised in the present article.

The report begins by noting that while important gains have been made in the delivery of services to students with disabilities, the outcomes for such students, in terms of levels of education and employment attained are unacceptable. Instead, all children and youth should "have the opportunity and necessary supports to become caring, productive, socially involved citizens who are committed to life-long learning" (p. 4).

To improve outcomes for children and youth with disabilities, the report argues that a coordinated, national agenda is necessary. Such an agenda will:

- Guide national, state, and local reform efforts in establishing a unified system of education that includes all children and youth.
- Guide legislation and policy at the federal, state, and local levels, and define priorities for research, training, and service efforts — all of which influence how individuals with disabilities *live, work, learn, and play* [emphasis added].
- Provide focus, coordination, and a common ground for educators, advocates, families, legislators, and policy-makers concerned with improving the quality of life for children and youth with disabilities and their families (p. 2).

There are several targeted goals outlined in the National Agenda report, including:

- An increased appreciation of diversity.
- Improved links between the schools and other service agencies in the community and, in general, greater interagency collaboration.
- Better prepared professionals.
- Greater participation of students with disabilities and their families in the development of policies.
- Improved systems of accountability for outcomes.
- Technological improvements in the delivery of instruction.
- The development of financing systems that are less fragmented and more flexible.

Most significantly, the National Agenda report remains silent with respect to poverty, its structural features, and its impact on special education.

Explaining silences in special education discourse

One way to understand the nature of reform discourse within special education is to understand it as serving larger social interests, interests that the originators of discourse themselves may only be dimly aware of. This is one of the insights offered by Thomas Popkewitz (1991) in his study of the processes of reform across all aspects of public education. The discourse of special education (perhaps including, reflexively, the discourse of the present article) can be seen as part of a larger process of social structuring, which itself always contains elements of social power and control. Popkewitz is worth quoting at length on the nature of such structuring:

> We can consider structure as patterns that impose upon social life certain regularities, boundaries, and frames that facilitate understanding and practice in the world.... Among these frames are geography, modes of organizing production, cognitive frameworks, patriarchy, and spiritual beliefs. A study of structures involves identification of presuppositions and rules that are unacknowledged and unspoken in everyday life but, nevertheless, shape practice. Attention is paid to how the major forms of collective life (economic, political, and cultural) have been formed and impinge on that which is taken for granted in schooling. Structures are global or universal ordering principles of the social world. (p. 21)

Popkewitz identifies several structural constraints on the discourse of educational reform, many of which can be applied directly to the analysis of discourse of reform in special education. He identifies, for example, a process of increasing social control and regulating education by a network of institutions and agencies, coordinated through federal and state governments:

> From regional and dispersed sites emerges a specific and unique ensemble of mechanisms and clusters of procedures that, taken together, serve as a broad system of regulation and power. The federal role in education has been altered through an increase in its monitoring and steering functions. These changes are occurring within local and state governments. Less visible are the concrete arrangements and ordering patterns common to philanthropy, business, unions, and universities, especially as these are interrelated with governmental practices that steer school practices. (p. 116)

The processes of social construction to which Popkewitz is referring are very complex. Some of the processes are relatively new and some represent continuations of processes that emerged around the turn of the century. For example, educational discourse from the early 20th century exhibited a pattern such that a "decontextualization of moral and political issues [like poverty] formulated reform as 'helping' individuals through greater efficiency and administration" (p. 102). For Popkewitz, this process continues today in an atmosphere in which more recent "epistemologies and strategies of reform homogenize and universalize social phenomena. The problem is one of administrative intervention in, and control over, the school world. There is a movement toward the production of regimented, isolated, and self-policing subjects..." (p. 196).

Nowhere is the process that Popkewitz is alluding to more obvious than in special education. Especially since the mid-1960s, federal regulation of special education has been expanding, even to the extent of specifying ways in which teachers should behave (as in the case of the Individualized Education Plan) (Warner 1994). The rhetoric of the National Agenda report can be seen to be embedded in this system of state control, for the problem is framed as one of, in the words of Popkewitz above, administrative intervention and control. There seems to be an implicit assumption in the report that if enough equitable and technically sophisticated services could be provided to children and youth with disabilities, or if services across different agencies could be better coordinated, the problems of these children and youth would be significantly ameliorated.

But the National Agenda report remains superficial because it fails to address basic structural features of the U.S. economic and political system, which create, among other things, such dramatic degrees of economic inequality. Moreover, it fails to suggest that the disabled or their advocates should be involved in political struggles to change those basic structural features of the political-economic system. According to Popkewitz (1991) in the discourse of contemporary educational reform, there is the usual ritualized call for democratic participation that pervades all such documents. In reality, however, the actual steering processes suggested have negative implications for grassroots democracy. The National Agenda report proposes that students with disabilities and their families "will participate fully in developing, redesigning, and expanding policy at the local, state, and federal levels" (p. 5). Also, developers of the report want to "empower advocacy groups, enabling them to appropriately impact on policy and practice..." (p. 12).

But absent from the report is any mention of the potential contradiction between the participation of individuals with disabilities in decision making, and processes, such as the workings of the National Agenda group itself, which will limit or narrowly constrain such participation. For example, the authors of the National Agenda report want to involve "all constituents in defining and implementing a unified accountability system based on standards and results that include all children and youth" (p. 17). But this suggests the further development of national networks of regulation and control that militate against local actors, preventing them from acting in the best interests of individuals in a local context. And from another perspective, while disenfranchised groups can be seen as being invited to join in processes of mutual self-determination, this is offset by constraints designed to preserve the privileges of professional and bureaucratic operatives whose privileges are sustained by the existence of the poor and disabled in the first place (cf. Skrtic, 1991).

Also missing in the National Agenda report is any discussion of poverty and the multiple ways that poverty and unemployment constrain personal choice. Referring to the discourse of educational reform as a whole, Popkewitz notes that the "rules of participation maintain a market metaphor that benefits those with education, flexible working time, and

dispositions associated with these social and economic advantages" (p. 153). Such a market metaphor is supported by an ethos of consumerism evident in the National Agenda report. The authors of the report lament the "lack of family-centered, 'one-stop' shopping for support services and user-friendliness in the delivery" (p. 13). Here again, the rhetoric of the report frames the problem in terms of the more efficient delivery of "services," not in terms of underlying structural constraints that make it difficult for so many families to have the money to shop at all, let alone shop conveniently.

Conclusion

It has been argued that poverty and disability are socially constructed categories that are interrelated in important ways. Significant numbers of children in special education today are from low-income backgrounds. The predominant response within special education to the presence of low-income students has been to ask what specific technologies and approaches can be applied within special education and/or general education to help children learn or behave in ways valued by teachers and the larger society. In addition, there is increasing regulation of special education by federal and state agencies, including the courts.

This focus on technologies of control and regulation is accompanied by a relative silence with respect to poverty and the structural features of U.S. society that maintain it. This silence, and the ideological functions it serves, need to be exposed. And special education professionals need to ask themselves whether, by largely ignoring poverty as a social condition, they work against many of the very people whose interests they wish to promote.

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Book Reviews

The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children

by Gloria Ladson-Billings

Published by Jossey-Bass, 1994; 187 pages, hardcover, $22.00.

Reviewed by Kathy Bickmore

Michael's first, second, and third grade teachers had decided that he would never learn to read and had tried to refer him out of their rooms for special education. Parental neglect and short-term foster care had contributed to Michael's slow start, and the school district or its teachers hadn't managed to allocate the human resources to help him catch up. In Julia Devereaux's fourth grade, however, Michael did learn. He became interested as well as fairly proficient in reading that year. When asked why he had succeeded in this particular class, Michael replied:

> I don't know, she just told me that I could read if I wanted to and she was going to help me want to. She said you can't stay in her class if you don't read. I want to stay. (quoted in Ladson-Billings, p. 115)

Devereaux's approach involved daily teacher-directed phonics drills, basal readers, and vocabulary lists, supplemented by student collaboration in pairs and frequent practice of reading embedded in other activities. Permeating the range of classroom activities were high expectations and an enthusiastic hum of activity.

Larry had been held back in school, a troubled child after his favorite aunt was shot in drive-by ghetto violence. Other teachers didn't want him in their classes, so he landed in the sixth grade room of Ann Lewis. In spite of disruption and shouting in the room next door, Lewis's room was an oasis of quiet concentration. In apparent contrast to Devereaux, this teacher structured her classroom curriculum around whole language approaches to literacy and literature. Lewis engaged her students in evaluating contradictory ideas and information, and therefore in active knowledge construction. Intellectual leadership was expected of all students, in particular of African-American boys such as Larry, whom Lewis saw as "strong and beautiful but fragile," like crystal:

> I have to build a safe and secure place for him and let him know that we — the class and I — will be here for him. The school has been placing him in the kitchen junk drawer. (quoted in Ladson-Billings, p. 111)

In Lewis's class, Larry began to earn good grades and was chosen by his peers as president of the sixth grade.

Instead of scratching the surface of well-worn debates regarding such teaching strategies, Gloria Ladson-Billings delves into the crucial commonalities among these two and six other teachers' wisdom of practice. *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children* highlights the "art and craft" of a few exemplary teachers' work (p. 13). The teaching philosophies and strategies enacted by Devereaux, Lewis, and the others turn out to have a great deal in common. Ladson-Billings calls their work "culturally relevant teaching" and contrasts it with one-size-fits-all or just plain bad teaching that she labels "assimilationist." Ladson-Billings's goal in *The Dreamkeepers* is to "provide examples of culturally relevant teaching in specific contexts" (p. 26). These are drawn from 40 to 60 hours of observation and interviews between September 1988 and June 1991, in each of eight "exemplary" teachers' classrooms (p. 151).

Culturally relevant teachers, according to Ladson-Billings, approach teaching more as an art than as a set of technical skills. They engage with their students in learning communities that extend throughout their classrooms and beyond into the local and broader worlds outside school. Culturally relevant teachers consistently act out their beliefs that all students can succeed, with the help of appropriate conceptual bridges, scaffolding, and high-expectation encouragement. This is a stance that Judith Kleinfeld (1975), working with Native Alaskan students, has called "warm demandingness": while it is not a new or a culturally specific idea, it probably matters more, and is implemented less often, for students from dominated groups (see, e.g., Delpit 1995). Ladson-Billings shows the ways these teachers' respect and "small acts of kindness and civility" toward their African-American students (p. 67) make surmountable the intellectual and personal challenges of learning. It is a pleasure to see a scholar/educator pay attention to the intricacies of teachers' work, not with some generic or context-free student but with a particular group of children who typically are not well served by either conventional teaching or research.

One of the more interesting themes that arises in Ladson-Billings' case studies is the importance of confronting the social conflicts that are often submerged in

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classroom discourse. So-called "minority" or "at-risk" students, even more than their more privileged peers, are too frequently spoon-fed, assumed to know nothing of value, and therefore to have no grounds for analyzing or critiquing the information and ideas they are learning. Unless the teacher helps "students grapple with the contradictions" (p. 77) inherent in applying school knowledge to "real life" in an unequal society, classroom knowledge becomes suspect. These silences can foster disengagement from school and alienation from the democratic political life schools purport to represent. As Annette Henry describes, also writing about "African-centered" teacher practice, "liberatory pedagogy needs to render explicit topics that are most often relegated to realms of null curricula in many mainstream classrooms" (1994, p. 313; see also Bickmore 1993; Fine 1987; McNeil 1986). The teachers Ladson-Billings describes make sure their students practice with decision making and "are not afraid to assume oppositional viewpoints to foster the students' confidence in challenging what may be inaccurate or problematic" (p. 94). Culturally relevant teaching uses conflict as a learning opportunity.

The process by which Ladson-Billings selected her teacher subjects is well grounded in the author's theory of "culturally relevant" teaching: rather than relying on arbitrary assessments, she began by asking the African-American families themselves. Parents living in one California school district met with Dr. Ladson-Billings after Sunday services at local Baptist churches, listing 17 teachers "whom they believed to be effective with their children" (p. 147). Their criteria included demands for discipline and academic excellence "without resorting to demeaning or abusive behavior" (p. 148) and respectful inclusion of parents in their children's learning. Next, Ladson-Billings asked the eight elementary school principals in that district to nominate the teachers they considered to be effective with African-American pupils. They came up with a list of 22, using criteria that included successful classroom management, improvement in students' attendance, and standardized test scores. The overlap between the parents' and the principals' lists was nine teachers (out of nearly 200 in the district), eight of whom consented to participate in the study.

The most disappointing thing about the book is that so little specific observational information is revealed: there are only three or four brief "snapshot" observations of any classroom, and even less information about the school contexts in which these teachers work. The case studies are supplemented by about 30 stories reconstructed from the author's experiences as an African-American student. These life stories give the book a persuasive intimacy and a wider range of teaching examples from which to build understanding. They also highlight a question that deserves further study. In a different way from the boys described at the beginning of this essay, Gloria Ladson-Billings was by her own account an exemplary student. Her talents showed early and her parents were able and willing to support her educational successes. Who were the children in these eight case study classrooms? Surely, culturally relevant teaching must involve finding ways to handle the breathtaking diversity that surfaces in any group of children, even when they are racially or culturally segregated. How did these excellent teachers rise to meet the full range of needs, interests, skills, and resource bases brought by their students? Which students, if any, were still left out?

Ladson-Billings points out that these successful teachers of African-American children "work in opposition to the system that employs them" (p. 128; confirmed by others, e.g., Bascia (in press); Cochran-Smith 1994; Foster 1992). How so, and how do they manage? What workplace or professional community relationships make excellent antiracist teaching possible and sustainable over time? Because the eight teachers in this study worked in different schools, they might have discussed their work contexts in the dozen meetings they held with the author to analyze and interpret the case studies (pp. 152-153). Unfortunately, no direct reference is made to these discussions in the text.

The Dreamkeepers concludes with a dream vision of "Paul Robeson Elementary," a school context that might foster culturally relevant teaching. As in Comer's School Development Project (dismissed, in my view unfairly, as assimilationist, p. 10), "Paul Robeson" teachers transcend their classroom thresholds to make school-level decisions collaboratively with other stakeholders (e.g., Payne 1991; Rowe 1993). This is important: For teachers to stop treating their less privileged students as know-nothings and instead guide them to practice critical thinking and intellectual leadership, those teachers also need our respect, high expectations, and opportunities to apply their own complex knowledge to solving meaningful problems. Ladson-Billings resists the hopeless tendency to de-skill teachers and students through narrow accountability mechanisms, and instead substantiates the hope that public education can meet the educational needs of African-American children. Against the odds, some teachers already do.

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Turning the Soul: Teaching Through Conversation in the High School

by Sophie Haroutunian-Gordon

Published by The University of Chicago Press, 1991; 213 pages, paperback.

Reviewed by Ken Bergstrom

I am no longer surprised but still intrigued by the synchronicity of finding the right book at the right time to help me sort through a current dilemma. Reading and pondering Haroutunian-Gordon's *Turning the Soul* has been such an event as I have wondered about other manifestations of the blend of the perennialist educational philosophy, represented by Plato, and the progressivist tradition, espoused by Dewey. I have had the experience of observing one of our student teachers ply her progressive style and indigenous cultural concepts in the context of the perennialist curriculum (replete with a traditional, westernized reading list) at The Padeia School in Atlanta. I also have watched a friend and colleague found his own private school in a nearby Vermont town and encourage his students to address the age-old questions of the perennialist philosophy — What is justice? What is courage? What is truth? What is beauty? — in a way that reflects a student-centered, experiential approach to education. And I was recently amused by the motion picture *Renaissance Man*, featuring Danny DeVito, who elects to teach *Hamlet* in a discussion mode to some disenfranchised army recruits in desperate need of some extra tutoring as a way to enhance their intellect and self-esteem.

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So, *Turning the Soul* offered me the opportunity to reflect on the compatibility of these sometimes oppositional educational approaches and to learn some essential skills of "interpretative conversation."

> The aim of *Turning the Soul* is to lay open for consideration an educational activity I shall call *interpretive discussion*, an activity that may be of use in the quest for effective schooling through orderly change. There are teachers at all levels of elementary, secondary, college, and postgraduate schooling who have held interpretive discussions in their classes for years. But by and large the approach has not been seriously entertained for use in many settings, particularly in our impoverished urban schools. (p. 3)

Haroutunian-Gordon takes us into a classroom of 12 students in that "impoverished" school and by contrast into a classroom of 22 students in an affluent, private school in metropolitan Chicago — two very different high school literature classes which are studying the same text, *Romeo and Juliet*. Haroutunian is a skilled participant-observer, modeling the rules of interpretive discussion and critiquing the process. The first part of each conversation is a verbatim transcription of some of the classroom conversation. Then, an analytical "unpacking" between the author and the teacher attempts to make sense of what has occurred. Haroutunian-Gordon watches closely the skills of the teacher in the private classroom and shares the teaching role with the teacher in the urban school. It is this practical research methodology that makes the book ring true. There is something to be uncovered here in the real classroom setting.

The book is divided into three parts ("Interpretive Discussion in the School"; "How Are Students Transformed through Discussion?"; "How Do Students Learn to Build an Interpretation"), within which ten chapter "conversations" are presented — some in each school setting. Each chapter develops the role of interpretive discussion in the classroom not only by allowing us to follow the students' conversations but also by having us observe Haroutunian-Gordon and the classroom teacher reflect upon, analyze, and assess the progress of the students' skills.

In the private school, Madeline Spring (MS), the teacher, begins the *Romeo and Juliet* conversation by

asking students to consider their own experiences with revenge.

> MS: I thought we'd begin today by taking a few minutes ... to let you write a few lines about a time when somebody hurt you in some way, and you took revenge, or thought about doing so....
> STUDENT 1: So we're supposed to describe when a friend hurt us? And how?
> STUDENT 2: Any situation with any person we know? (p. 24)

The exchange continues and Haroutunian-Gordon's follow-up analysis wonders:

> The questions seem a little bit pesky. Why don't the students just write as directed instead of seeking so much clarification? After all, it's only a short in-class assignment not a term paper. They seem very concerned, perhaps overly so about following the teacher's instructions and pleasing her.... (p. 24)

Nevertheless, the conversation soon ensues and it is apparent that these students know how to build on one another's ideas, although they come slowly to sharing their own personal experiences. They make the substantive connections between the *Romeo and Juliet* theme of revenge and their own experiences. "Abstract analysis has become habitual for these students. Why? Because they have participated in many interpretive discussions, and such discussions ask one to move toward understanding..." (p. 30).

In the inner-city school's classroom, the teacher, Ms. Prince (MP), leads a very different discussion by having students share their written responses to a very similar prompt.

> MP: Very interesting. Yes, Collette, why don't you read yours? This is about the time you took revenge on somebody right?
> COLLETTE: Naw, I don't want to read it!
> MP: Would you like me to read it for you?
> COLLETTE: No ... (Reading her essay:) Well my brother Clark is so bad that in front of my friends he dragged me on the ground and kicked me in the face. I was really hurt and I was embarrassed. I called the police to have him arrested because ... he was drunk. Therefore, I am not his child ... his sister anymore.
> HAROUTUNIAN-GORDON: So you are saying that you took revenge in that case?
> COLLETTE: Called the police. (p. 32)

At first, the size of the cultural chasm shocks Haroutunian-Gordon. "I am unable to deal effectively with the extraordinary material she has presented. Indeed I am even unable to ask how she feels about having nothing to do with her brother anymore" (p. 32). But soon she realizes a richness in this classroom that is worth mining. "Between the intensity of daily experience and the ability and willingness to analyze personal feelings and relationships, it seemed that these students would bring extraordinary resources to the discussion on literature" (p. 35).

What follows this opening chapter/conversation is an account of how each classroom moves "toward more meaningful conversation" (p. 37). The reader watches the students in these different settings learn the rules of interpretive discussion: to build upon each others' remarks; to generate new ideas about the topic under consideration; to support these ideas with the text; and to listen carefully to one another and to identify the "object" of the conversation — a resolution to the question at hand. These skills and habits of mind become evident as the conversations proceed. Both classes seem to be brought together into a learning community by the purposeful discussions that originate with the provocative musings of Shakespeare. Everyone, even the early resistors, eventually engage in the exchange, coming to believe that they too have something to offer. And in a follow-up discussion with Ms. Prince, the teacher of the inner-city classroom, the author hears that the perseverance learned in these focused discussions has carried over into other aspects of the students' lives.

Haroutunian-Gordon's conclusion explores the problems and possibilities of this "practice which may have potential for improving the educational experience of students in some situa tions" (p. 176). She acknowledges the need for a manageable class size and the need for discussion leaders skilled in this process. But her argument is that this strategy makes school experience more educative.

> Reflection on discussable texts in all fields — in literature, science, art, mathematics, music, and others — has the power to turn the soul; that is, to draw out a vision of life that can transform one's understanding of oneself and the world. (p. 190)

And it is here that our paths diverge. While I see the value in this form of interpretive discussion, the ethical assumptions that support it suggest to me only a "tweaking" of the soul, rather than a "turning." Her methodology is intensive and her reflective analysis of student and teacher learning is that which we would hope to see from every teacher in our schools. (The book itself is an action model of her interpretative technique.) The commitment to researcher and teacher learning is profound — to explore the usefulness of this strategy in supporting substantive student learning. And every teacher could use some understanding of this technique as part of a sound pedagogical repertoire. Interpretive discussion can blend the experiences of students with the textual concepts of others.

She has also created a thorough philosophical context that pulls the best from Plato and Dewey. I admire

her attempt to bring together the teacher-directed nature of perennialism

> Teaching, Plato says, is *turning the soul*, which I take to mean directing students toward objects that draw out the vision or understanding they already possess, thanks to their experience in the world. (p. 6)

with the view of progressive education that

> the modus operandi of the classroom that Dewey envisions is "learning by doing" as opposed to "learning by being shown and told." Here the student is active rather than passive. (p. 12)

But there, I believe, is the fundamental flaw in her argument. We disagree about the degree of human agency allotted to students when this technique is employed in the classroom. The teacher is still the key in this process; the student is too passive — not involved enough. There is great value in students learning the skills required for a structured, productive conversation. There is great value in the classic works that continue to be found in the "must-read" lists of perennialist educators. But it is not student-active enough for me. The discrepancy lies in the degree of choice allotted to students. Who chooses the text? Who directs the conversation?

I think that if schools are going to do more than tinker at the edges of reform (and many of us are frustrated with the lack of substantive reform, certainly at the secondary school level), then we have to consider what learner-centered really means. Where does the curriculum originate? What is the function of student experience in schooling? Is content transposed to fit the real interests of learners? Are skills repositioned around the real questions that kids ask? Or do we continue to begin with the assumption that adults always know best what students need? When do we really ask them and pay attention to their response? Is the purpose of the interpretive discussion to learn *Romeo and Juliet* or to uncover and explore the experience-based issues that are embedded there?

This may be a faulty chicken-egg argument, but I don't think so. I think it is fundamental. Haroutunian-Gordon leaves clues that allude to my basic disagreement. She speaks to "the quest for effective schooling through orderly change" (p. 3) and suggests that society's needs might come before our children's. As we struggle to determine how best to provide educative experience for students, we must ask ourselves: What does society need from its schools? (p. 1)

I desire a more radical approach to educational reform. I suggest that we ask a different kind of question: What do our children need from schooling? I suggest that we stop the student-centered rhetoric and take a look at what it would really mean to put learners' needs and interests first.

Haroutunian-Gordon does discuss and demonstrate how, eventually, all students can learn to come to the conversation as equal contributors. The teacher may initiate but must at some point facilitate rather than direct. But she doesn't quite believe that these high school students could initiate the conversation, that they might find their own resources to substantiate their own individual and group interests, or that they could progress toward an egalitarian discussion without the skills of an adult person.

I owe a profound debt to the author for forcing me to clarify my own understanding of the interface of the perennialist and progressive perspectives (much like we were having our own interpretive discussion). While we can learn from each philosophy by examining and trying to reconcile the apparent contradictions between them, they are still, in my mind, oppositional in their assumptions. I admire the author for trying to bring these two dimensions together, but it provides one more distraction from our ability to see fundamental flaws of our approach to reform. I agree with Haroutunian-Gordon that interpretive discussion "can improve some learning experiences in some settings at some times" (p. 19), but it really doesn't allow me enough room to turn my soul.

Compulsory Schooling and Human Learning: The Moral Failure of Public Education in America and Japan

edited by Dayle M. Bethel; introduction by Ron Miller

Published by Caddo Gap Press (San Francisco), 1994; 160 pages, paperback.

Reviewed by Mary E. Henry

From my own perspective as a person who believes passionately in public schooling and its purpose to bring a quality education to all, I examined this book primarily for what it can offer public school educators. The book is not an in-depth examination of the public schools (as the title would suggest), instead it is about alternative schools and practices. Close descriptions are given of a number of private schools, and also home schooling. Described in this volume are Hyde School in Maine, the Newark Center for Creative Learning in the U.S., Global School for public school "refusers" in Ja-

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pan, and Children's Village in Japan. That school alternatives are flourishing could be an indicator that public schools in the United States and Japan are not serving all children well, as the author suggests. However, given that public schools serve a number of children faced with social problems, such as poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, racism, and so on, what is surprising is that the public schools do as well as they do. Millions of children are educated in public schools, and not all of these students have the cultural capital of families who engage in education (trips to museums, libraries, and art institutes, books, travel, adventures, conversations, mentors, visitors, apprenticeships, computers, and so on) to help them become educated without public schooling — as in the home school example.

So, what can we learn from the private schools depicted here? All the schools described have small classes, a focus on student needs and a hands-on approach to learning that are at the essence of good teaching. I would also like to add to the discussion that the *identity* of the teacher — his/her own sense of self and connectedness with others and the world — is essential for good teaching. We can also learn about the dangers of mechanistic, bureaucratic education. The demands of the postmodern era is for schooling that is holistic, interconnected, collaborative, and adaptive. It is not enough for alternative education to be an option, alternative education has to take its rightful place as the *preferred* form of education. The ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Dewey, Montessori, and Steiner hold the keys to the revitalization of our education systems.

Called into question is the control of education by the corporate state and its economic and political agenda. In other words, the state needs and wants workers as well as managers and may not be interested in developing the worth and dignity of each human being. The state also wants to develop loyalty to the state, nationalism, and patriotism, so that a "President who wants to make war" will be supported by an unthinking citizenry. At issue is the question of the purpose of education. Is education merely to provide for the needs of the corporate state, or is it a humane and intrinsically rewarding activity that leads to a fuller, more complete life? The moral underpinnings of education are examined. Kuryu's critique of the Japanese public school system, with its focus on economic nationalism, cannot be taken lightly. He shows that thousands of Japanese school children are becoming "school refusers." They refuse to accept that they have no rights to choose their educational paths, controlled as they are by a tracking and competitive system that reduces human beings to faceless numbers clawing their way to the top of an unforgiving sorting and credentialling system. Kuryu notes:

> My heart goes out to the children of Japan. They are forced to think only of going on to higher schools. In order to try to insure their getting into the next higher school, they must go to cram schools in the evening. They cannot play, they cannot dream, they cannot explore the world around them. They are slaves to an adult-created success machine. Following graduation, they are permanently labeled by the points and grades they received in school. (p. 79)

Schooling surely ought to be much more than a sifting and sorting process governed by the interests of the corporate state. What of human qualities, such as empathy for others, a valuing of diversity, and collaboration?

Common themes throughout the articles include the following:

- The dignity and worth of each human being and the right of each to help shape his or her own educational pathways, hearts, and truths.
- The connection between culture, language, and learning. For instance, Fujita (p. 20) points out that in English the distinction is made between male and female, e.g., brother and sister, but in Japanese the distinction is on four dimensions, young and old, male and female. Thus, we have ani (elder brother), otooto (younger brother), ane (elder sister), and imooto (younger sister). Of course we cannot conclude from this that English is sexist and Japanese is both sexist and ageist. Fujita simply draws our attention to largely invisible links between culture and education, and how our conceptions of the world, relationships with others, and ourselves are influenced by language.
- The importance of education arising from active engagement and interest is a focus of study. As Mary Norton (p. 35) puts it, "too many teachers act like immigration officers rather than ambassadors; ...they act as gatekeepers who control rather than encourage entry into their domains."
- Bringing the school into the community through hands-on experiences such as internships and apprenticeships.
- Multiple ways of knowing and the value of teaching through such means as dialogue, storytelling, art, and drama.
- A critique of modern Western culture with its fragmented and exploitative view of the world, driven by economic competitiveness and greed. Such a view is short-term and destructive. We

need instead a long-term philosophy that celebrates the interconnectedness of everything.

- A focus on social and ecological consciousness necessary for the survival of the planet and a worldview of the learner as a responsible member of a global community.
- Education as "peoplemaking," the nurturing of emotional and social competencies, not just intellectual and academic (Norton, p. 36).

While grades are competitive goods — some people are winners and others losers — knowledge, caring, love, and morality are not. If we learn to use our knowledge well, the whole community can be enhanced.

One of the highlights of the book is Nel Noddings' argument that problems in school and students' problems of motivation are *moral* problems, not simply problems of strategy or motivation. Noddings characterizes education as building the capacity for a certain outlook or thinking. She contrasts the traits of the warrior as in William James 1958/1970), or the paternalism, autonomy, and utilitarianism of Kant, with those of caregivers (p. 59). Noddings reminds us that the military mind, the business mind, or police mentality are created through a process of socialization or enculturation, which is an educational process. In schools, no less than in business or the military, we are in the process of developing minds and moral values. Instead of engaging in this task unthinkingly, Noddings urges us to attend to an undeveloped and undervalued ethic in our culture — that of care. Care, in this view, means attending to others, interpersonal attention, listening to and receiving the other, and engaging in meaningful dialogue.

The shift outlined so clearly in this book is from school systems with bureaucratic, hierarchical, competitive, and production-oriented views toward democratic and humane systems. New ethics are those of care, collaboration, and a focus on teaching and learning that values each learner, and his or her place in a community of learners.

Finally, we are reminded that it is time for those of us who engage in dialogue about the problems of schooling to begin the critical work ourselves of collaborating. Powerful ideas have been offered in this book, and by many other thinkers and writers — by feminists, holistic educators, whole language advocates, and native Americans. Yet we tend to fragment and divide within ourselves. How can we begin to undertake the work of transforming such giants as the United States and Japanese public school systems unless we ourselves collaborate? Important differences between, say, feminist concerns and those of native American writers, between public and private school advocates, can be debated, while holding necessary conversations *across* epistemological boundaries.