SCHOOL and

SOCIETY

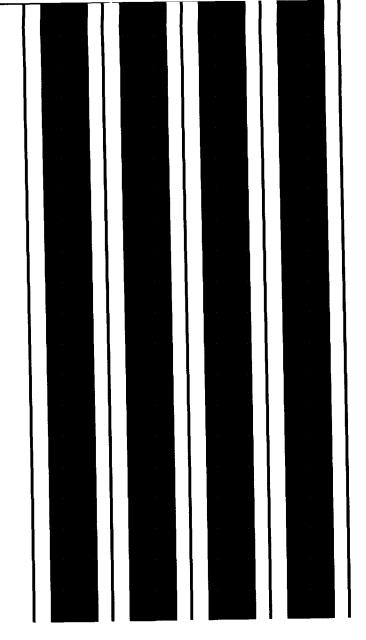## *Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*

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SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

SECOND EDITION

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Professor Tozer was Chair of the Committee on Academic Standards and Accreditation in the American Education Studies Association and is currently a member of the Executive Council. He is also Chair of the Committee on Executive Affairs for the Philosophy of Education Society and is a member of the Board of Examiners for the National Council on Accreditation of Teacher Education. He has written regularly for such journals as *Education Theory, Education Studies, Educational Foundations,* and *Teachers College Record* and is coauthor of two books on social foundations.

Professor Tozer completed his A.B. in German at Dartmouth College, his M.Ed. in Elementary and Early Childhood Education at Loyola University of Chicago, and his Ph.D. at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He has taught at the early childhood, elementary and secondary levels.

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Professor Violas received his baccalaureate and master's degrees in history at the University of Rochester, where he later received his Ed.D. degree. He taught secondary school social studies for six years before later embarking on his career in higher education. In addition to teaching and lecturing assignments in England and Greece, he served for six years as Associate Dean of Graduate and Undergraduate programs at the College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He has been a regular contributor to such journals as *Education Theory, Teachers College Record, Harvard Education Review,* and *The History Teacher.* He is also the coauthor of *Roots in Crises* and the author of *The Training of the Urban Working Class.*

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PREFACE

School and Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, 2e is designed for courses in teacher education commonly labeled School and Society, Social Foundations of Education, or simply Foundations of Education. Such courses may be offered at the introductory or more advanced levels in teacher education programs. Normally, their purpose is to provide students with a broad, interdisciplinary examination of the school-society relationship in America and of the many issues imbedded in this relationship. The objective, of course, is to help prepare vital, reflective teachers who can critically evaluate the institutional goals, policies and practices that surround and shape their own classroom practice. With this in mind, we built the following features into our text.

Historical-Contemporary Analysis Understanding contemporary educational processes, we believe, requires understanding their historical origins: how and why they first arose and then developed into their present forms. For this reason history plays a central role throughout this work. In Part 1, we analyze the relationships among the political economy, the prevailing ideology, and the educational practices of each major period in the development of American public education. For each period, we show how the intersection of these forces influenced one or more perennial issues in education that still confront us as we move into the twenty-first century. We try to show how a significant change in any one of these components (political-economic conditions, prevailing ideology, or educational practice) inevitably reflects or stimulates changes in the others. Students become familiar with the connections as they revisit them in different historical settings.

Whereas Part 1 examines perennial school-society issues in terms of their historical origins in American history, Part 2 provides a contemporary analysis of these same issues by discussing such questions as, What is the relationship between liberty and literacy? Is the professionalization of teaching good for education? What are the purposes of public education in a democratic society? Who should control the curriculum, and for what purposes? To what degree can schools promote social equality? What types of curriculum and teaching practices are most effective and most equitable? Thus each perennial issue receives a two-part, historical-contemporary examination. The result is a highly integrated text, in which each chapter in Part 1 has a matching chapter in Part 2.

Diversity-Equity Focus Today's educators must confront the complex question of how to provide an increasingly diverse school population with an education that is both equitable and of high quality. Consequently, we have made this issue a major focus of our text. In Part 1, Chapters 4, 5 , 6, and 7 examine the histories of four educationally under-served groups in this country: the working class, women, African Americans and Native Americans. Then, in Part 2, Chapters 11, 12, and 13 analyze the educational status of these and other minority groups in contemporary America. The related themes of diversity and equity as seen in various forms (racial, ethnic, cultural, language, gender, and ability) constitute possibly the most important issue facing schools in the twenty-first century. Consequently, we have given it heavy emphasis.

Critical Thinking Skills Since good teachers must be able to think critically, we wanted to produce a text that actively promotes critical thinking skills within an educational context. Most foundations texts espouse this goal, but few accomplish it. To do so means (1) providing the basic conceptual tools needed for analytical inquiry,

(2) demonstrating their use within the text, and (3) providing the reader with opportunities to practice such analysis. Consequently, we have structured our text as follows. First, Chapter 1 presents six analytical concepts (social theory, political economy, schooling, training, education, and ideology) that we have found to be especially useful in understanding American public education. Next, we have systematically demonstrated their usefulness by organizing chapter discussions around them. Both the historical chapters in Part 1 and the contemporary chapters in Part 2 utilize these concepts. Finally, at the end of each chapter, we have provided original source readings that students are asked to critically evaluate using these terms. In short, each chapter models the analytical use of these terms, while end-of-chapter readings and questions provide an opportunity for their use. *In fact, it is our hope that reflective readers will use their own experiences and viewpoints to actively challenge the author's analysis whenever there seems cause to do so.*

Text Integration   Rather than producing a text with only marginally related chapters, we have tried to produce one that is highly integrated. We have already described two of the primary mechanisms used to accomplish this: (1) the use of perennial issues as a device for integrating the book's historical and contemporary parts and (2) the use of end-of-chapter readings as vehicles for applying (thereby mastering) the analytic terms. In addition, the analytic framework used throughout the text, especially the political-economic and ideological discussions, provide integrative threads rarely found in foundations texts. If, for example, the ideology sections found within Chapters 2 through 14 are read together, they provide a coherent minihistory of ideological thought from colonial times to the present.

Changes in This Edition   The second edition of *School and Society* includes a number of significant changes. Chief among these are the following.

- ***Reorganization of Part 1.*** Because both the political-economic conditions of the progressive era (immigration, industrialization, urbanization) and the changing ideology of that period (favoring centralized administration by experts) had an enormous impact on the early school experiences of women, African Americans, and Native Americans, we decided to move that chapter forward. Thus, in the new organization, the progressive era chapter serves not only to introduce the issue of social diversity and differentiated schooling, but also provides an introduction to the modern liberal ideology that underlies the early education of women, African Americans, and Native Americans.
- ***Expanded coverage of diversity and equity issues.*** A new Part 1 chapter on the education of women expands the historical examination of educationally underserved groups in this country into a four-chapter block, which begins with the chapter on progressivism. In Part 2, a contemporary examination of these same groups and issues occurs in a new three-chapter block (11, 12, and 13), which also includes the educational experiences of Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and exceptional students. Thus, four chapters in Part 1 and three in Part 2 have been revised or newly written for more thorough treatment of diversity and equity. New Primary Source Readings have also been added.
- ***Expanded coverage of the professionalization movement.*** An expanded and extensively rewritten chapter dealing with the current professionalization movement in teaching has been added to Part 2. It explores factors that make teaching unique among the professions in status, rewards, and mission. A new Primary Source Reading has been added as well.

- ***Enhanced integration.*** The two parts of the book (historical and contemporary) have been more tightly integrated in terms of their content coverage and their chapter titles and subheadings. Thus instructors now have the option of teaching the chapters either in a conventional front-to-back sequence or as matched pairs in any sequence they wish.

Acknowledgments This book originated in Educational Policy Studies 201, a required undergraduate course in social foundations of education at the University of Illinois. The course was originally designed by Paul Violas and his graduate students in 1975 and was subsequently modified by Steve Tozer and his graduate teaching assistants from 1982 to 1990. Consequently, a great many doctoral students have contributed, either directly or indirectly, to its development over the years. We would especially like to thank some of those who worked directly on the second edition manuscript at various times: Rupert Burk, John Bruns, Jean Connell, Abebe Fisseha, Ann Larson, Huey Li-Li, and David Rein.

We also gratefully acknowledge the important contributions made by the many reviewers who examined all or portions of the manuscript during its long gestation period. Primary among these were Professors Nicholas Appleton, Arizona State University, and Edward McClellan, Indiana University, who patiently reacted to draft chapters as they developed over a period of years. Others who contributed valuable feedback to portions of the manuscript include Alex Chou; Victoria Chou, University of Illinois at Chicago; Nancy Green, Northeastern Illinois University; Edward Heinig, Western Michigan University; Thomas Nelson, Illinois State University; Trevor Phillips, Bowling Green University; Basil Reppas, University of Northern Iowa; Christine Shea, West Virginia University; Wayne Urban, Georgia State University; and Patricia Weibust, University of Connecticut.

Our most important partners in this effort have been those who wrote chapters for our first edition in their areas of expertise: James Anderson, Chapter 4; Steve Preskill, Chapter 7; Kal Alston, Chapter 9; and Robert Carson, Chapter 10. These faculty, all of whom once taught or currently are teaching at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, drafted a third of the original volume and gave it a depth of insight it would not otherwise have had. The chapters by Anderson and Preskill have remained virtually intact in this second edition, now as Chapters 6 and 8.

We feel singularly indebted to our colleagues in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for patiently sharing with us their expert knowledge of schooling and teacher education. Finally, our editor, Lane Akers, has thoroughly demonstrated why he is so widely respected in our field. His intellect and professionalism helped this edition take shape and reach completion. The new Chapters 10, 12, and 13, have built upon the work of Alston and Carson.

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INTRODUCTION: UNDERSTANDING SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

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*T*he public schools are perhaps the most familiar but the least understood institution in our society. Most Americans spend over twelve years of their lives attending public schools and later, as adults, confront a wide array of school-related issues. School board elections, school tax referendums, PTA meetings, and their own children's school experiences all require immediate personal attention.

On a broader, less personal plane is the matter of the overall quality of our society's public school system. Is it equipping our young to support themselves in a changing economy? Is it promoting an equitable and stable society by educating all our students? Is it equipping them with the skills and attitudes needed to live in a society that is increasingly diverse and pluralistic? Is it teaching them to respect and protect an increasingly endangered environment? In short, how well does our nation's public school system serve the major needs of our society?

To deal effectively with either local or national school issues requires more than surface familiarity with schools. Like any other institution, the school can be understood only through disciplined study using analytic concepts. Once learned, these concepts become tools of inquiry that can be used to peel back the onion, and then reflect on what is found there. The onion, of course, is our public school system, and the tools of inquiry are six concepts that will be introduced in the following section.

TOOLS OF INQUIRY

These tools of inquiry are six analytic categories: social theory, schooling, training, education, political economy, and ideology. Each of these will be examined, and then three will be arranged into an analytic framework. The final part of this chapter will provide two historical illustrations of the analytic framework in action, one dealing with education in European feudal society and the other dealing with education in classical Athens. The following chapters will then use this analytic framework to examine the evolution of American public schools (Part 1) and some of the most significant contemporary issues facing the public school system (Part 2).

Social Theory

The term "theory" is one of the most maligned among educationists. Frequently, educators in public schools

and in colleges of education proclaim that they are interested in "practice," not "theory." Such announcements should make us pause to consider what the term "theory" means. It does not really have a complex meaning. Very simply, a theory is an explanation of phenomena. A social theory is an attempt to explain social phenomena. A theory attempts to answer the questions how and why. It is not something separate from "reality" and "practice"; rather, it attempts to explain reality and practice. Thus, to say that we are "not interested in theory" is to say that we are not interested in knowing how or why something occurs.

We might be interested, for example, in the rise in public school attendance during the past century. Why did increasing percentages of American children attend school for increasing lengths of time? One explanation (i.e., theory) is that the increase reflected the rise in democratic sentiment and greater potential for social mobility in the United States. An alternative theory emphasizes economic factors, such as the decreased dependence on child labor both on farms and in factories, accompanied by the need for adult workers with specialized skills (e.g., clerical training) and work force behaviors (e.g., punctuality).

These potentially conflicting theories raise an important question: How do we judge theories? Is it simply a matter of opinion or personal taste? If there were not adequate ways to evaluate theories, then those who assert that they are not interested in theory might be on sounder ground. Fortunately, there are criteria and procedures we can use to intelligently accept or reject a theory. First, we ask whether the theory is internally consistent. That is, are there contradictions within the theory itself? If so, the explanatory power of the theory is weakened. Second, how well does the theory account for the data (i.e., facts) we have amassed about the phenomenon we are trying to understand? Few theories, if any, will be able to account for all the data; nevertheless, the more data it can account for, the better the theory. Third, how well does a particular theory agree with other theories we have accepted to account for this set of facts and similar phenomena? A theory that conflicts less with other theories is generally judged as more satisfactory.

A cautionary note to students: When we have subjected our theories to these evaluative procedures, we should not believe that we have achieved something called Truth. The notion that humans can

achieve absolute, eternal truth is an ambitious goal that western civilization has long cherished. It found expression in fifth-century Athens with Plato, in the early Christian era with Augustine of Hippo, and in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment philosophers. The evolution of twentieth-century science has made us less optimistic about discovering absolute truth. This is especially so in the human sciences. When we argue that it is possible to judge theories, we are simply asserting that some theories explain social phenomena better than others, not that the ones we judge as better are absolutely true. Social theories will always need further refinement. What we seek are the best available explanations upon which to base our understanding and our most enlightened choices for social action.

Our theory-based explanations are not infallible, but neither are they "just an interpretation," if by that we mean that they are no better or worse than any other explanation. Our explanations may be strong or weak, more valid or less valid, depending on how well they stand up to critical investigation, that is, how thoroughly and consistently they explain the phenomena we are trying to understand. Throughout this book, it is important to remember that you are reading neither "the absolute truth" nor "just another interpretation." Instead, you are reading the best efforts of scholars who are trying to understand both the historical and the contemporary relationships between schooling and society. You should read these theoretical explanations critically, asking yourself if they do, in fact, help you better understand your own experience with schools and the wider culture.

Schooling

Schooling is also a relatively simple concept, but one that is often confused with education. Schooling simply refers to the totality of experiences that occur within the institution called school, not all of which are educational. Schooling includes all the activities that take place within the curriculum of a school— that is, within courses and programs of study. It also includes the activities called "extracurricular," such as sports, clubs, school newspapers, and other activities not included within the formal curriculum. In addition, schooling involves teaching and learning not included in either curricular or extracurricular activities. This type of unplanned learning occurs in the school's "hidden curriculum" and is generally not spoken of by school authorities. Unplanned learning

often occurs because of the way schools are structured: their organization, architecture, time management, teaching methods, and authority structures. In the "hidden curriculum," students learn powerful "lessons," for example, about punctuality, respect for and even fear of authority, time organization, and competition for limited rewards.

Focusing on schooling as opposed to focusing more broadly on education can reveal the relation of the state to schooling. State governments provide for school buildings and establish length of school terms and teachers' qualifications. Those of us who have always believed that there was some special connection between public (i.e., state) schools and democracy should remember that for most of Western history this was not the case. Democratic Athens and republican Rome did not have state schools. For most of Western history state schooling supported nondemocratic governments. The state schools of Sparta, the Hellenistic states, the Roman empire, the German states during the Reformation, and until recently, twentieth-century Soviet Russia all utilized state schooling for nondemocratic ends. All these state schools sacrificed individualism, creativity, and independent judgment in the interest of "citizenship."

Training

Training, like schooling, is often confused with education. Training may be described as a set of experiences provided to some organism (human or not) in an attempt to render its responses predictable according to the goals of the trainer. With the development of behavioral psychology in the twentieth century, training techniques have become more sophisticated and have taken on the aura of science. The increased efficiency of training techniques has led many astute social observers to become somewhat pessimistic regarding the future of creative individualism. This pessimism can perhaps best be seen in the "anti-utopia" novels of this century, such as Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and George Orwell's *1984*. What these anti-utopian writers fear is the vast potential for social control and manipulation inherent in training techniques. The potential for indoctrination certainly should be of concern for all educators. However, this does not mean that all training is to be shunned. For example, when approaching a busy intersection, most motorists would hope that all other drivers approaching that intersection have been trained to automatically use their brakes when they see either a red or yellow

Training involves learning how to do something specific, such as how to operate a computer. Education involves learning how to think and create solutions and often incorporates specific training skills. The student here is composing a story (education) which requires prior training on the computer.

traffic light. We all want that response to be predictable. Other examples of the value of training include memorizing the multiplication tables and all irregular verbs in Spanish. Training, then, has an important but limited value in both schooling and education.

Education

Education is both related to training and more difficult to explain. One of the clearest and most insightful explanations was offered by Abraham Flexner in 1927:

> Between education and training there exists a vast distinction. Education is an intellectual and spiritual process. It has to do with opening the windows of the human mind and the human soul. It involves the effort to understand, to comprehend, to be sensitive to ideas, aspirations, and interests to which the individual might otherwise be indifferent. Not so with training. Training connotes improved ability to do something, without deepened understanding, widened sympathy, or heightened aspirations. One can train a brick layer to lay three hundred bricks instead of one hundred and fifty. One can train a stenographer to increase her speed and skill. . . . But one educates in the realm of thought, feeling, and intelligence. Occasionally, to be

sure, training must precede education. One must be trained to read, before one can become educated in literature; one must be trained to add and multiply before one can be educated in the higher mathematics; one must be trained to use a fever thermometer, before one can be educated as a physician. But always training concerns itself with tools and devices, while education concerns itself with something that has intellectual or spiritual content and motive. Training is means; education is end.[1]

Although parts of Flexner's explanation of education may be controversial, he does identify significant differences between education and training. Education certainly involves some training. Moreover, it involves some of the processes that make communal living possible. But it is more. Education involves reason, the intellect, intuition, creativity. It is a process or set of experiences which allows humans to "create" themselves. The educated person's responses to a problematic situation will be based on trying to understand and make calculations about that situation, hypothesizing possible outcomes, and choosing among possible courses of action. Education builds on the successes and failures of ancestors, whereas training tends to

reproduce the response(s) of the trainer. Education produces responses which the educator may not have even contemplated.

Because of these differences between training and education, we typically think of training as preparing a person for a specific social or economic role, while education seeks to prepare an individual for a wide range of roles. For example, we typically speak of a nurse's training, or a boxer's or a musician's training, emphasizing by this term the skills and understandings needed for each specific role. To be educated, however, is to develop a wide range of human capacities that equip one to fill a variety of roles in one's culture: as a worker, a citizen, a parent, a person who relates ethically to others, a person who uses leisure in productive ways, and so on.

Political Economy

Political economy is an old-fashioned concept that includes the social, cultural, economic, political, and demographic dimensions of a society. To study the political economy of a particular society is to examine how that society is organized—how its structures, processes, and physical and mental resources give it its character and distinctiveness. The school is one of the institutions that make up the political economy of American society. This book will focus on analyzing those aspects of the political economy which are of special relevance to American public schools. Crucial to the method of analysis is the assumption that when any part of the political economy experiences significant change, other parts of it are affected.

Ideology

Ideology, like education, is a frequently used concept that is difficult to define. Every society explains and justifies its social, political, and economic arrangements and its relations to the outside world in terms of what its members understand and value about the world. Members of one society might explain and justify their "free enterprise" system on the basis of beliefs in the importance of private property and individual freedom. Members of another society might justify their military dictatorship on the grounds that social order and control are more fundamental to human well-being than is equality or civil rights. In each case, those who are doing the explaining and justifying are revealing the underlying values that support their respective ideologies.

It may be useful to think of an ideology as an interpretive lens that a society looks through in order to organize its experiences. Although the notion of a "system of ideas" is no doubt too simplistic and too neat, it holds some value for understanding the term.

Ideology does not refer primarily to how individuals think; rather, it refers to the beliefs, value systems, and understandings of social groups. In this book, the term "ideology" will refer to the beliefs, values, and ways of understanding that guide policy formation in any society and that are *intended* to explain and justify the society's institutions and social arrangements—intended, because the ideas and values which explain and justify major social institutions may not be satisfactory to all members of society. The ideology which becomes dominant in a society is almost always articulated by those who derive the most power, goods, and prestige from the existing social organization. Generally, those who benefit most from the social arrangement are more satisfied with the "dominant" ideology than are group members who benefit less. Those who wield less power or are oppressed by society understandably are less satisfied by justifications of existing social arrangements. In many cases, such groups may embrace conflicting ideologies or variants of the dominant ideology. The result can be social unrest and even revolution. Colonial Americans of Benjamin Franklin's persuasion, for example, shared the some society, but not the same ideology, as loyalists to the king. Similarly, slaves and masters in the pre-Civil War South shared the same society, but usually not the same ideology.

Even in relatively stable societies in which social unrest does not approach revolution, it should not be assumed that the dominant ideology is fully endorsed by all social groups and economic classes. It is safe to assume that a society's dominant economic class can explain and justify the prevailing social arrangements according to the dominant ideology, but such explanations may not accurately reflect the views of people from less privileged economic classes. The police force in U.S. society, for example, may be understood by middle and upper classes as an institution which benevolently enforces the law and protects the rights and well-being of all members of society. People from less privileged economic classes, however, may have experienced the police as an organization which uses its special powers to harass and interfere with their lives in order to protect the advantages of wealth.