School & Society

Educational Practice
as Social Expression

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This book was developed by Lane Akers, Inc.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Professor Tozer has served for three years as Chair of the Committee on Academic Standards and Accreditation for the American Educational Studies Association and was appointed by the Council of Learned Societies in Education to serve on the Board of Examiners of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers of Education. He has published numerous articles on the social foundations of education in such journals as *Educational Theory, Educational Studies,* and *Teachers College Record,* and is coeditor of two books in educational foundations, including the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, *Society as Educator in an Age of Transition,* with Kenneth D. Benne. Professor Tozer taught the required undergraduate course in social foundations of education at UIUC for eight years, during which time he received the campus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Instruction.

Paul C. Violas is recipient of the First Annual Career Teaching Award at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, College of Education, where he has been a Professor of History of Education since 1968. During the mid-1970s, he and his graduate students designed the social foundations of education course on which this textbook is based.

Before taking his Ed.D. from the University of Rochester in history of education in 1969, Professor Violas received his baccalaureate and master's degrees in history at Rochester and taught secondary school for six years. Since arriving at UIUC, he has written numerous articles on such topics as the history of academic freedom, indoctrination and education, vocational education, and teacher education in such journals as *Educational Theory, Journal of American History,* and *Harvard Educational Review.* He is coauthor of *Roots of Crisis* and author of *The Training of the Urban Working Class.* Professor Violas was Associate Dean of Graduate and Undergraduate Programs at the College of Education from 1982 to 1987 and has taught courses in the history and philosophy of American and European education. He is Associate Editor of *Educational Theory.*

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PREFACE

School and Society: Educational Practice as Social Expression is designed for introductory courses in teacher education commonly labeled School and Society, Social Foundations of Education, or simply Foundations of Education. Normally, the purpose of such courses is to provide students with a broad, interdisciplinary examination of the school-society relationship in America and of the many issues embedded 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 Analysis Understanding the issues and processes embedded in the school-society relationship, we believe, requires understanding their origins: how and why they first arose and then developed into their present form. For this reason history plays a central role throughout this work. Part 1, which is primarily historical, analyzes relationships among the political economy, the prevailing ideology, and the educational practices of each major period in the development of American public education. In short, we show how any significant change in any one of these components inevitably causes disturbance and possible change in the others. Thus the ever changing school-society relationship is historically illustrated six times in Part 1 using the political economy-ideology-school practice framework. Students become familiar with the connections as they revisit them in different historical settings.

Issues Orientation Whereas the Part 1 chapters are historically oriented, those in Part 2 are organized around major issues in contemporary education, all of them perennial in nature. Questions such as these focus the chapters of Part 2: What is the relationship between liberty and literacy? What are the purposes of public education in a democratic society? Who should control the curriculum and for what purposes? To what degree should schools promote social equality? What type of curriculum and teaching practices are most effective and most equitable? In what sense is teaching a profession?

The origins and early development of these issues have already been discussed in the Part 1 chapters. Each issue first came into prominence as a result of the peculiar political-economic, ideological, and educational conditions that characterized a certain historical period. Thus each issue receives a two-part historical-contemporary development. The result is a highly integrated text in which each Part 1 chapter has a matching chapter in Part 2. For example, Chapter 2, which covers the early national period, examines our nation's commitment to literacy as the cornerstone of democracy. Chapter 8 then returns to this issue, examining the status of literacy and liberty in contemporary American society. Thus the chapters in this book build upon and reinforce each other.

Critical Thinking Skills Since reflective teachers must be able to think critically, this text 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, our text follows this structure.

First, Chapter 1 presents six analytical concepts (social theory, political economy, schooling, training, education, and ideology) that are especially useful in understanding American public education. Next, their usefulness is systematically demonstrated

by organizing chapter discussions around them. Finally, each chapter ends with original source readings that students are asked to read and critically evaluate by using these terms. In short, each chapter models the analytical use of these terms, while end-of-chapter readings provide an opportunity for their use.

Diversity/Equity Focus   Educators must confront the question of how to provide an increasingly diverse school population with an education that is both high quality and equitable. Consequently, we have made this an ongoing theme throughout this book. Chapters 4 and 6 provide an in-depth look at how two cultural groups, African Americans and Native Americans, were first educated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter 10 then analyzes their educational status (along with other minority groups) in contemporary America. Likewise, the early educational experiences of women are documented in Chapters 2 and 3 and then given a current treatment in Chapters 9 and 10. As possibly the single most important issue facing schools in the twenty-first century, the theme of diversity in all its many forms (racial, ethnic, cultural, language, and gender, for example) requires this heavy emphasis.

Text Integration   Rather than producing a text with only marginally related chapters, we have organized a highly integrated text by using two primary mechanisms: the integration of the book's historical and contemporary sections and the integration of its end-of-chapter readings with the basic chapter discussions. Unlike most current foundations texts, which treat the various foundational disciplines (historical, philosophical, social, political) in isolation from each other, this one integrates the concepts and perspectives from all these disciplines into analyses of specific educational processes and problems. This follows the tradition begun over fifty years ago at Teachers College, Columbia University, where critical interdisciplinary study of social institutions and ideals first got its start in this country.

Acknowledgments   This book has its origins in Educational Policy Studies 201, a required undergraduate course in social foundations of education at the University of Illinois. The course was designed by Paul Violas and his graduate students in 1975 with analysis of political economy and ideology at its center. The course was subsequently modified by Steve Tozer and his graduate teaching assistants from 1982 to 1990. Consequently, a great many doctoral students have made contributions, directly and indirectly, to the content of this book over the past 16 years. We would especially like to thank some of those who worked directly on the manuscript at various times: Jean Bettridge, Robert Carson, Jean Connell, Mary Leach, Frank Margonis, Larry Parker, and Audrey Thompson.

We also gratefully acknowledge the important contributions made by the many reviewers who have examined all or portions of the manuscript during its long gestation period. Primary among these are Professors Nicholas Appleton, Arizona State University, and Edward McClellan, Indiana University, who patiently reacted to draft chapters as they developed over the years. Others who contributed valuable feedback to portions of the manuscript include: Vicki Cho Hare, University of Illinois, Chicago; 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 drafted chapters from 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 Champaign-Urbana, have

drafted a third of this volume and have given it a depth of insight it would not otherwise have had.

Next, we must recognize the extraordinary contributions of our two editors, Lane Akers and Sheila Gillams. Sheila, who joined the project in its latter stages, has provided strong professional guidance and unflappable thoroughness under numerous pressing deadlines. From the conceptualization of the book to its final pages, Lane has been the most complete editor and partner any textbook author could ever hope for. We thank them both.

Finally, our thanks go to Cleta Conerty and Barbara Franklin for their work in preparing the manuscript. Their care and precision have helped immeasurably.

Steven E. Tozer

CONTENTS

UNDERSTANDING SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

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CHAPTER

T he public schools are perhaps the most familiar but the least well understood institution in our society. Most Americans spend over twelve years of their lives attending public schools and later, as adults, confronting 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 complete successfully in worldwide economic markets? Is it promoting an equitable and stable society by educating all our students? Is it equipping them with the skills and attitudes 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, examine its core, 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

Let us begin with the tools of inquiry. These consist of six analytic terms: social theory, schooling, training, education, political economy, and ideology. Each of these terms 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 both public

schools and colleges of education will 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 in reality 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 and 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 if 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, if any, theories 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 "fit" with other theories we have accepted to account for this set of facts and similar phenomena? A theory which conflicts less with other theories will generally be judged as more satisfactory.

One cautionary note: 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.

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 which 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 intramural 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. Students learn powerful "lessons," for example, about punctuality, respect for and even fear of authority, time organization, and competition for limited rewards in the "hidden curriculum."

Focusing on schooling as opposed to education more broadly 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 the existence of 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 Russia all utilized state schooling for nondemocratic ends. All these state schools sacrificed individualism, creativity, and independent judgment in the interest of "citizenship."
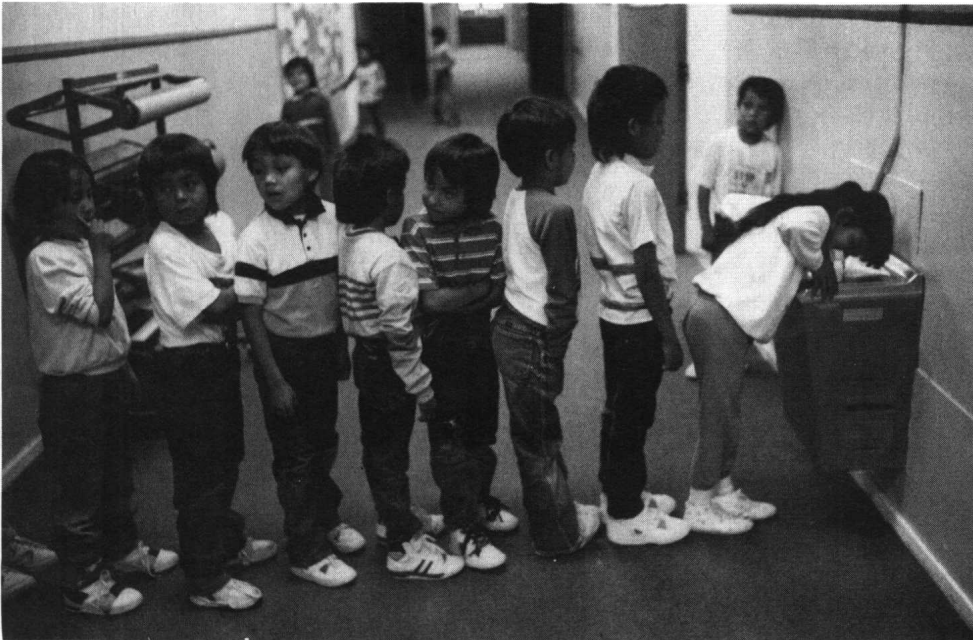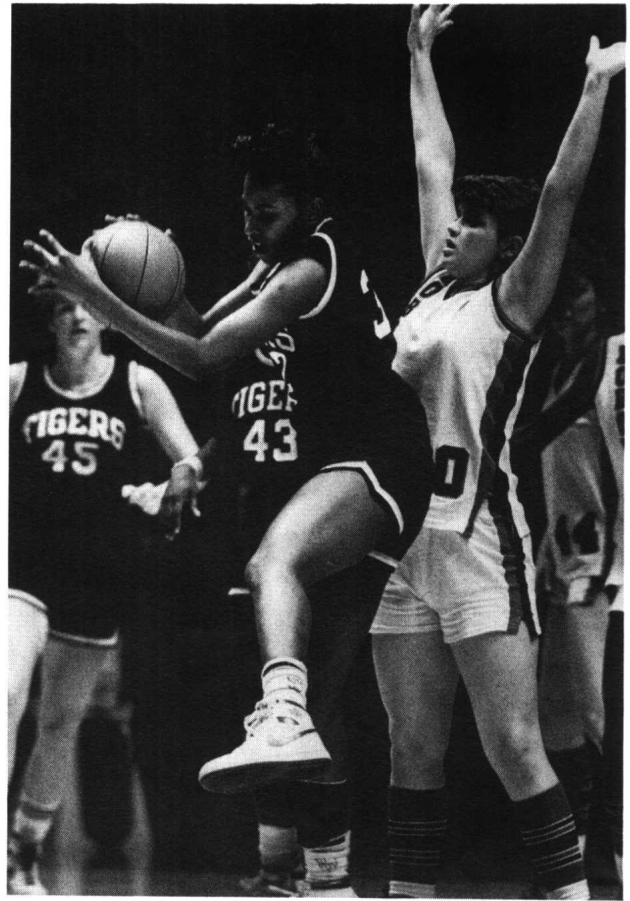
Training

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 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

Schooling refers to the totality of experiences that occur within schools: planned learning experiences, extracurricular activities, and unplanned learning experiences, such as how to wait.
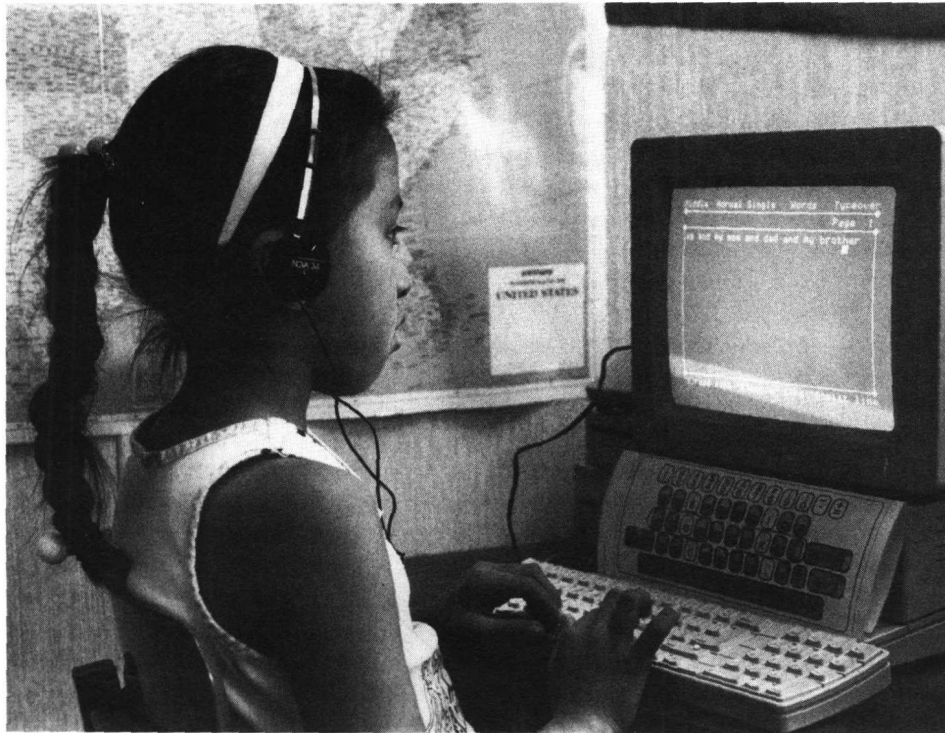
Training involves learning how to do something specific, such as how to operate a computer. Education involves learning how to think and create solutions and often incorporates specific training skills. The student here is composing a story (education) which requires prior training on the computer.

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 which 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. It is this understanding of education which great educators, including Isocrates in Athens, Cicero in Rome, da Feltre in Mantua, Erasmus in Rotterdam, and J. S. Mill in England, had in mind when they noted that one appropriate end of education was the development in their students of the ability to make *discriminating* judgments.

Political Economy

Political economy is an old-fashioned concept which includes the social, cultural, economic, political, and demographic arrangements in society. To study the political economy of a particular society is to examine how that society is organized—to examine the structures, processes, and physical and mental resources which give it its character and distinctiveness. Schools are one of the institutions which make up the political