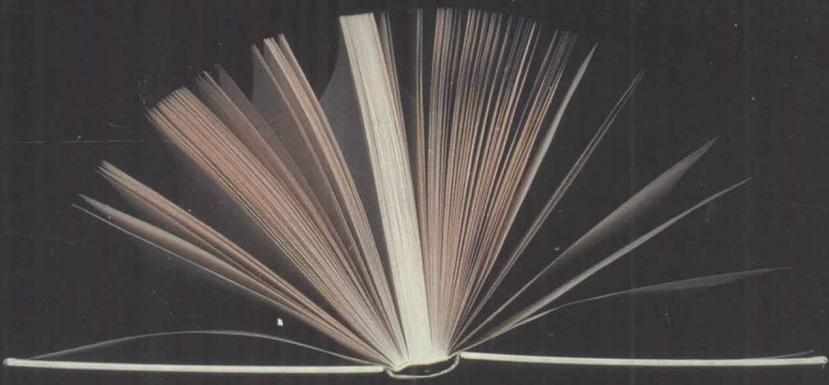


TAKING SIDES



EXPANDED
with Two
New Issues



Clashing Views on Controversial
Educational Issues

THIRTEENTH EDITION

James Wm. Noll

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See inside front cover for details

TAKING SIDES

Clashing Views on Controversial
Educational Issues

THIRTEENTH EXPANDED EDITION

Selected, Edited, and with Introductions by

James Wm. Noll
University of Maryland

McGraw-Hill/Dushkin
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For Stephanie and Sonja

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Preface

Controversy is the basis of change and often of improvement. Its lack signifies the presence of complacency, the authoritarian limitation of viewpoint expression, or the absence of realistic alternatives to the existing circumstances. An articulate presentation of a point of view on a controversial matter breathes new life into abiding human and social concerns. Controversy prompts reexamination and perhaps renewal.

Education is controversial. Arguments over the most appropriate aims, the most propitious means, and the most effective control have raged over the centuries. Particularly in the United States, where the systematic effort to provide education has been more democratically dispersed and more varied than elsewhere, educational issues have been contentiously debated. Philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, professional educators, lobbyists, government officials, school boards, local pressure groups, taxpayers, parents, and students have all voiced their views.

This book presents opposing or sharply varying viewpoints on educational issues of current concern. Part 1 offers for consideration five topics that have endured through history and are still debated today: the purposes of education, curriculum content and its imposition on the young, the motivational atmosphere in which learning takes place, the problem of church-state separation, and compulsory school attendance. Part 2 features issues that are fundamental to understanding the present circumstances that shape American education: the resurgence of moral education, the push toward a multicultural curriculum, federal initiatives in school reform, standards and testing, and the assessment of the effectiveness of public schooling. Part 3 examines more specific issues currently being debated: vouchers and choice plans, charter schools, religion in public schools, mainstreaming and inclusion policies, reduction of class size and school size, bilingual education, violence prevention, homework, computers in education, merit pay for teachers, and alternative teacher certification.

I have made every effort to select views from a wide range of thinkers—philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, professional educators, political leaders, historians, researchers, and gadflies.

Each issue is accompanied by an *introduction*, which sets the stage for the debate, and each issue concludes with a *postscript* that considers other views on the issue and suggests additional readings. I have also provided relevant Internet site addresses (URLs) on the *On the Internet* page that accompanies each part opener. By combining the material in this volume with the informational background provided by a good introductory textbook, the student should be prepared to address the problems confronting schools today.

My hope is that students will find challenges in the material presented here—provocations that will inspire them to better understand the roots of educational controversy, to attain a greater awareness of possible alternatives

in dealing with the various issues, and to stretch their personal powers of creative thinking in the search for more promising resolutions of the problems.

Changes to this edition This 13th edition offers three new issues (two of which were moved into place from the expanded version of the 12th edition): “Has the Supreme Court Reconfigured American Education?” (Issue 11), “Should Homework Be Abolished?” (Issue 18), and “Can Merit Pay Accelerate School Improvement?” (Issue 20). In addition, new selections have been placed in Issue 8 on the No Child Left Behind federal initiative, Issue 14 on inclusion of disabled students, and Issue 17 on zero-tolerance policies.

A word to the instructor An *Instructor’s Manual With Test Questions* (multiple choice and essay) is available through the publisher for the instructor using *Taking Sides* in the classroom. A general guidebook, called *Using Taking Sides in the Classroom*, which discusses methods and techniques for integrating the procon approach into any classroom setting, is also available. An online version of *Using Taking Sides in the Classroom* and a correspondence service for Taking Sides adopters can be found at <http://www.dushkin.com/usingsides/>.

Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Educational Issues is only one title in the Taking Sides series. If you are interested in seeing the table of contents for any of the other titles, please visit the Taking Sides Web site at <http://www.dushkin.com/takingsides/>.

Acknowledgments I am thankful for the kind and efficient assistance given to me by Theodore Knight, list manager for the Taking Sides series, and the staff at McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.

James Wm. Noll
University of Maryland





Introduction

Ways of Thinking About Educational Issues

James Wm. Noll

Concern about the quality of education has been expressed by philosophers, politicians, and parents for centuries. There has been a perpetual and unresolved debate regarding the definition of education, the relationship between school and society, the distribution of decision-making power in educational matters, and the means for improving all aspects of the educational enterprise.

In recent decades the growing influence of thinking drawn from the humanities and the behavioral and social sciences has brought about the development of interpretive, normative, and critical perspectives, which have sharpened the focus on educational concerns. These perspectives have allowed scholars and researchers to closely examine the contextual variables, value orientations, and philosophical and political assumptions that shape both the status quo and reform efforts.

The study of education involves the application of many perspectives to the analysis of “what is and how it got that way” and “what can be and how we can get there.” Central to such study are the prevailing philosophical assumptions, theories, and visions that find their way into real-life educational situations. The application situation, with its attendant political pressures, sociocultural differences, community expectations, parental influence, and professional problems, provides a testing ground for contending theories and ideals.

This “testing ground” image applies only insofar as the status quo is malleable enough to allow the examination and trial of alternative views. Historically, institutionalized education has been characteristically rigid. As a testing ground of ideas, it has often lacked an orientation encouraging innovation and futuristic thinking. Its political grounding has usually been conservative.

As social psychologist Allen Wheelis points out in *The Quest for Identity* (1958), social institutions by definition tend toward solidification and protectionism. His depiction of the dialectical development of civilizations centers on the tension between the security and authoritarianism of “institutional processes” and the dynamism and change-orientation of “instrumental processes.”

The field of education seems to graphically illustrate this observation. Educational practices are primarily tradition bound. The twentieth-century reform movement, spurred by the ideas of John Dewey, A. S. Neill, and a host of critics who campaigned for change in the 1960s, challenged the structural rigidity of schooling. In more recent decades, reformers have either attempted

to restore uniformity in the curriculum and in assessment of results or campaigned for the support of alternatives to the public school monopoly. The latter group comes from both the right and the left of the political spectrum.

We are left with the abiding questions: What is an "educated" person? What should be the primary purpose of organized education? Who should control the decisions influencing the educational process? Should the schools follow society or lead it toward change? Should schooling be compulsory?

Long-standing forces have molded a wide variety of responses to these fundamental questions. The religious impetus, nationalistic fervor, philosophical ideas, the march of science and technology, varied interpretations of "societal needs," and the desire to use the schools as a means for social reform have been historically influential. In recent times other factors have emerged to contribute to the complexity of the search for answers—social class differences, demographic shifts, increasing bureaucratization, the growth of the textbook industry, the changing financial base for schooling, teacher unionization, and strengthening of parental and community pressure groups.

The struggle to find the most appropriate answers to these questions now involves, as in the past, an interplay of societal aims, educational purposes, and individual intentions. Moral development, the quest for wisdom, citizenship training, socioeconomic improvement, mental discipline, the rational control of life, job preparation, liberation of the individual, freedom of inquiry—these and many others continue to be topics of discourse on education.

A detailed historical perspective on these questions and topics may be gained by reading the interpretations of noted scholars in the field. R. Freeman Butts has written a brief but effective summary portrayal in "Search for Freedom—The Story of American Education," *NEA Journal* (March 1960). A partial listing of other sources includes R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*; S. E. Frost, Jr., *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education*; Harry Good and Edwin Teller, *A History of Education*; Adolphe Meyer, *An Educational History of the American People*; Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States: An Interpretive History*; Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*; Henry J. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865–1965*; Clarence Karier, *Man, Society, and Education*; V. T. Thayer, *Formative Ideas in American Education*; H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., *History of Education and Culture in America*; David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820–1980*; Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642–1990*; S. Alexander Rippa, *Education in a Free Society: An American History*; John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*; Edward Stevens and George H. Wood, *Justice, Ideology, and Education*; and Walter Feinberg and Jonas F. Soltis, *School and Society*.

These and other historical accounts of the development of schooling demonstrate the continuing need to address educational questions in terms of cultural and social dynamics. A careful analysis of contemporary education demands attention not only to the historical interpretation of developmental influences but also to the philosophical forces that define formal education and the social and cultural factors that form the basis of informal education.

Examining Viewpoints

In his book *A New Public Education* (1976), Seymour Itzkoff examines the interplay between informal and formal education, concluding that economic and technological expansion have pulled people away from the informal culture by placing a premium on success in formal education. This has brought about a reactive search for less artificial educational contexts within the informal cultural community, which recognizes the impact of individual personality in shaping educational experiences.

This search for a reconstructed philosophical base for education has produced a barrage of critical commentary. Those who seek radical change in education characterize the present schools as mindless, manipulative, factory-like, bureaucratic institutions that offer little sense of community, pay scant attention to personal meaning, fail to achieve curricular integration, and maintain a psychological atmosphere of competitiveness, tension, fear, and alienation. Others deplore the ideological movement away from the formal organization of education, fearing an abandonment of standards, a dilution of the curriculum, an erosion of intellectual and behavioral discipline, and a decline in adult and institutional authority.

Students of education (whether prospective teachers, practicing professionals, or interested laypeople) must examine closely the assumptions and values underlying alternative positions in order to clarify their own viewpoints. This tri-level task may best be organized around the basic themes of purpose, power, and reform. These themes offer access to the theoretical grounding of actions in the field of education, to the political grounding of such actions, and to the future orientation of action decisions.

A general model for the examination of positions on educational issues includes the following dimensions: identification of the viewpoint, recognition of the stated or implied assumptions underlying the viewpoint, analysis of the validity of the supporting argument, and evaluation of the conclusions and action-suggestions of the originator of the position. The stated or implied assumptions may be derived from a philosophical or religious orientation, from scientific theory, from social or personal values, or from accumulated experience. Acceptance by the reader of an author's assumptions opens the way for a receptive attitude regarding the specific viewpoint expressed and its implications for action. The argument offered in justification of the viewpoint may be based on logic, common experience, controlled experiments, information and data, legal precedents, emotional appeals, and/or a host of other persuasive devices.

Holding the basic model in mind, readers of the positions presented in this volume (or anywhere else, for that matter) can examine the constituent elements of arguments—basic assumptions, viewpoint statements, supporting evidence, conclusions, and suggestions for action. The careful reader will accept or reject the individual elements of the total position. One might see reasonableness in a viewpoint and its justification but be unable to accept the assumptions on which it is based. Or one might accept the flow of argument from assumptions to viewpoint to evidence but find illogic or impracticality

in the stated conclusions and suggestions for action. In any event, the reader's personal view is tested and honed through the process of analyzing the views of others.

Philosophical Considerations

Historically, organized education has been initiated and instituted to serve many purposes—spiritual salvation, political socialization, moral uplift, societal stability, social mobility, mental discipline, vocational efficiency, and social reform, among others. The various purposes have usually reflected the dominant philosophical conception of human nature and the prevailing assumptions about the relationship between the individual and society. At any given time, competing conceptions may vie for dominance—social conceptions, economic conceptions, conceptions that emphasize spirituality, or conceptions that stress the uniqueness and dignity of the individual, for example.

These considerations of human nature and individual-society relationships are grounded in philosophical assumptions, and these assumptions find their way to such practical domains as schooling. In Western civilization there has been an identifiable (but far from consistent and clear-cut) historical trend in the basic assumptions about reality, knowledge, values, and the human condition. This trend, made manifest in the philosophical positions of idealism, realism, pragmatism, and existentialism, has involved a shift in emphasis from the spiritual world to nature to human behavior to the social individual to the free individual, and from eternal ideas to fixed natural laws to social interaction to the inner person.

The idealist tradition, which dominated much of philosophical and educational thought until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, separates the changing, imperfect, material world and the permanent, perfect, spiritual or mental world. As Plato saw it, for example, human beings and all other physical entities are particular manifestations of an ideal reality that in material existence humans can never fully know. The purpose of education is to bring us closer to the absolute ideals, pure forms, and universal standards that exist spiritually, by awakening and strengthening our rational powers. For Plato, a curriculum based on mathematics, logic, and music would serve this purpose, especially in the training of leaders whose rationality must exert control over emotionality and baser instincts.

Against this tradition, which shaped the liberal arts curriculum in schools for centuries, the realism of Aristotle, with its finding of the "forms" of things *within* the material world, brought an emphasis on scientific investigation and on environmental factors in the development of human potential. This fundamental view has influenced two philosophical movements in education: naturalism, based on following or gently assisting nature (as in the approaches of John Amos Comenius, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi), and scientific realism, based on uncovering the natural laws of human behavior and shaping the educational environment to maximize their effectiveness (as in the approaches of John Locke, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Edward Thorndike).

In the twentieth century, two philosophical forces (pragmatism and existentialism) have challenged these traditions. Each has moved primary attention away from fixed spiritual or natural influences and toward the individual as shaper of knowledge and values. The pragmatic position, articulated in America by Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey, turns from metaphysical abstractions toward concrete results of action. In a world of change and relativity, human beings must forge their own truths and values as they interact with their environments and each other. The European-based philosophy of existentialism, emerging from such thinkers as Gabriel Marcel, Martin Buber, Martin Heidegger, and Jean-Paul Sartre, has more recently influenced education here. Existentialism places the burdens of freedom, choice, and responsibility squarely on the individual, viewing the current encroachment of external forces and the tendency of people to "escape from freedom" as a serious diminishment of our human possibilities.

These many theoretical slants contend for recognition and acceptance as we continue the search for broad purposes in education and as we attempt to create curricula, methodologies, and learning environments that fulfill our stated purposes. This is carried out, of course, in the real world of the public schools in which social, political, and economic forces often predominate.

Power and Control

Plato, in the fourth century B.C., found existing education manipulative and confining and, in the *Republic*, described a meritocratic approach designed to nurture intellectual powers so as to form and sustain a rational society. Reform-oriented as Plato's suggestions were, he nevertheless insisted on certain restrictions and controls so that his particular version of the ideal could be met.

The ways and means of education have been fertile grounds for power struggles throughout history. Many educational efforts have been initiated by religious bodies, often creating a conflict situation when secular authorities have moved into the field. Schools have usually been seen as repositories of culture and social values and, as such, have been overseen by the more conservative forces in society. To others, bent on social reform, the schools have been treated as a spawning ground for change. Given these basic political forces, conflict is inevitable.

When one speaks of the control of education, the range of influence is indeed wide. Political influences, governmental actions, court decisions, professional militancy, parental power, and student assertion all contribute to the phenomenon of control. And the domain of control is equally broad—school finances, curriculum, instructional means and objectives, teacher certification, accountability, student discipline, censorship of school materials, determination of access and opportunity, and determination of inclusion and exclusion.

The general topic of power and control leads to a multitude of questions: Who should make policy decisions? Must the schools be puppets of the government? Can the schools function in the vanguard of social change? Can cultural indoctrination be avoided? Can the schools lead the way to full social

integration? Can the effects of social class be eradicated? Can and should the schools teach values? Dealing with such questions is complicated by the increasing power of the federal government in educational matters. Congressional legislation has broadened substantially from the early land grants and aid to agricultural and vocational programs to more recent laws covering aid to federally impacted areas, school construction aid, student loans and fellowships, support for several academic areas of the curriculum, work-study programs, compensatory education, employment opportunities for youth, adult education, aid to libraries, teacher preparation, educational research, career education, education of the handicapped, and equal opportunity for females. This proliferation of areas of influence has caused the federal administrative bureaucracy to blossom from its meager beginnings in 1867 into a cabinet-level Department of Education in 1979.

State legislatures and state departments of education have also grown in power, handling greater percentages of school appropriations and controlling basic curricular decisions, attendance laws, accreditation, research, and so on. Local school boards, once the sole authorities in policy making, now share the role with higher governmental echelons as the financial support sources shift away from the local scene. Simultaneously, strengthened teacher organizations and increasingly vocal pressure groups at the local, state, and national levels have forced a widening of the base for policy decisions.

Some Concluding Remarks

The schools often seem to be either facing backward or completely absorbed in the tribulations of the present, lacking a vision of possible futures that might guide current decisions. The present is inescapable, obviously, and certainly the historical and philosophical underpinnings of the present situation must be understood, but true improvement often requires a break with conventionality—a surge toward a desired future.

The radical reform critique of government-sponsored compulsory schooling has depicted organized education as a form of cultural or political imprisonment that traps young people in an artificial and mainly irrelevant environment and rewards conformity and docility while inhibiting curiosity and creativity. Constructive reform ideas that have come from this critique include the creation of open classrooms, the de-emphasis of external motivators, the diversification of educational experience, and the building of a true sense of community within the instructional environment.

Starting with Francis Wayland Parker's schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, and John Dewey's laboratory school at the University of Chicago around the turn of the twentieth century, the campaign to make schools into more productive and humane places has been relentless. The duplication of A. S. Neill's Summerhill model in the free school movement in the 1960s, the open classroom/ open space experiments, the several curricular variations, and the emergence of schools without walls, charter schools, privatization of management, and home schooling across the country testify to the desire to reform the present system or to build alternatives to it.

The progressive education movement, the development of "life adjustment" goals and curricula, and the "whole person" theories of educational psychology moved the schools toward an expanded concept of schooling that embraced new subject matters and new approaches to discipline during the first half of this century. Since the 1950s, however, pressure for a return to a narrower concept of schooling as intellectual training has sparked new waves of debate. Out of this situation have come attempts by educators and academicians to design new curricular approaches in the basic subject matter areas, efforts by private foundations to stimulate organizational innovations and to improve the training of teachers, and federal government support of educational technology. Yet criticism of the schools abounds. The schools, according to many who use their services, remain too factorylike, too age-segregated, and too custodial. Alternative paths are still sought—paths that would allow action-learning, work-study, and a diversity of ways to achieve success.

H. G. Wells has told us that human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe. What is needed in order to win this race is the generation of new ideas regarding cultural change, human relationships, ethical norms, the uses of technology, and the quality of life. These new ideas, of course, may be old ideas newly applied. One could do worse, in thinking through the problem of improving the quality of education, than to turn to the third-century philosopher Plotinus, who called for an education directed to "the outer, the inner, and the whole." For Plotinus, "the outer" represented the public person, or the socioeconomic dimension of the total human being; "the inner" reflected the subjective dimension, the uniquely experiencing individual, or the "I"; and "the whole" signified the universe of meaning and relatedness, or the realm of human, natural, and spiritual connectedness. It would seem that education must address all of these dimensions if it is to truly help people in the lifelong struggle to shape a meaningful existence. If educational experiences can be improved in these directions, the end result might be people who are not just filling space, filling time, or filling a social role, but who are capable of saying something worthwhile with their lives.

The Center for Dewey Studies

The Center for Dewey Studies offers a wealth of source materials for the study of America's quintessential philosopher-educator, John Dewey.

[http://www.siu.edu/~"deweyctr/index2.html](http://www.siu.edu/~)

The National Paideia Center

The National Paideia Center promotes and supports the efforts of educators who are implementing the long-term systemic school reform known as the Paideia Program.

<http://www.paideia.org>

Coalition of Essential Schools

This site offers facts and ideas on this national curriculum movement.

<http://www.essentialschools.org>

The Association for Humanistic Psychology

This site features the theories of Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow, Rollo May, and others.

<http://ahpweb.org/aboutahp/whatis.html>

Learn in Freedom!

This site offers resources for unschoolers, home schoolers, and all learners with or without school.

<http://www.learninfreedom.org>

Americans United for Separation of Church and State

Since 1947, Americans United for Separation of Church and State has worked to protect the constitutional principle of church-state separation.

<http://www.au.org>

J. M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies

This site of the J. M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor University provides articles and links to other sites.

http://www3.baylor.edu/Church_State



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PART 1 ENDURING ISSUES 1

Issue 1. Should Schooling Be Based on Social Experiences? 2

YES: John Dewey, from *Experience and Education* (Macmillan, 1938) 4

NO: Robert M. Hutchins, from *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society* (Harper & Row, 1953) 11

Philosopher John Dewey suggests a reconsideration of traditional approaches to schooling, giving fuller attention to the social development of the learner and the quality of his or her total experience. Robert M. Hutchins, noted educator and one-time chancellor of the University of Chicago argues for a liberal arts education geared to the development of intellectual powers.

Issue 2. Should the Curriculum Be Standardized for All? 18

YES: Mortimer J. Adler, from "The Paideia Proposal: Rediscovering the Essence of Education," *American School Board Journal* (July 1982) 20

NO: John Holt, from *Escape From Childhood* (E. P. Dutton, 1974) 27

Philosopher Mortimer J. Adler contends that democracy is best served by a public school system that establishes uniform curricular objectives for all students. Educator John Holt argues that an imposed curriculum damages the individual and usurps a basic human right to select one's own path of development.

Issue 3. Should Behaviorism Shape Educational Practices? 34

YES: B. F. Skinner, from *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1971) 36

NO: Carl R. Rogers, from *Freedom to Learn for the Eighties* (Merrill, 1983) 42

B. F. Skinner, an influential proponent of behaviorism and professor of psychology, critiques the concept of "inner freedom" and links learning and motivation to the influence of external forces. Professor of psychology and psychiatry Carl R. Rogers offers the "humanistic" alternative to behaviorism, insisting on the reality of subjective forces in human motivation.

Issue 4. Should Church-State Separation Be Maintained? 52

YES: R. Freeman Butts, from "A History and Civics Lesson for All of Us," *Educational Leadership* (May 1987) 54

NO: Robert L. Cord, from "Church-State Separation and the Public Schools: A Re-evaluation," *Educational Leadership* (May 1987) 60

Professor emeritus of education R. Freeman Butts warns that current efforts to redefine the relationship between religion and schooling are eroding the Constitution's intent. Professor of political science Robert L. Cord offers a more accommodating interpretation of this intent, one that allows for the school practices that Butts condemns as unconstitutional.

Issue 5. Should School Attendance Be Compelled? 72

YES: Horace Mann, from *Tenth Annual Report and Twelfth Annual Report* (1846 and 1848) 74

NO: Daniel H. Pink, from "School's Out," *Reason* (October 2001) 78

Horace Mann, a leader of the common school movement in the nineteenth century, presents the basic arguments for publicly funded education in which all citizens could participate and lays the groundwork for compulsory attendance laws. Writer-editor Daniel H. Pink declares compulsory mass schooling an aberration and finds hope in the home schooling revolution and the ultimate demise of high school.

PART 2 CURRENT FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES 91

Issue 6. Can "Character Education" Reverse Moral Decline? 92

YES: Thomas Lickona, from "The Return of Character Education," *Educational Leadership* (November 1993) 94

NO: Alfie Kohn, from "How Not to Teach Values: A Critical Look at Character Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* (February 1997) 102

Developmental psychologist Thomas Lickona, a leading exponent of the new character education, details the rationale behind the movement and charts a course of action to deal with the moral decline of American youth. Writer-lecturer Alfie Kohn sees current attempts at character education as mainly a collection of exhortations and extrinsic inducements that avoid more penetrating efforts at social and moral development.

Issue 7. Should Multiculturalism Permeate the Curriculum? 120

YES: Sonia Nieto, from "What Does It Mean to Affirm Diversity?" *The School Administrator* (May 1999) 122

NO: Thomas J. Famularo, from "The Intellectual Bankruptcy of Multiculturalism," *USA Today Magazine*, a publication of the Society for the Advancement of Education (May 1996) 126

Professor of language, literacy, and culture Sonia Nieto examines the realities of diversity in American society that underlie an effective approach to multicultural education. Former English instructor Thomas J. Famularo contends that the multiculturalism movement, rather than representing diversity, is centered on the themes of race and gender and the debunking of Western culture.

Issue 8. Can Federal Initiatives Rescue Failing Schools? 132

YES: Andrew Rotherham, from "A New Partnership," *Education Next* (Spring 2002) 134

NO: Peter Schrag, from "Bush's Education Fraud," *The American Prospect* (February 2004) 140

Education policy expert Andrew Rotherham argues that new federally imposed accountability standards will enhance opportunity and overhaul failing schools. Education writer-editor Peter Schrag finds the Bush Administration's No Child Left Behind act to be confusing, underfunded, and ultimately self-defeating.

Issue 9. Do High-Stakes Assessments Improve Learning? 150

YES: Nina Hurwitz and Sol Hurwitz, from "Tests That Count," *American School Board Journal* (January 2000) 152

NO: Martin G. Brooks and Jacqueline Grennon Brooks, from "The Courage to Be Constructivist," *Educational Leadership* (November 1999) 161

High school teacher Nina Hurwitz and education consultant Sol Hurwitz assemble evidence from states that are leading the movement to set high standards of educational performance and cautiously conclude that it could stimulate long-overdue renewal. High school superintendent Martin G. Brooks and associate professor of education Jacqueline Grennon Brooks contend that the push for standardized state assessments constricts student learning and prevents implementation of constructivism.

Issue 10. Have Public Schools Failed Society? 172

YES: William J. Bennett et al., from "A Nation Still at Risk," *Policy Review* (July/August 1998) 174

NO: Forrest J. Troy, from "The Myth of Our Failed Education System," *The School Administrator* (September 1998) 185

Former secretary of education William J. Bennett and 36 other leaders and scholars examine the state of public schooling on the 15th anniversary of the publication of the U.S. Department of Education report *A Nation at Risk* and issue a new manifesto for needed reforms. Veteran newspaper editor Forrest J. (Frosty) Troy counteracts the continued criticism of the public schools with a point-by-point presentation of facts.

PART 3 CURRENT SPECIFIC ISSUES 195

Issue 11. Has the Supreme Court Reconfigured American Education? 196

YES: Charles L. Glenn, from "Fanatical Secularism," *Education Next* (Winter 2003) 198

NO: Paul E. Peterson, from "Victory for Vouchers?" *Commentary* (September 2002) 206

Professor of education Charles L. Glenn argues that the Supreme Court's decision in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* is an immediate antidote to the public school's secularist philosophy. Professor of government Paul E. Peterson, while welcoming the decision, contends that the barricades against widespread use of vouchers in religious schools will postpone any lasting effects.

Issue 12. Can Charter Schools Revitalize Public Education? 214

YES: Chester E. Finn, Jr., Bruno V. Manno, and Gregg Vanourek, from "The Radicalization of School Reform," *Society* (May/June 2001) 216