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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DESCHOOLING AS A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

RONALD BERMAN

Norman, Oklahoma

1975

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DESCHOOLING AS A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

APPROVED BY:

Dissertation Committee

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years the educational system in America has received a great deal of criticism--criticism, not necessarily from so called radicals, but from responsible and respected educators and researchers, whose "values are conservative, upholding the virtues of honest meaningful work, of community and family and of civil human relationships."[1]

It has been suggested that the educational system as it currently exists is beyond hope. It has been suggested further that we must look beyond reforming the schools, since such efforts in the past have been for the most part futile. In fact, a growing number of responsible educational thinkers, including Everett Reimer,[2] Ivan Illich,[3] and John Holt[4] have called for the discontinuation of the existing system of schooling (deschooling) as a first step toward a positive solution to the problem.

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[1]Peter Schrag, "Education's Romantic Critics," I, No. 7, (February 18, 1967), p. 80.

[2]Everett Reimer, School Is Dead: Alternatives In Education (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971).

[3]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, (New York: Harrow Books, 1971).

[4]John Holt, Freedom and Beyond, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1972).

Roy P. Fairfield has observed that it takes no seer to recognize that the schools are in deep crisis. In Fairfield's words:

> The student movement and the wide unrest on university and college campuses as well as in the high schools are symptomatic of the underlying sickness. Something is the matter with our educational system. And something drastic must be done. There is a crisis.[5]

In the relevant literature, one may find an abundance of data which supports Fairfield's contentions that "the schools are in deep crisis." The existing educational system has been, and is being, attacked on all sides. Well-known psychologist and educator Abraham Maslow, noting the ways in which schools tend to stifle the individual's creativity and limit rather than enhance human potential, has said: "Our conventional education looks mighty sick."[6]

The writings of John Holt,[7] Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner,[8] Jules Henry,[9] Paul Goodman[10] and many others, lend support to Maslow's observation. Carl Rogers has said

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[5]Roy P. Fairfield, ed., Humanistic Frontiers In American Education, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 2.

[6]Abraham Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature, (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), p. 170.

[7]John Holt, How Children Fail (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1964).

[8]Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching As A Subversive Activity, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

[9]Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, (New York: Random House, 1963).

[10]Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd, (New York: Random House, 1960).

that public education in this country is the "most rigid, outdated, bureaucratic, incompetent institution in our culture."[11]

Researchers, including Henry,[12] Rogers,[13] Holt,[14] Illich,[15] Pierre van den Berghe,[16] and Ronald Laing[17] have suggested that the schools, operating on antiquated traditions contrary to the realities of learning and creativity, are most successful in teaching children either how to be conformists, or how to play the "academic game," thus enabling them to "fit in," in the broader societal game of conformity and material consumption.

Critics such as Holt,[18] Laing,[19] Timothy Leary[20] and others have suggested that within the existing educational system there is very little room for individual free expression,

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[11]"Carl Rogers Joins The Ranks of Radical Critics of the Public Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, LI, No. 5 (January, 1970) p. 294.

[12]Henry, Culture Against Man, pp. 287-288.

[13]Carl Rogers, "Forget You Are A teacher: Carl Rogers Tells Why," Instructor LXXXI, No. 1, (August, 1971) p. 66.

[14]Holt, How Children Fail.

[15]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society.

[16]Pierre van den Berghe, Academic Gamesmanship, (London-New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1970).

[17]Ronald D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967).

[18]Holt, How Children Fail.

[19]Laing, The Politics of Experience.

[20]Timothy Leary, The Politics of Ecstasy, (New York: College Notes and Texts, Inc., 1968).

creativity, or non-conformity. Researchers such as Richard L. Berkman have noted that the schools serve as a primary agent in teaching young citizens subservience to societal authority.[21]

Traditionally, the courts have supported the schools in their functioning as a disciplinary agent (for citations and descriptions of the relevant court cases the reader is referred to Chapter II, "Supportive Data," in this study).

Furthermore, charges of racial discrimination in the existing educational system have been articulated by researchers such as Donald H. Smith,[22] James A. Banks,[23] and George Henderson.[24] In addition the schools have been criticized by researchers such as Linda Oliver,[25] Ronald D. Laing,[26] and George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens for creating and

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[21]Richard L. Berkman, "Students In Court: Free Speech and the Functions of Schooling In America," Harvard Educational Review, XL, No. 4, (November, 1970), pp. 567-594.

[22]Donald H. Smith, "The Black Revolution and Education," in Racial Crisis In American Education, ed. by Robert L. Green, (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969) p. 63.

[23]James A. Banks, "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes In Textbooks," in Racial Crisis In American Education, pp. 167-183.

[24]George Henderson, To Live In Freedom: Human Relations Today and Tomorrow (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 125-127.

[25]Linda Oliver, "The Female Stereotype in Children's Readers," Elementary School Journal, LXXN, No. 5, (February, 1974), p. 254.

[26]Ronald D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 72.

perpetuating problems relating to sex roles.[27]

Included in the criticism of the contemporary education system is an attack on the American university, as a rigid and bureaucratic institution which, operating under the guise of so called "academic freedom," in actuality functions on, as Judson Jerome has said, the principles of "compartmentalism, sequentialism, essentialism, and credentialism."[28]

One further, yet nonetheless important criticism, is that the existing educational system overemphasizes verbal, symbolic learning and rote memorization of irrelevant externally imposed subject matter, to the denial and exclusion of individual experience and self-motivated learning for its own sake. As Aldous Huxley has said, the result is that the existing educational system "turns out students of the natural sciences who are completely unaware of Nature as the primary fact of experience;" and it "inflicts upon the world students of the humanities who know nothing of humanity, their own or anyone else's."[29]

The inadequacies of the educational system has in recent years led to a growing discontent, which has manifested itself

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[27]George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens, Teachers Should Care: Social Perspectives of Teaching, (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 93.

[28]Judson Jerome, "Toward An Ideal College," in Humanistic Frontiers In American Education ed. by Roy P. Fairfield, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 207-211.

[29]Aldous Huxley, The Doors of Perception, (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), pp. 74-77.

in widespread student reaction, including sit-ins, boycotts, vandalism and violence as means of protest. A comprehensive report on student unrest, published by the National School Public Relations Association has indicated that, "student unrest was a general and long range phenomenon, and that it was bound to grow."[30] Another researcher, Bernard McKenna, has reiterated the observation that student unrest would most likely persist unless the problems of dull and irrelevant curriculum content, non-motivating teaching methods, poor human relations between teachers and students, and lack of student involvement in the decision making process were substantially resolved.[31]

This study will be concerned with (1) an examination of the relevant criticism and data which leads to the contention that the schools are in "deep crisis;" and (2) an analysis of the deschooling philosophy as a possible solution to the educational crisis. Of course there are opposing views that both refute the educational criticism which suggests that the schools are in a state of crisis, and reject the deschooling philosophy as an unrealistic solution to any problems which may exist in the schools. During the course of this study these opposing viewpoints will also be discussed.

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[30] High School Student Unrest, Education USA Special Report (Washington, D.C.: National School Public Relations Association, 1969), p. 1.

[31] Bernard McKenna, "Student Unrest: Some Causes and Cures," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. LV (February, 1971), p. 54.

Purpose and Need for the Study

The growing student discontent, the increasing amount of literature critical of the existing educational system, and the fact that deschooling is receiving a great deal of attention on college campuses and in scholarly journals are all indicative of the extent to which our educational system is beset with problems.

This study is needed to explore the specific problems presently in the schools, in the hope that by expsoing the problems educators, administrators, students and others will generate positive changes.

In an attempt to find the most adequate and realistic solutions to the problems in our educational system it is necessary that all seemingly intelligent and potentially viable alternatives be considered.

The purpose of this study is to examine and evaluate one such alternative--the deschooling philosophy, with respect to its potential application to the educational crisis. I agree with Carl Bereiter that the potential advantages of deschooling have tended to be ignored by critics who have elected to concentrate on predicting dire consequences of deschooling.[32] Whether or not the deschooling philosophy represents a practical solution to the educational crisis, it is nevertheless important because it:

1. Identifies and explicates the problems which exist in the

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[32]Carl Bereiter, Must We Educate, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973), p. 70.

schools.

2. Presents a plan which may be potentially useful in improving the educational system in this country.
3. Stimulates our imagination, and broadens our consciousness, by offering a more universal concept of education which extends beyond the confines of the traditional school.

This study fulfills the need to comprehensively and objectively examine both the educational crisis, as well as the deschooling philosophy as a possible solution to the crisis. Hopefully, this study will serve as a catalyst for both individual and collective positive innovation which will help our educational system to continually become more flexible, humane, and effective for the sake of individuals, as well as for society.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to examine the concept of deschooling as a possible solution to the problems and inadequacies which permeate the existing system of education in this country. Deschooling is analyzed in terms of its theoretical, realistic, and practical applications to the educational crisis. Finally, some relevant conclusions and recommendations based on the study's findings are made.

Statement of Hypotheses

1. Due to a variety of factors, the educational system is in a state of "deep crisis".

2. Although the concept of deschooling may have a certain philosophical appeal, discontinuation of the schools is unlikely to become a reality in the near (or possibly even distant) future.
3. Since deschooling is unlikely to occur, it would be more productive to think in terms of educational reformation based on the cultivation of a broader, more positive, reality oriented consciousness.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to (1) an investigation of the data pertaining to the contention that the existing educational system is in a state of crisis; and (2) an analysis of the theoretical and practical relevance of the deschooling philosophy to the educational crisis.

The investigation did not necessarily deal specifically with any one particular variety of deschooling such as that of Ivan Illich (although Illich's philosophy is discussed throughout the study). Rather, the concept of deschooling as it relates to the educational crisis was the central focal point of the study.

Definition of Terms

1. Being--The term is used throughout the study in referring to human life or existence, e.g., learning enhances one's being.

2. Consciousness-- The thoughts, feelings and values which

collectively constitute the awareness of either an individual or aggregate of people.

3. Conformity--Behaviors or action which are in accordance or harmony with a given norm or standard.

4. Creativity--This term is used throughout the study in referring to the unique expression of an individual's imagination and intelligence, which may be either significant to that person or beneficial for others.

5. Crisis--A serious, problematic, or unstable situation which requires immediate attention and amelioration.

6. Deschooling--The concept that since the schools are ineffective and perhaps even harmful, they should be discontinued and replaced by non-compulsory arrangements and opportunities for learning and socialization.

7. Energy--The person's capacity for vigorous activity.

8. Educational System--The arrangements and resources which constitute the process by which a society educates its citizens.

9. Learning--In the context of this study the term is used to mean the acquisition of knowledge, skills, information, experience or enlightenment which will benefit the student.

10. Practical--Pertaining to that which is adaptable, useful,

and functional in the everyday common activities and affairs of society.

11. Self-expression--The ways in which people express their feelings or thoughts.

12. Theoretical--A concept, plan, or philosophy which is hypothetical in nature, and does not necessarily have practical application to a given problem or situation.

Methodological Procedure of the Study

The methodology used in pursuit of this study remained within the realm of traditional philosophical inquiry. The subject matter of the study was based on an extensive reading of the most relevant available materials, including behavioral science and education journals, periodicals, books, statistical abstracts and digests, and official reports. Extensive quotation of facts and expert opinion and analysis was presented to illustrate, elaborate, and support the various contentions proposed throughout the study (the style which was utilized follows to a great extent the one used by William James in his Varieties of Religious Experience).[33]

Furthermore, a traditional dissertation format was used in the presentation of the study, and fundamental technical guidelines were based on Kate L. Turabian's A Manual For

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[33]William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, The Modern Library (New York: Random House, 1902).

Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.[34]

Organization of the Study

The study is divided into four chapters. Chapter I has introduced the study and has stated the problem, the hypotheses, the purpose and need for the study, the limitations of the study, the definition of terms and the methodological procedures. Chapter II presents a review of the literature related to the study. Chapter III consists of a critical analysis of the deschooling philosophy. Chapter IV contains a summary of the study, as well as relevant conclusions and recommendations based on the study's findings.

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[34]Kate L. Turabian, A Manual For Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This section of the study will review the literature of educational criticism which contends that the educational system in America is in a state of crisis. The word "contends" is used here intentionally as a reminder that there are opposing viewpoints which refute such criticisms. In the course of reviewing the literature relevant to the topic at hand, the opposing ideologies will also be discussed, after-which the concept of deschooling will be introduced as a possible solution to the problem.

Historical Overview

The most severe critics of the existing educational system are, to use Charles Silberman's words, "part of a tradition several centuries old."[1] Peter Schrag has studied the "new critics" and states, "In the free-for-all of educational commentary, where the half life of ideas is pitifully short, the ashes of fallen gods often materialize in the bodies of new critics."[2] Schrag traces the ideological lineage of contemporary critics such as Paul Goodman, John

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[1]Ralph Waldo Emerson, Education, in The Portable Emerson, ed. by Mark Van Doren (New York: The Viking Press, 1946) pp. 254-255.

[2]Peter Schrag, "Education's Romantic Critics," Saturday Review, I, No. 7, (February 18, 1967), p. 80.

Holt, Jules Henry and Edgar Z. Friendenberg back through the work of Dewey and Montessori to the philosophies of Jefferson, Rousseau and Pestalozzi.[3] Normand R. Bernier and Jack E. Williams verify this philosophical descendance, while adding to the list the influence of men such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and even the early Christians, i.e., Jesus and his disciples.[4] All of these philosophers share in common a respect for childhood and faith in the natural capabilities of children. The belief expressed in St. Matthew, for example, that the child "is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven," and "whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones . . . it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea,"[5] is restated in different forms throughout history. Rousseau, in Europe in the eighteenth century, reiterates this principle in saying:

> The age of gaiety is spent amid tears, punishments, threats and slavery. . . . Man! Be humane! It is your first duty to all ages, to all conditions, to every

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Normand R. Bernier and Jack E. Williams, Beyond Beliefs: Ideological Foundations of American Education, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 128-187.

[5]"St. Matthew: Chapter 18, verse 1-6," The Holy Bible: Authorized King James Version (Nashville: The Gideons International, 1973 edition), p. 867.

> creature with which man has to deal. What wisdom can there be without humanity? Love childhood;[6]

In America in the nineteenth century Emerson advanced the idea that the child's individuality and particular "variety of genius" should not be violated by "the worn weeds of your (adults) language and opinions." Emerson humorously, yet pointedly, concludes:

> I suffer whenever I see the common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking and being on a young soul to which they are totally unfit. You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough.[7]

In recent times Ronald Laing affirms this fundamental regard for children in saying that "each child is a new being, a potential prophet, a new spiritual prince, a new spark of light precipitated into the outer darkness."[8]

Although the contemporary critics have been categorized by a variety of labels (such as progressivists, romantics, and transcendentalists)[9] their philosophical commanality, among themselves as well as with their predecessors, further revolves around a respect for children and humanistic belief in the value, dignity, and creative potential of human

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[6]Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile in Emile, Julie and Other Writings, ed. by R.L. Archer, (Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1964), pp. 88-89.

[7]Ralph Waldo Emerson, Education in The Portable Emerson, ed. by Mark Van Doren, (New York: Viking Press, 1946), p. 256.

[8]Ronald D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), p. 30.

[9]see Bernier and Williams Beyond Beliefs: Ideological Foundations of American Education.

existence. Schrag explains:

> In many respects the new critics are more interested in the processes of growing up, in learning and experience, than they are in the formalities of educational programs, the design of curricula, or the planning of administrative conveniences. They share with Dewey a faith in the healthy capabilities of children and with Rousseau a belief that "everything is good as it comes from the hands of the creator";[10]

Schrag further explains that the new critics share the view that the existing institution of education is limited in meeting the individual's needs for creative expression and self-realization:

> In their common view, a hostile society and its educational system cripple and destroy the processes of learning, the dignity of youth, and the natural instincts of curiosity and self-realization, and they regard schools particularly as coercive instruments designed to enforce conformity and deny self-esteem.[11]

The contemporary critics (like their predecessors) view the existing educational system as an extension of a hostile society, designed to limit individual free expression in the interest of promoting conformity and preserving the societal status quo. Although there are many who would argu that preservation of the status quo is precisely what the schools should promote, the "humanistic" critics disagree, suggesting that although it is important to teach certain fundamental skills, it is equally important to be concerned with the other aspects of human existence. This position was quite adequately

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[10]Peter Schrag, "Education's Romantic Critics," Saturday Review, I, No. 7 (February 18, 1967), p. 80.

[11]Ibid.

articulated by Ralph Waldo Emerson who said:

> It does not make us brave or free. We teach boys to be such men as we are. We do not teach them to aspire to be all they can. We do not give them a training as if we believed in their noble nature. We scarce educate their bodies. We do not train the eye and the hand. We exercise their understandings to the apprehension and comparison of some facts, to a skill in numbers, in other words, we aim to make accountants, attorneys, engineers; but not to make able, earnest, greathearted men. The great object of Education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one, to teach self-trust; to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity touching his own nature; to acquaint him with resources of his mind, and to teach him that there is all his strength.[12]

Emerson's criticism of the society and its system of education in his time is equally appropriate to the criticism to be found in contemporary literature. Contemporary humanists restate Emerson's contentions that while the educational system may be functional in training children to adapt to the society as it currently exists, it does not "teach self-trust" or inspire children with a "curiosity touching their own nature."

The contemporary critics argue that the current educational system is an antiquated, bureaucratic process which values administrative expediency over individual creativity and self-realization. Although much of the criticism to be found in the literature seems at first to be somewhat radical, it has been suggested that these views reflect a most conservative philosophy based on the individual's basic human rights:

> Their tone is often that of the radical left, but the values are conservative, upholding the virtues of

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[12]Emerson, Education, in The Portable Emerson, ed. by Mark Van Doren, pp. 254-255.

> honest, meaningful work, of community and family and of civil human relationships.[13]

In short, a primary objection to the existing educational system is that the individual is made subservient to the institutional process; there is little or no room for individual expression of creativity or non-conformity. The crisis in education is thus a humanistic one. Children may learn how to recite facts and figures or how to perform certain functions which will enable them to at least minimally adapt to the existing society. However, what the critics are objecting to is the inability of the educational system in meeting the total needs of its students. The contemporary critics are questioning the very foundations on which the educational system is based and are even calling for the development of a new educational process. In Mario D. Fantini's words:

> In a staggering number of ways, man has become subservient to the civilization which he has created: his job is threatened by automation, his lungs are impaired by the pollution of technology, and "the alienation of modern man" is as hackneyed as "once upon a time." No less hackneyed is the "inadequacy of American education." It is patently accepted that the schools are failing to educate on their own terms; ghetto children often read below grade level, and the institution of assimilation has produced a generation of cultural exiles. This generation is not merely concerned with the schools inability to accomplish the conventional objectives, but is questioning the validity of those objectives themselves. They are demanding a new kind of educational system in which the individual human being is the ultimate concern --a humanistically oriented institution.[14]

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[13]Peter Schrag, "Education's Romantic Critics," p. 80.

[14]Mario D. Fantini, "Relevance = Humanistic Education," in Humanistic Frontiers in American Education, Roy P. Fairfield, ed., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 28.

Fantini articulates what is the crux of the educational crisis. The existing system is simply limited not only in accomplishing conventional objectives, but in making allowances for individual differences, needs, and natures as well. According to many contemporary critics, the existing system is based on expediency and conformity rather than on a concern for the individual human being. An examination of some specific criticism will elaborate these contentions.

Fundamental Criticisms

Well-known psychologist and educator, Carl Rogers, has described public education in this country as the "most rigid, outdated, bureaucratic, incompetent institution in our culture."[15] Rogers elaborates his point of view in saying "traditional teaching is an almost completely futile, wasteful, overrated function in today's changing world."[16] Rogers continues:

> It is successful mostly in giving children who can't grasp the material a sense of failure. It also succeeds in pursuading students to drop out, when they realize that the material taught is almost completely irrelevant to their lives. No one should ever be trying to learn something for which he sees no relevance. No child should ever experience the sense of failure, imposed by our grading system, by criticism and ridicule, by teachers . . . by rejection when he is slow to comprehend.[17]

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[15]"Carl Rogers Joins Ranks of Radical Critics of the Public Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, LI, No. 5, (January 1970) p. 294.

[16]Carl R. Rogers, "Forget You Are a Teacher: Carl Rogers Tells Why," Instructor, LXXXI, No. 1, (August, 1971) p. 66.

[17]Ibid.

Rogers' criticism of the existing educational system are shared by several other observers. John Holt also contends that the traditional educational system is based on competition, coercion and failure. Holt suggests that the existing educational process destroys the child's natural curiosity by forcing children to work for grades and other external rewards. In Holt's words:

> We destroy the disinterested (I do not mean uninterested) love of learning in children, which is so strong when they are small, by encouraging and compelling them to work for petty and contemptible rewards--gold stars or papers marked 100 and tacked to the wall, or "A's" on report cards, or honor rolls, or dean's lists, or Phi Beta Kappa keys--in short, for the ignoble satisfaction of feeling that they are better than someone else. We encourage them to feel that the end and aim of all they do in school is nothing more than to get a good mark on a test, or to impress someone with what they seem to know. We kill not only their curiosity, but their feeling that it is a good and admirable thing to be curious, so that by the age of ten, most of them will not ask questions, and will show a good deal of scorn for the few who do.[18]

Holt adds that the educational system makes learning artificial and irrelevant, since it breaks knowledge up into isolated subject matter. This, says Holt, causes great ambiguity and confusion:

> In many ways we break down children's convictions that things make sense, or their hope that things may prove to make sense. We do it first of all by breaking up life into arbitrary and disconnected hunks of subject matter which we then try to "integrate" by such artificial and irrelevant devices as having children sing Swiss folk songs while they are studying the geography of Switzerland, or do arithmatic problems about rail-splitting while they are studying the boyhood of Lincoln. Furthermore, we continually

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[18]John Holt, How Children Fail, (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1964), p. 168.

> confront them with what is senseless, ambiguous and contradictory; worse, we do it without knowing we are doing it, so that, hearing nonesense shoved at them as if it were sense, they come to feel that the source of their confusion lies not in the material, but in their own stupidity.[19]

Holt argues that "we cut children off from their own common sense and the world of reality by requiring them to play with and shove around words and symbols that have little or no meaning to them."[20] Holt suggests that successful students thus become skilled in manipulating words, "while keeping themselves largely divorced from the reality for which they stand."[21] An example of this phenomena would be the student who could easily recite memorized passages from the Bill of Rights, without having any conception of the basic principles of individual human rights. On the other hand, the students who do not become skilled in word and symbol manipulation come to feel inadequate. Holt concludes that the schools, operating under the rationalization that the drudgery imposed on students is a "preparation for life," in actuality, promote stupidity. Holt explains:

> We encourage children to act stupidly, not only by scaring and confusing them, by filling up their days with dull, repetitive tasks that make little or no claim on their attention or demand on their intelligence. Our hearts leap for joy at the sight of a room full of childen all slogging away at some imposed task, and we are all the more pleased and satisfied if someone tells us that the children don't really like what they are doing. We tell ourselves that this drudgery, this endless busywork is good preparation for life, and we fear that without

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[19]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid., p. 169.

> it, children would be hard to "control." . . . By such means, children are firmly established in the habit of using only a small part of their thinking capacity. They feel that school is a place they must spend most of their time doing dull tasks in a dull way. Before long, they are deeply settled in a rut of unintelligent behavior from which most of them could not escape even if they wanted to.[22]

A decade before Holt's writings were published, Aldous Huxley warned of the way in which the educational system limits individual experience and growth with its overemphasis on the verbal and symbolic knowledge. Huxley argued that it is important to be able to use words effectively, but it is equally important to develop our abilities to experience the world directly. Huxley explains:

> We must learn how to handle words effectively, but at the same time, we must preserve and, if necessary, intensify our ability to look at the world directly and not through that half opaque medium of concepts, which distorts every given fact into the all too-familiar likeness of some generic label or explanatory abstraction . . . all our education is predominantly verbal and therefore fails to accomplish what it is supposed to do. Instead of transforming children into full developed adults, it turns out students of the natural sciences who are completely unaware of Nature as the primary fact of experience, it inflicts upon the world students of the humanities who know nothing of humanity, their own or anyone else's.[23]

Ivan Illich, who has popularized the philosophy of deschooling, supports the contention that the schools interfere with the individual's natural ability to learn, by transforming learning and knowledge into a predesigned curricular package. Illich objects to the ways in which "school pretends to break

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[22]Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[23]Aldous Huxley, The Doors of Perception, (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), pp. 74-77.

learning up into 'subject matters'," [24] In other words, one does not exercise or play games, but rather he takes a physical education course; people do not write creatively, communicate openly, or express themselves freely, but rather they study English; and one does not develop an appreciation of the vastness of Nature, but rather studies science. Illich, as well as other critics such as Rogers, Holt, Huxley, Ronald Laing, Jules Henry, Timothy Leary and others, object to the ways in which school limits the individual's experience, instead of enhancing the person's being. These critics suggest that instead of using the child's own interests, talents and individual natures as a foundation for learning and growth, the schools use a predesigned curriculum which, in many, if not most cases, does not at all meet the students needs. In short, these critics suggest that each individual should be responsible for their own learning--and further, they suggest this would be the case, if the schools did not inhibit the individual's innate curiosity, dictating instead what, how and when they are to learn. Illich contends that "learning is the human activity which least need manipulation by others." [25] Illich adds:

> Most learning is not the result of instruction. It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting. Most people learn best by being "with it", yet school makes them identify their personal cognitive growth with elaborate planning and manipulation. [26]

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[24] Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, (Harrow Books, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 58.

[25] Ibid., p. 56

[26] Ibid.

Illich reiterates Holt's contention that competition and grades are irrelevant to real learning:

> . . . personal growth is not a measurable entity. It is growth in disciplined dissidence, which cannot be measured against any rod, or any curriculum, not compared to someone else's achievement.[27]

Illich suggests that in our society, the responsibility for learning, which is normally a personal and natural phenomenon, is transferred from the individual to the institution. Illich says that this "transfer of responsibility from self to institution guarantees social regression."[28] This "institutionalization of values," says Illich, causes us to become more oriented toward the process rather than the interests of the people. We have "teachers of English," "guidance counselors," and "principals," rather than "children helpers," or "human motivators and supporters."

Illich suggests, however, that contemporary society is founded on the perpetuation of established institutions, and one of the primary "hidden curriculums" of schools is to initiate the young into acceptance of such institutionalized societal relationships. Illich explains:

> School initiates . . . the Myth of Unending Consumption. This modern myth is grounded in the belief that process inevitably produces something of value and, therefore, production necessarily produces demand. School teaches us that instruction produces learning. The existence of schools produces the demand for schooling. Once we have learned to need school, all other activities tend to take the shape of client relationships to other

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[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

> specialized institutions. . . . Once a man or woman has accepted the need for school, he is easy prey for other institutions. Once young people have allowed their imaginations to be formed by curricular instruction, they are conditioned to institutional planning of every sort.[29]

Schooling As A Cultural Game

The concept of schooling as cultural game wherein young people are initiated into the rules, roles and rituals of contemporary society has been advanced by several critics. Illich suggests that schooling introduces the young to the ritualistic games of competition, conformity, and consumption in which society engages itself. Illich describes schooling as the most "protracted, destructive, and expensive initiation rite the world has ever known."[30] Illich explains:

> School serves as an effective creator and sustainer of social myth because of its structure as a ritual game of graded promotions. Introduction into this gambling ritual is much more important than what or how something is taught. It is the game itself that schools, that gets into the blood and becomes a habit. A whole society is initiated into the Myth of Unending Consumption of services. This happens to the degree that token participation in the open-ended ritual is made compulsory and compulsive everywhere.[31]

At this point the reader might suggest that schools should indeed function as an agent which introduces and perhaps even adapts young people to societal "games," functions and expectations as they currently exist in today's real world. Indeed this is a legitimate objection which will be discussed

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[29]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[30]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[31]Ibid., p. 63.

at a later point in this review.

In the meantime, the concept of schooling as a cultural game has been put forth by other researchers as well. Timothy Leary has suggested that the institutionalization of education has been designed to train young people to conform and perpetuate the societal status quo. In Leary's words:

> . . . every aspect of the educational system is paid for by adult society to train young people to keep the same game going. To be sure that you do not use your heads . . . all educational institutions are set up to anesthetize you, to put you to sleep. To make sure that you will leave here and walk out into the bigger game and take your place in the line. A robot like your parents, an obedient, efficient, well-adapted social game player. A replaceable part in the machine.[32]

Pierre van den Berghe refers to schooling as a process of "academic gamesmanship," wherein conscientious students must decide whether to "play the game or invest effort and creativity into changing the rules in greater conformity with their values."[33]

Benjamin F. Thompson refers to the educational process in America as "the most dangerous game,"[34] and raises the following relevant, yet disquieting, questions:

> How is it that we expect one person can choose what another should learn; furthermore, that he will learn it?

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[32]Timothy Leary, The Politics of Ecstasy, (New York: College Notes and Texts, Inc., 1965), pp. 244-245.

[33]Pierre van den Berghe, Academic Gamesmanship, (London-New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1970), p. 115.

[34]Benjamin F. Thompson, "Education: The Most Dangerous Game," in Humanistic Frontiers in American Education, ed. by Roy P. Fairfield, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 312.

How is it that we believe failure can build success?

How is it that we believe some should be at the "top" and some at the "bottom"?

How is it that we believe that thirty students should and can be learning the same thing at the same time?

How is it that students are assembled in classrooms most of their school lives?

How is it that rarely does one see students using the property of an instution except under specific rules and surveillance?

How is it that when we sense efficient learning is effortless, we continue to talk about learning as work?

How is it that it is the very rare curriculum offering that takes as its subject matter self-knowledge?

How is it that we do not use fantasy and imagination directly in the classroom?

How is it that student-teacher planning has never taken hold in education--is it still teacher-planning?

How is it that we believe man is evil and must be controlled?

How is it that rather than stressing tolerance and amelioration of weakness, we acquire intolerance and punishment of weakness?

How is it, with all the talks of innovation--individualized instruction, team teaching, independent study, mixed media presentations, sensitivity training, etc.--when we look around there is little evidence of any of these functioning in the schools?[35]

Thompson's straightforward questions raise issues common to much of the criticism found in the literature. The charges revolve around the need for more flexibility in the educational processes and more freedom for students. The most important

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[35]Ibid., pp. 313-314.

question is, can such innovations be brought about within the context of the existing educational system?

A "Sick" System

Several critics have suggested that the existing educational system is a "sick" one. The noted psychologist Abraham Maslow, objecting to the limitations of the schools in terms of promoting creative potential and developing "good human beings," wrote, "our conventional education looks mighty sick."[36]

Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner in Teaching As A Subversive Activity again suggest that the American educational system is "sick," in that it stifles individual creativity by using coercive methodology in the teaching of irrelevant subject matter:

> The American schools system is sick. Its methods are based on fear, coercion, and rote-memory testing. What is more, the subject matter it teaches becomes obsolete almost as soon as it is taught; the "Knowledge Explosion" demands that students learn how to use their minds and talents, while the schools are strenuously engaged in teaching them how to stifle their intelligence and creativity.[37]

Jules Henry also observes that the educational system stifles individual creativity in the interest of preserving the societal status quo. Henry concludes that the aim of the schools has never been to free the spirit and mind of man, but on the contrary, has sought to bind them. Henry writes:

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[36]Abraham Maslow, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature, (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), p. 170.

[37]Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching As A Subversive Activity, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969), publisher's introductory notes.

> The schools have therefore never been places for the stimulation of young minds. If all through school, the young were provoked to question the Ten Commandments, the sanctity of revealed religion, the foundations of patriotism, the profit motive, the two-party system, monogamy, the laws of incest, and so on, we would have more creativity than we could handle.[38]

Ronald D. Laing affirms Henry's contentions that the schools serve the culture in "brainwashing" children into acceptance of societal "norms" such as war and violence, racism, alcoholism, drugs and alienation. The result is that children become adapted to a "world gone mad." Laing explains:

> We begin with the children. It is imperative to catch them in time. Without the most thorough and rapid brain-washing, their dirty minds would see through our dirty tricks. Children are not yet fools, but we shall turn them into imbeciles like ourselves, with high I.Q.'s if possible. . . . . From the moment of birth when the Stone Age baby confronts the Twentieth Century mother, the baby is subjected to these forces of violence called love, as its mother and father, and their parents and their parents before them, have been. These forces are concerned mainly with destroying most of its potentialities, and on the whole, this enterprise is successful. By the time the new human being is fifteen or so, we are left with a being like ourselves, a half-crazed creature more or less adjusted to a mad world. This is normality in our present age.[39]

Leary has suggested that the educational process, in its attempt to limit experience and inhibit growth of the individual's consciousness, has a "narcotic-like" effect on students which might be physiologically damaging:

> The last thing that an institution of education wants to allow you to do is to expand your consciousness, to use

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[38]Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 287-288.

[39]Ronald D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), p. 58.

> the untapped potential in your head, to experience directly. They don't want you to move on to a different level of reality. They don't want you to take their game seriously. Education . . . is anesthetic, a narcotic procedure which is very likely to blunt your sensitivity and to immobilize your behavior and your brain for the rest of your lives.
>
> I also would like to suggest that our educational process is an especially dangerous narcotic because it probably does direct physiological damage to your nervous system.[40]

Leary further explains that the educational process filters our experience down to conditioned reactions, (such as being able to memorize and regurgitate facts and figures):

> Let me explain what I mean by that. Your brain like any organ of your body, is a perfect instrument. When you were born, you brought into the world this organ which is almost perfectly adapted to sense what is going on around you and inside you. Just as the heart knows its job, your brain is ready to do its job. But what education does to your head would be like taking your heart and wrapping rubber bands around it and putting springs on it to make sure it can pump. What education does is to put a series of filters over your awareness so that year by year, step by step, you experience less and less and less. A baby, we're convinced, sees much more than we do. A kid of ten or twelve is still playing and moving around with some flexibility. But an adult has filtered experience down to just plastic reactions. . . . This is a biochemical phenomenon . . . you're drugged by the educational system.[41]

Anthropologist Ashley Montague has reiterated the

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[40] Leary, The Politics of Ecstasy, p. 245.

[41] Ibid., pp. 245-252.

Leary goes on to suggest that "There are going to be new social forms; there are going to be new methods of education." Leary further adds that the "new" forms of education will be based on "accelerated learning by the use of expanded consciousness." He concludes, "It is the goal of our research and of our educational experiements that in one or two generations we will be witnessing the appearance of human beings who have much more access without drugs, to a much greater percentage of their nervous system."

contention that the educational system may have a damaging effect on students, adding that so-called educators and teachers might be more aptly described as "miseducators" and "deformers."[42]

Further criticism along these lines uses the "prison" metaphor in describing the damaging effects of the schooling process. For example, Lloyd Williams has referred to the concept that in many instances, the schools are nothing more than "quasi-torture houses."[43] Leslie A. Hart has propounded a similar philosophy in saying:

> Despite efforts at modern teaching, the classroom teacher still indisputably is trying to teach groups of inmates the same things at the same time in much the same way. It doesn't work. And it is a form of torture, carried on systematically for years.[44]

Additional Charges: Racism and Sexism

In addition to the criticisms thus far described, it has been charged that the schools perpetuate racial and sexual discrimination found in abundance throughout the society at large. In terms of racial discrimination, Donald H. Smith points to the widespread racism which is perpetuated in the schools. Smith writes, "Nowhere is the effect of white supremacy more pervasive and more debilitating than in the

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[42]Ashley Montague, "The Meaning of Education," Ashley Montague Discusses Anthropology with Virginia Peterson, (Recording), (New York: The Academic Recording Institute, Inc., 1959), side 2.

[43]Lloyd P. Williams, lecture, Norman, Oklahoma, January 19, 1973.

[44]Leslie A. Hart, The Classroom Disaster, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969) pp. 294-295.

American school."[45] Smith adds that this racism may take a variety of subtle forms, which, in all cases, have "poisoned" the schools:

> Whether it takes the form of textbooks which promulgate white supremacy by excluding the lives and accomplishments of blacks and other minorities, whether it takes the form of white teachers who have double standards of expectation, reward and punishment, or whether it takes the form of self-hating black children--white racism has poisoned the American school. White supremacy has left many black teachers and white teachers paralyzed in its wake and it has been most deadly when they are unaware of their social sickness.[46]

Ermon O. Hogen also refers to the "racism in educators," which is "reflected in teacher attitudes, expectations, behavior and interpretations of educational theory," as a "barrier to quality education."[47]

James A. Banks reiterates the need to foster more positive racial attitudes in the schools, indicating a specific need for the development of more "positive racial attitudes in textbooks."[48]

George Henderson reiterates the problem of racial discrimination and "unequal education" in the schools in writing:

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[45]Donald H. Smith, "The Black Revolution And Education," in Racial Crisis In American Education, ed. by Robert L. Green, (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969), p. 63.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ermon O. Hogen, in Racial Crisis in American Education, ed. by Robert L. Green, pp. 147, 164.

[48]James A. Banks, "The Need For Positive Racial Attitudes In Textbooks," ed. by Robert L. Green, in Racial Crisis in American Education, pp. 167-183.

> The visible effects of prejudice can be seen in the plight of the Black Americans. Specifically, segregation and discrimination in employment, education, law enforcement and housing have created a vicious circle from which few blacks can escape. . . . To date, school desegregation efforts have been characterized by the closing of predominantly black schools, accompanied by dismissals and demotions of black teachers, athletic coaches, and administrators (some white school board members have referred to these discriminatory practices as "deniggerizing the schools"). Other practices include maintaining segregated social clubs and homecoming celebrations. . . . Approximately 45 percent of the black students in the South attend desegregated schools, while less than 30 percent of the black students in the North and West attend desegregated schools. . . . Most black children in the 1970's are likely to attend schools similar to those cited in the 1954 Brown case--schools that are racially segregated and educationally unequal.[49]

Another criticism of the existing educational system is that the schools perpetuate problems related to sexual discrimination. Broverman, et al., have stated that "Men and masculine characteristics are more highly valued in our society than are women and feminine characteristics."[50] This, says Broverman, et. al., is representative of "the sex role stereotypes prevalent in our society."[51] Several researchers have indicated that this stereotyping phenomenon is perpetuated

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[49]George Henderson, To Live In Freedom: Human Relations Today and Tomorrow, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 125-127.

[50]I.K. Broverman, S.R. Vogel, D.M. Broverman, F.E. Clarkson, and P.S. Rosenkrantz, "Sex Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal," Journal of Social Issues, XXVIII, No. 2, (1972), p. 65.

[51]I.K. Broverman, D.M. Broverman, F.E. Clarkson, S.R. Vogel, and P.S. Rosenkrantz, "Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, XXXIV, No. 1, (1970), p. 5.

in the schools. Myra and David Sadker write, "Throughout the schooling experience, boys and girls are taught lessons in sexual inequality."[52] Sadker and Sadker go on to describe both the subtle and overt ways in which this discrimination occurs, such as when children are separated on the basis of sex for various activities, or when certain activities, courses or awards are limited either to girls or boys only. Sadker and Sadker elaborate in writing:

> Usually separation on the basis of sex is a casual and informal process in schools; it occurs in academic competition when the teacher announces, "In today's spelling bee, we will have a contest--boys against the girls." It often happens when children line up to be dismissed and boys form a queue on one side of the room and girls on the other. This kind of casual separation has detrimental effects, for it emphasizes or creates differences and reinforces the notion that males and females are "opposite" sexes.
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> When separation becomes formally institutionalized, its effects are much more harmful. In many schools, all girls are required to take home economics, but not allowed to take industrial arts courses; vice versa for boys. But the most obvious example of separate and unequal courses is found in physical education programs. In a typical mid-western city, the total budget for male interscholastic sports programs for 1970-71 was just under $200,000. In the same city, the budget for the girls' program was under $10,000. The projected budget for one boys' high school football team exceeded the cost of all girls' sports programs in all of the city's eleven high schools.
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> Throughout extracurricular activities, segregation is pervasive. Too often awards, honors, and a variety of appointive leadership positions are reserved for males only.[53]

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[52]Myra and David Sadker, "Sexism in Schools: An Issue For the Seventies," The Education Digest, XXXIV, No. 8, p. 58.

[53]Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Ronald Laing also has objected to the ways in which the schools stereotype boys and girls in the manner described by Sadker and Sadker. One illustration Laing offers is a description of a class in which the girls were given a competition in which they had to bake cakes which the boys were to judge. Laing comments:

> The school is here inducting children into sex-linked roles of a very specific kind. . . . I find it obscene that girls should be taught that their status depends on the taste that they produce in the boys' mouths.[54]

Sadker and Sadker, citing studies by Margorie U'Ren and Janice Trecker, point to the ways in which school text books discriminate and stereotype on the basis of sex, such as when "female characters in basic reading texts are depicted as having less preserverance and moral strength than males," or in "the most popular U.S. history texts used in public schools . . . in almost all time periods and all areas of concentration, women are missing."[55] The discrimination appearing in school textbooks has been studied also by Linda Oliver who has concluded, "Nowhere is sex-role stereotyping more evident than in elementary school readers."[56] Oliver describes the ways in which many textbooks and other literature used in the schools present the image of girls and women as,

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[54]Laing, The Politics of Experience, p. 72.

[55]Ibid., p. 60.

[56]Linda Oliver, "Women In Aprons: The Female Stereotype In Children's Readers," Elementary School Journal, LXXIV No. 5, (February 1974), p. 254.

"helpless servile, dependent and passive," in contrast to boys and men who are depicted as ambitious, competent and adventuresome.[57]

The various forms of sexual discrimination in the existing educational system have led educators such as George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens to conclude most succinctly that "our schools create and perpetuate problems related to sex roles."[58] Linda Oliver clarifies the potential harm such discrimination may have in saying, "The narrow stereotypes impose a severe limitation and an unnecessary constraint on the goals and the aspirations of girls as well as boys at a most critical and impressionable period of their lives."[59]

Higher Education and Contemporary Criticism

Traditionally, the purpose of a university was to serve as a natural setting wherein the masters and scholars could interact in pursuit of developing or broadening ideas and perspectives. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in the Nineteenth Century, explained this in writing that "the college was to be the nurse and home of genius."[60] In Emerson's words:

> Happy the natural college thus self-instituted around every natural teacher; the young men of Athens

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[57] Ibid.

[58] George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens, Teachers Should Care: Social Perspectives of Teaching, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 93.

[59] Linda Oliver, "Women in Aprons: The Female Stereotype In Children's Readers," p. 254.

[60] Emerson, "Education," in The Portable Emerson, p. 264.

> around Socrates; of Alexandria around Plotinus; of Paris around Abelard; of Germany around Fichte or Niebuhr, or Gothe: in short, the natural sphere of every leading mind. . . .[61]

However, Emerson warned that such interaction between master and student diminishes and "difficulties begin," as the university grows and becomes more institutionalized. Emerson explains that as a result:

> You have to work for large classes, instead of individuals; you must lower your flag and reel your sails to wait for the dull sailors; you grow departmental, routinary, military almost with your discipline.[62]

Emerson advanced the warning that as a higher education grows and becomes more institutionalized, simple scholarly encounters between master and students are replaced by more routine, less innovative and imaginative instruction.[63]

Emerson's colleague and friend Henry David Thoreau objected to the ways in which college students are made to study subject matter which many times is irrelevant to their real lives. Thoreau, in Walden, wrote:

> To my astonishment, I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation!--why, if I had taken one turn down the harbour I should have known more about it. Even the poor student studies and is taught only political economy, while that economy of living which is synonymous with philosophy is not even sincerely professed in our colleges.[64]

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 265.

[63] Ibid., pp. 264-267.

[64] Henry David Thoreau, Walden in Walden And Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. by Brooks Atkinson (New York: The Modern Library--Random House, 1937), p. 46.

Thoreau humorously, yet pointedly, observed that while the student is studying the great economists, "he runs his father in debt irretrievably."[65] Over a century ago Thoreau articulated what has become a problem for present-day parents who, in many instances, view their children's graduation as a "receipt" rather than a diploma.

In more recent times Ivan Illich has reiterated Emerson's analysis of higher education in describing the "old university" as a:

> . . . liberated zone for discovery and the discussion of ideas both new and old. Masters and students gathered to read the texts of other masters now long dead, and the living words of the dead masters gave new perspective to the fallacies of the present day. The university was then a community of academic quest and endemic unrest.[66]

However, Illich observes that the "structural purpose of the modern university has little to do with the traditional quest."[67] Illich concludes that in the university, the traditional encounter has become an "international race in the knowledge industry," Illich explains:

> The modern university has forfeited its chance to provide a simple setting for encounters which are both autonomous and anarchic, focused, yet unplanned and ebullient, and has chosen instead to manage the process by which so-called research and instruction are produced.[68]

Illich goes on to suggest that "the American university has

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[65]Ibid.

[66]Illich, Deschooling Society, p. 51.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid.

become the final stage of the most all-encompassing initiation rite the world has ever known."[69] Illich suggests that the most successful students are those who blanketly conform to the rules and expectations of the various educational institutions. In Illich's own words: "Schools select for each successive level those who have, at earlier stages in the game, proved themselves good risks for the established order."[70] Again, the point is raised that the university represents the final stage in a process devoted to preservation of the existing social system. Leary restates Illich's contentions in saying, "The university, and, for that matter, every aspect of the educational system," is designed to promote "robot-like" conformity in perpetuation of the status quo.[71]

Judson Jerome, in expressing his "dissatisfaction with available educational institutions," has succinctly articulated "what is presently wrong with colleges."[72] Jerome has concluded that the four "diseases of American education today" are "compartmentalism, sequentialism, essentialism, and credentialism."[73] Jerome explains that "compartmentalism" refers to the "notion that knowledge can be sorted and filed in areas, departments, disciplines and courses." In this

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[69]Ibid.,.p. 54.

[70]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[71]Leary, The Politics of Ecstasy, p. 244.

[72]Judson Jerome, "Toward An Ideal College," in Humanistic Frontiers in American Education, ed. by Roy P. Fairfield, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971), pp. 207-211.

[73]Ibid.

sense education is the "programming process" which trains scholars or scientists in the methodology of accumulating and verifying data, "sorting it into appropriate pigeonholes."[74] "Sequentialism," explains Jerome, refers to the "myth" that there is only "one right linear order in which things can be learned or done."[75] An example of this phenomena would be excluding an otherwise capable student from taking a certain course merely because he or she did not meet a given prerequisite. The third "disease", as Jerome has called it, is "essentialism." This concept is a most important one, as it is a common objection of many of the critics discussed in this study including Illich, Holt, and Leary. Jerome explains that "essentialism" refers to the concept that the community, parents, educators, and elders are the ones who are to decide what is "essential" for a person to know. Jerome explains his objection to this policy in saying:

> Compulsory education, required courses, general education--all these educational formulations are based on the essentialist premise that the tribe defines the initiation rites. All served some useful function in the past, but it is becoming clear today that they are elitist, conformist and unrealistic. . . . Essentialism is a doctrine of programming, of conditioning citizens to the regulations of mass society. Once we thought of it in terms of the need for an educated electorate in a democracy. Now I think it is becoming evident that it produces not independent thinkers but zombies, the "good" student being the one who attends, performs on schedule, learns what is taught and does not rock the boat with questions about what lies beyond the curriculum.[76]

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[74]Ibid., pp. 207-208.

[75]Ibid., p. 209.

[76]Ibid., pp. 209-210.

Finally, Jerome describes the fourth "ill" of American education, "credentialism," as the myth that a credential, i.e., a diploma, is synonymous with competence. Jerome suggests that our educational system is more oriented toward "credentialization" than toward promotion of individual awareness and growth.[77]

Supportive Data

Educators such as Jerome, Illich, and Holt share in common the contention that real learning is a personal activity which occurs when the individual is self-motivated, and that it should not be manipulated or measured or externally imposed. Critics such as Henry, Laing, and Leary charge that the schools are more concerned with teaching students conformity and subservience to authority than they are with promoting creativity and enlightenment. In recent years data has been published which supports these observations.

Jerome Bruner has concluded that "effective cognitive activity" occurs when the child is freed from "the immediate control of environmental rewards and punishments."[78] Bruner goes on to say that learning which occurs in response to teacher or parent approval, avoidance of failure, etc., can readily develop into patterns "in which the child is seeking

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[77]Ibid., pp. 210-212.

[78]Jerome Bruner, "The Act of Discovery," in Readings in Human Learning, ed. by Lester D. and Alice Crow, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 428-429.

cues as to how to conform to what is expected of him."[79] Bruner concludes that this type of learning is limited in that it merely teaches children how to manipulate symbols without necessarily understanding their meaning. Bruner explains:

> We know from studies of children who tend to be overachievers in school that they are likely to be seekers after the "right way to do it" and that their capacity for transforming their learning into viable thought structures tends to be lower than children merely achieving at levels predicted by intelligence tests. Our tests on such children show them to be lower in analytic ability than those who are not conspicuous in overachievement . . . they develop rote abilities and depend upon being able to "give back" what is expected rather than to make it into something that relates to the rest of their cognitive life.[80]

The contention that intrinsic motivation provides the most effective foundation for learning is also validated by experimentation in Piagetian psychology. After working with more than two thousand youngsters in an experimental setting, Hermina Sinclair, director of Research at the Institute of Sciences of Education, University of Geneva, concluded:

> Children are interested in situations of moderate novelty and use all their cognitive capacities to explore these situations. Very familiar objects or situations lose their attraction and similarly, situations and objects that are too unfamiliar have no attraction either. In between these two degrees of familiarity, interest is excited and the assimilatory character of actions or mental operations comes into play. There is no need for external reinforcement. The activities themselves are inherently rewarding. . . . It means that we should aim at providing an atmosphere that stimulates active discoveries

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[79]Ibid., p. 428.

[80]Ibid., p. 429.

> rather than passive absorption of information . . . bits of learning can be no more than isolated skills, with no relation to other skills, which will quickly be forgotten when no longer exercised.[81]

Such information supports the criticism that much of what occurs in the schools is contrary to the realities of the learning process in the sense that learning is more the result of the child's own interests and motivations and less the result of extensive external manipulation.

Certainly there are other theories of learning which advance contrary viewpoints. The work of B.F. Skinner, for example, suggests that external reinforcements may be used effectively in developing cognitive skills.[82]

The purpose of citing such experimental evidence is not to make judgments regarding which learning theories are "right or wrong," but rather simply to acknowledge that there is data which supports the criticisms of Rogers, Illich, Holt and others. Such authors believe that the methodology used in the schools is ineffective and unnecessary, because the greater part of a person's learning is a self-achieved phenomenon which occurs quite independently of formalized educational process.

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[81] Sinclair Hermina, and Kamii Constance, "Some Implications of Piaget's Theory For Teaching Young Children," School Review, LXXVIII, No. 2, (February 1970), pp. 171-175.

[82] See B.F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1971), and B.F. Skinner, "The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching," in Readings in Human Learning, ed. by Crow and Crow, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc. 1963), pp. 28-39.

Several critics, including Illich, Laing, Leary, and Jerome have charged that the schools are not as concerned with learning in the intellectual sense as they are with teaching social conformity. There is evidence to support these claims that schools are the means by which children are taught subservience to authority, discipline, and respect for the rules of the culture. Richard L. Berkman has analyzed higher court decisions wherein the courts upheld the function of schools as disciplinary agents.[83] For example, in Board of Education v. Purse[84] a parent visited her child's school and criticized the teacher in the presence of other pupils. The Supreme Court of Georgia upheld the expulsion of the child as an example of the consequences of disrespect for authority. The court noted that "public education which fails to instill in the youthful mind and heart obedience to authority, both private and public, would be more of a curse than a blessing."[85]

In Pugsley v. Sellmeyer[86] the court upheld the action of a school which denied admission to a girl who defied the dress code by wearing makeup.

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[83]Richard L. Berkman, "Students In Court: Free Speech and the Functions of Schooling in America," Harvard Educational Review, XL, No. 4. (November, 1970), pp. 567-595.

[84]Board of Education v. Purse, 101 Ga. 422, 28 S.E. 896 (1897).

[85]Ibid., p. 900.

[86]Pugsley v. Sellmeyer, 158 Ark. 247, 250 S.W. 538, 539 (1923).

In State ex rel. Dresser v. District Board[87] the Supreme Court of Wisconsin upheld the expulsion of two high school students who satirized the school's rules in a poem on the grounds that "the poem had an injurious effect on the discipline of the school."[88]

The Court of Appeals of Kentucky similarly upheld the function of the schools as a disciplinary agent in Byrd v. Begley.[89] Even teacher obedience to rules as an object lesson for students was upheld by the Appellate Division in the state of New York in the case of Worley v. Allen.[90]

Berkman, in analyzing the various court decisions, concludes that the traditional aim of education in America has been primarily to teach students discipline and respect for authority. In Berkman's words:

> Public education in America was never seen merely as a means by which all could share the inherent pleasures of mental exercise and development. Intelligence as an end in itself was secondary to the political goals of public education. Proponents of public education were more concerned with training citizens than with increasing scholarship. Many saw education as a means of taming and civilizing the anarchic instincts of the populace. Hence, the schools were expected to teach discipline and respect for authority . . . eliminating highly individualistic conduct. In short, as De Tocqueville could observe in the 1840's, "In the United States, politics are the end and aim of education." . . .

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[87]State ex rel. Dresser v. District Board, 135 Wis. 619, 116 N.W. 232 (1908).

[88]Berkman, "Students In Court: Free Speech and The Functions of Schooling in America," p. 570.

[89]Byrd v. Begley, 262 Ky. 422, 90 S.W. 2d. 370 (1936).

[90]Worley v. Allen, 212 N.Y.S. 2d. 236, 12 A.D. 2d 411 (1961).

> The educational purposes perceived by the courts originated in this overriding political, rather than intellectual, aim of American education. The view that discipline and respect for authority were major goals of public education was frequently enunciated by the courts.[91]

Opposing Viewpoints

There are, of course, a variety of views regarding the functions of schools which differ from those of Rogers, Illich, Leary, Laing and the other critics. For example, in terms of the schools teaching discipline and obedience to authority, there are those who would suggest that the schools should indeed promote conformity to existing societal rules and norms, as a functional way of preserving the social order. Bernier and Williams articulate this position in suggesting that certain individual needs must often be suppressed or ignored "in the name of efficiency and order."[92]

Many parents and educators would advance the philosophy that the function of schools is to teach the basic pragmatic skills which are necessary to effectively function in society. They would see discipline and respect for authority as fundamental ingredients in achieving this end. This viewpoint was very aptly expressed in the writings of Arthur Bestor in the mid-1950's, who warned that the schools were becoming "educational wastelands" due to "watered-down curricula" which

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[91]Richard L. Berkman, "Students In Court: Free Speech and the Functions of Schooling in America," pp. 567-594.

[92]Bernier and Williams, Beyond Beliefs: Ideological Foundations of American Education, p. 123.

failed to emphasize "thorough, disciplined, and rigorous intellectual training."[93]

More recently, California State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Max Rafferty, (who incidentally has referred to progressive educator A.S. Neil of Summerhill fame as the most recent "educational quack" in a "line of frauds" going back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau),[94] has reiterated the view that rigorous discipline and extensive concentration on traditional subject matter is the most adequate and functional way to teach students how to be productive citizens in the real world as it currently exists.[95] Many readers might agree with Rafferty that the schools are failing to maintain their high standards of discipline and academic excellence--and indeed information is appearing which supports this observation. Hence, we are introduced to another aspect of the educational crisis; that is, the criticism that the schools are inadequate not only in the humanistic and creative sense, but in their failure to achieve traditional academic objectives as well. These issues will now be discussed.

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[93]Arthur Bestor, The Restoration of Learning: A Program For Redeeming the Unfulfilled Promise of American Education, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

[94]Max Rafferty, in Summerhill: For and Against, (New York: Hart Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 11.

[95]see Max Rafferty, Max Rafferty on Education, (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1968).

Deficiencies In Basic Skills

In recent years data has been accumulated which supports the contention that the schools have limited success in teaching fundamental skills. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), a project funded by the U.S. Office of Education and administered by the Education Commission of the States, has recently published its findings on a national sampling of Americans from four age groups (9, 13, 17, and 26-35) in their performance on a series of exercises and standardized tests. The results are rather disquieting, since they reveal deficiencies in certain basic skills. For example, the writing report (released in February, 1972) revealed that in the writing exercises used in the study:

> --Nine year olds in America showed almost no mastery of basic writing mechanics.
> --By age 17, a considerable number still had difficulties with spelling, word choice and other skills.
> --In all four age groups, the writers usually chose fairly simple sentence structures and the most common punctuation marks.
> --Among young adults there was a strong reluctance to write at all--29 percent of those who agreed to take part in the overall assessment refused to attempt the writing exercise.[96]

Furthermore, an essay exercise was given and graded by English teachers and scholars. Four separate analyses, including one by computer, were made, and the results show a gross deficiency in all four age groups in terms of inadequate sentence structure and paragraphing, spelling and punctuation errors, and

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[96]"Writing Test Reveals Many Lack Basic Skills," School and Community, LIX, No. 2 (October, 1972), p. 11.

improper vocabulary usage.[97] Further deficiencies were found as well in basic reading skills in all of the four age groups. For example:

> More than 40 percent of the 17-year-olds failed to discern that a passage about Helen Keller's life, referring in almost every sentence to particular years, was organized as a chronological narrative, rather than a diary, flashback, an interview, or an eyewitness account.
>
> Fewer than one in four 13-year-olds understood that Shakespeare in his 29th sonnet used "deaf Heaven" to refer to a God who does not hear. On the same question, more than half the 17-year-olds answered incorrectly.
>
> Nearly half the 13-year-olds and more than 25 percent of the 17-year-olds (and this group is only one year away from voting age) were unable to read a passage containing two conflicting statements and arrive at the conclusion that one of them had to be wrong.
>
> More than a third of the nine-year-olds could not read two dogfood labels and determine correctly which contained more protein.
>
> More than 15 percent of the adults and 17-year-olds, one-third of the 13-year-olds, and nearly two-thirds of the nine-year-olds had difficulty reading and then answering questions about a common daily TV schedule.[98]

Furthermore, in terms of basic Social Studies knowledge, a comparison of the NAEP results with satisfactory performance levels (as rated by a panel of nine Social Studies experts selected by the National Council of Social Studies) "shows a consistently lower level of understanding than most of the panel members would consider satisfactory."[99] For example,

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[97] Ibid., p. 11, 22.

[98] Hope Justis, "Status Report on Reading," The Education Digest, XXXVIII, No. 4 (December, 1972), p. 12.

[99] Robert Crane, "What Should They Know," Compact, VIII, (January, February, 1974) p. 13.

according to the panel, at least eighty percent of the young citizens in America should know the procedure for nominating presidential candidates; however, only about two out of five actually do.[100] The data in mathematics is currently being analyzed in cooperation with the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, and the results and interpretations will be forthcoming.[101] However, based on the data thus far obtained by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, there is a great deal of information which supports the contention that the schools are "educational wastelands," not only in their inability to release creative energy, but in their failure to teach basic skills as well.

The Schools In Crisis

A growing discontent and sense of frustration with the existing system of education has in recent years led to a noticeable student reaction. A comprehensive report published by the National School Public Relations Association states:

> Bubbling like supercharged soda, student unrest exploded in 1968 and sprayed the high school landscape with boycotts, demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing, vandalism, and violence.
>
> In the wake of the turbulence came the head counts, studies, polls and surveys. By January, 1969, the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) noted that 59% of the high schools and 56% of the junior high schools had experienced some form of protest. A month

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Wayne H. Martin and James W. Wilson, "The Status of National Assessment in Mathematics," The Arithmetic Teacher, XXI, No. 1 (January, 1974) p. 49.

> later, Alan F. Westin, Director of the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties at Columbia University, reported that 348 high schools in 38 states had undergone some form of disruption between November, 1968 and February, 1969, and that an additional 239 schools had suffered "serious" episodes. By May 25, 1969, Westin estimated the total number of protests at around 2,000. The grimmest note from all sides was that student unrest was a general and long range phenomenon, and that it was bound to grow.[102]

Bernard McKenna has reiterated the observation that student unrest would probably persist unless three major problems of the secondary schools or colleges are "attacked vigorously." The three major problems cited by McKenna are:

(1) Dull and irrelevant curricular content and non-motivating teaching methods.

(2) Lack of broad involvement of students in the decision-making process.

(3) Poor human relations between students and their instructors.[103]

Recent studies have confirmed the trend toward increased student unrest in the schools. Jack Slater has recently reported that despite efforts at curtailing student unrest (such as by employing additional security personnel), vandalism and violence have become almost the norm in many of the nation's urban and suburban high schools.[104] In New York

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[102]High School Student Unrest, Education USA Special Report, (Washington, D.C.: National School Public Relations Association, 1969), p. 1.

[103]Bernard McKenna, "Student Unrest: Some Causes and Cures," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, LV, No. 352 (February, 1971), p. 54.

[104]Jack Slater, "Death of a High School," Phi Delta Kappan, LI, No. 4 (December, 1974), pp. 251-254.

City, for example, 3,265 incidents were reported in the 1972-1973 school term compared with 1,899 during the previous year.[105] Slater has further noted that in Los Angeles, school authorities:

> cited 558 reported incidents for 1972-1973 and point out that assaults have been increasing 40 percent per year since the late 1960's. Chicago security indicated that there were 1,264 in 1972-73. . . . In all cities, however, "failure to report incidents is the heart of the problem," said Chicago Securities Director Edward Brady. "Security people in other cities have privately told me that they don't always report all the assaults because it makes their (school) boards look bad."[106]

Slater has observed that while school systems spend $240 million annually on security measures, i.e., for personnel and equipment, the problems of student alienation and discontent persists.[107]

Roy P. Fairfield, in analyzing the student unrest, has suggested that such demonstrations represent one manifestation of the crisis in American education:

> It takes no seer to recognize that the schools are in deep crisis. The student movement and the wide unrest on university and college campuses as well as in the high schools are symptomatic of the underlying sickness. Something is the matter with our educational system. And something drastic must be done. There is a crisis . . . and we need to move beyond the errors of the past into the challenges of the future.[108]

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[105] Ibid., p. 254.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Fairfield, ed., Humanistic Frontiers in American Education, p. 2.

Fairfield goes on to say that it is almost impossible to watch television, listen to the radio, or even talk to one's neighbor, "without encountering educational questions which threaten to overwhelm both sense and reason."[109]

Regarding this point, Theodore Brameld points to articles featured on the covers of recent mass-circulated magazines: "Angry Teachers--Why They Will Strike Three Hundred Times This School Year" and "Students Against The World." He suggests that these articles symbolize the phenomenal unrest that is permeating educational events.[110] Brameld continues:

> They signalize a movement that has already succeeded in penetrating, and in some respects, even shattering, the whole facade of beliefs, processes and structures that have hitherto seemed impervious to, if not oblivious of inadequacies in the vast institution of modern education.
>
> I use the term "facade" deliberately because, to an extraordinary extent, education in America . . . is now demonstrating itself to be an increasingly artificial if not obsolete enterprise--artificial and obsolete in the sense that it distorts, conceals, and avoids many of the most fundamental perplexities and compulsions of our age.[111]

In sum, the inadequacies of the existing educational system have led to a growing discontent and "phenomenal unrest," which is likely to persist unless substantial ameliorative measures are undertaken.

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Theodore Brameld, "Illusions and Disillusions In American Education," Phi Delta Kappan, L, No. 4 (December, 1968), p. 202.

[111] Ibid., pp. 202-203.

A growing number of educators including Ivan Illich[112] and John Holt[113] have suggested that the first step toward the development of a more effective and humane educational system would be to discontinue the schools as the primary agency of education in our society. Deschooling offers an interesting yet radical alternative to the inadequacies which permeate our educational system; and a critical analysis of the deschooling philosophy in terms of its relevance to the educational crisis is at this time in order.

Conclusion

In conclusion, upon investigation of the available critical literature pertaining to the educational system, one finds that education in America is in a most desperate state. There is a great deal of information which suggests that the schools are inadequate in meeting the creative, intellectual and humanistic needs of students. Many educators and researchers are currently involved in seeking a solution to the problem. However, as Geoffrey Summerfield has pointed out, "while there is general agreement that something has gone wrong, there is a precious little agreement on how things can be reordered to promote a happier, more fulfilled, and more humane society

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[112]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society.

[113]John Holt, Freedom and Beyond, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1972).

that is also no less efficient and no less productive."[114] Some serious educational thinkers have suggested that it would best serve humanity if the schools as they now exist were totally discontinued. Illich has suggested that deschooling is "at the root of any movement for human liberation."[115] John Holt has clarified the deschooling philosophy in expressing a need for the development of a broader, more effective educational consciousness:

> we must look beyond the question of reforming schools and at the larger question of schooling itself. Can they do all the things we ask them to do? Are they the best means of doing it? What might be other or better ways?[116]

The concept of deschooling society offers an unconventional yet extremely provocative solution to the educational crisis. In the following chapter an analysis of the deschooling philosophy will be presented.

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[114]Geoffrey Summerfield, "Book Reviews," Harvard Educational Review, XLII, No. 2, (May, 1972), p. 293.

[115]Illich, Deschooling Society, p. 68.

[116]John Holt, Freedom and Beyond, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1972), p. 5.

CHAPTER III

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DESCHOOLING PHILOSOPHY: A PRACTICAL, REALISTIC APPRAISAL

In the preceeding chapter the shortcomings of the existing educational system were discussed. This chapter will be concerned with an examination of the concept of deschooling as a possible solution to the educational crisis. First, the philosophical foundations of deschooling will be presented. This will be followed by an analysis of the philosophy's strengths and weaknesses, and finally some relevant conclusions will be offered.

Philosophical Foundations of Deschooling

Deschooling is a philosophy of liberation; that is, liberation from the constraints of the existing system of institutionalized education. Contemporary deschooling advocates such as Ivan Illich and John Holt share, with eighteenth-century French romanticist Jean-Jacques Rousseau and nineteenth-century American transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, the belief that society's institutionalization of education tends to limit rather than enhance the individual's experience, learning and self reliance. Rousseau asserted the belief that institutions corrupt human nature

and enslave the minds of men.[1] Thoreau, who agreed with Rousseau in his disdain for institutions,[2] suggested that the process of formalized education was artificial and inept, since students were made to study material which was irrelevant to their real lives.[3]

Emerson noted that the institution of education in its quest for expediency and order, used ineffective methodology which limited the individual's experience and violated his "genius." In Emerson's words:

> this function of opening and feeding the human mind is not to be fulfilled by any mechanical or military method; is not to be trusted to any skill less large than nature itself. . . . It is curious how perverse and intermeddling we are, and what vast pains and cost we incur to do wrong . . . in education our common sense fails us and we are continually trying costly machinery against nature, in patent schools and academies and in great colleges and universities . . . we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity. . . . Our modes of education aim to expedite, to save labor; to do for the masses what cannot be done for the masses, what must be done reverently, one by one: say rather the whole world is needed for the tuition of each pupil.[4]

Emerson's statements embody what is the crux of the deschooling philosophy of today; that is, the contention that

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[1]Normand R. Bernier and Jack E. Williams, Beyond Beliefs: Ideological Foundations of American Education, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973), p. 130

[2]Ibid.

[3]Henry David Thoreau, Walden, in Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. by Brooks Atkinson, (New York: The Modern Library, Random House, 1937), p. 46.

[4]Ralph Waldo Emerson, Education, in The Portable Emerson, ed. by Mark Van Doren, (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), pp. 257, 263, 267.

the schools subjugate the individual's unique creativity and intelligence to a predesigned expedient process which does not necessarily respond to the students' interests or needs. Deschooling is thus a quest to disestablish an educational system which critics charge values the process and its systematic perpetuation more than the individual. Proponents of deschooling such as Ivan Illich contend that schools teach children to rely more on teachers, instruction, and schooling for their learning, rather than on their own experience and individual capabilities to find and internalize information.[5] Schools, says Illich, not only make people dependent on schooling for their learning, but they condition people to become overly dependent on institutions in other aspects of their lives.[6] Self reliance, individual competence, and personal values are replaced with institutional dependency. In other words, people become overly dependent on schools for their learning, churches for their religion, doctors for their health, and law enforcement for their moral conduct.[7] Thus, Illich has suggested that the deschooling of society could foreshadow a human liberation movement which would make people less dependent on institutions, and more reliant on their own energies and creative capabilities.[8]

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[5]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), pp. 56-57.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 1.

[8]Ibid., pp. 2-3, 68, 70.

Another fundamental aspect of the deschooling philosophy is the contention that learning is a personal activity which best occurs casually, spontaneously, and without external coercion or manipulation; that is, others may enhance one's learning, but they do not have the right to dictate how, when, and what another individual is to learn.[9]

In sum, the deschooling philosophy is founded on the idea that the existing process of schooling based on authoritarian principles and rigid institutionalized values and rules, i.e., the "compartmentalism, sequentialism, essentialism, and credentialism"[10] discussed in the preceeding chapter, is beyond reformation and should be discontinued. This is because the system limits, rather than enhances the individual's intellectual, creative and humanistic growth and development. Inherent in the deschooling philosophy is the idea that the individual, as well as society, would benefit from the discontinuation of the existing schooling process and the creation of more imaginative, flexible, and humanistic approaches to education. This is where a great misunderstanding arises regarding the deschooling philosophy. Although the deschooling philosophy is one of negation, inasmuch as it condemns the existing system, it also has a positive side, because it points toward the development of a

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[9]Ibid., pp. 56, 109.

[10]Judson Jerome, "Toward An Ideal College," in Humanistic Frontiers in American Education, ed. by Roy P. Fairfield, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 207-212.

broader, more convivial educational consciousness which places more emphasis on the individual human being. The positive aspects of deschooling will now be discussed in terms of the philosophy's strengths.

Strengths of the Deschooling Philosophy

The most significant strength of the deschooling philosophy is its bringing attention to the limitations of the existing educational system and pointing out that through imagination and innovation more effective and humanistic approaches to education may be developed. Thus, the concept of deschooling is, in a sense, misleading. Although deschooling means discontinuation of the schools as they currently exist, another premise of the philosophy is that other opportunities for learning be developed and made available, and that students have a choice among a variety of educational alternatives. As John Holt has said, "by a deschooled society we don't mean a society without any arrangements and resources for learning."[11] What deschooling advocates do propose is the development of a new set of resources and networks (computer networks whereby people can locate materials and other people, including professional educators, laymen and peers for their individual learning needs), which offer educational opportunity based on the student's own

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[11]John Holt, Freedom and Beyond, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1972), p. 189.

motivations and interests. Development of the libraries as learning centers offering various educational programs is one example. The development of community media centers offering access to films, records, books, videotape equipment, computers, microscopes etc. is another. The creation of skill development centers wherein people could learn fundamental skills such as reading, writing, basic mathematics, typing and so forth is another possibility. Computer centers that direct people to educational resources, teachers, and peers with common learning interests is another possibility. Educational programs built around agencies and businesses in the community, such as museums, factories, airports, laboratories, zoos, farms, etc. would provide other possible opportunities for learning. The possibilities are endless in accordance with the imaginations and energies of innovative educators. As John Holt has said:

> In sum, a deschooled society would be a society in which everyone should have the widest and freest possible choice to learn, whether in school or in some altogether different way.[12]

Thus, the deschooling philosophy broadens our conceptualization of education by bringing our attention to the idea that through imagination and innovation, a wide range of noncompulsory opportunities for learning may be developed. These would extend beyond the confines of the school, so that students would have the freedom to choose among many

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[12]Ibid., p. 190.

alternatives how and what they will learn. In such a system it is quite possible (if the enhanced learning via intrinsic motivation theories of Bruner, Sinclair and Kamaii, et al., discussed earlier are correct) that the amount and rate of learning would increase, and discipline problems would decrease, since the motivation for learning would come from the students themselves. Since all learning would be centered around the interests, needs, and motivations of the students, both students and teachers would be freed from the tedium and struggle of having to deal with uninteresting or irrelevant material. Furthermore, in a non-compulsory education system teachers (whether authoritarian or democratic) would have as their students only those people who were attracted by their particular teaching style; thus, the learning situation would be perpetually compatible with the needs of both teacher and student.

At this point there are some readers who might suggest that the deschooling philosophy is unrealistic, since in our present society, if education were not compulsory or externally motivated, most people would simply not pursue learning on their own. Indeed this is a valid objection which will now be discussed, along with other pertinent issues, in terms of the weaknesses of the deschooling philosophy. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the deschooling philosophy however, it is nevertheless important in that it represents a challenge to develop a broader, more humanistic

educational consciousness which encourages more flexibility, creativity, self-reliance, self-direction and freedom of individual choice in learning.

Weaknesses of the Deschooling Philosophy

Although the deschooling philosophy might serve as a theoretical challenge for a change in our educational consciousness, it does not at this time represent a realistic solution to the educational crisis. A fundamental weakness of deschooling is that the prescription is too extreme for the ills of the American educational system. Deschooling society because there are problems in the existing system would be very much like looking to buy a new automobile because the battery in one's present car is dead. Whereas the deschooling philosophy is theoretical and tentative, the existing educational system is established, functional and convenient, and it is unrealistic to think that it would be discontinued.

Positive Functions of the Schools

The existing system of education is a vital part of the American culture and economy, and it serves our society in a variety of ways. One fundamental factor which must be considered, for example, is the role schools play in providing children with what Carl Bereiter has referred to as "a place to be."[13] That is, schools furnish our society with a place

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[13]Carl Bereiter, Must We Educate?, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973), p. 82.

where young people may interact with peers, form friendships, and channel their energies into various forms of work and play. The schools currently provide a functional environment wherein students can express their individuality, and demonstrate their creativity, ability, and talents in a variety of educational and recreational activities. Although in many cases the schools might limit the students choice of activities and options for self-expression, there are at present few other institutions in our society to which most children would have access, which allow even an opportunity for such educational, creative, and social involvement.

The schools, in providing an opportunity for peer interaction, are especially important to those families who live in rural areas or in neighborhoods devoid of playmates for the children.

In the socio-economically deprived areas, the positive function of schools becomes particularly apparent; George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens have stated that "In our rapidly polarizing society, school may be the only place where economically disadvantaged people can find friendship, acceptance and recognition."[14]

Furthermore, in many instances (again, particularly in economically disadvantaged areas) the schools provide a more secure and stable environment in comparison to the home. As

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[14]George Henderson and Robert F. Bibens, Teachers Should Care: Social Perspectives of Teaching, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 89.

Henderson and Bibens have suggested:

> Schools are drastic contrasts to most lower-class homes. They are relatively clean, whereas slums are dirty. Schools are sanctuaries of silence, slums are noisy. Schools smell fairly pleasant, slums stink.[15]

A deschooled society would have to undertake the monumental task of providing extensive realistic alternatives for social interaction and educational opportunity, which would be readily accessible to all students who would otherwise be served in this context by the schools. At the present time, a definitive, practical plan for the non-chaotic discontinuation of schools and the establishment of an alternative educational system has yet to be designed.

Even if the schools were discontinued, and alternative opportunities for learning, social interaction and creative involvement (such as skill development centers, educational media centers, educational programs in libraries and museums, recreation centers, etc.) were established in a deschooled society, these resource centers would be non-compulsory. As Carl Bereiter has suggested, there would be no guarantee that people would bother to use these various facilities.[16] Many parents and educators would agree with Philip W. Jackson and Amitai Etzioni that in our present day society most people would not be self-motivated to actively participate

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[15]Ibid., p. 108.

[16]Bereiter, Must We Educate?, p. 70.

in a non-compulsory educational system.[17] As Jackson has said:

> Doubtlessly there are children who, freed from the formal demands of schools and with a minimum of adult guidance, would set about the laborious task of educating themselves. But whether all or most children if pressed to do so, would turn out to be such self-motivated learners is indeed doubtful.[18]

There are a great many people in our society who share the view that the student's "stormy genius,"[19] as Emerson said, requires direction, supervision, and guidance to various educational recreational and social activities. Whereas the schools are established and are currently providing such educational direction and leadership, the deschooling philosophy is highly theoretical, and in fact may be mistaken in its assumption that students will pursue learning on their own without any external motivation. Thus, to use Bertrand Russell's words, in spite of the "evils of most existing educational institutions,"[20] the schools are currently providing our society with extremely functional settings wherein people have the opportunity to pursue meaningful social relationships, and exercise their creative and intellectual talents and abilities.

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[17]Philip W. Jackson, "Farewell To Schools--No!" in Crucial Issues in Education, ed. by Henry Ehlers, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 209-212.

[18]Ibid.,p. 210.

[19]Emerson, Education, in The Portable Emerson, pp. 258-259.

[20]Bertrand Russell, Education and the Good Life (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), p. 7.

Custodial Functions of Schools

In addition to its other services, as Paul Goodman, among others, has indicated, the schools perform several highly valued "unpedagogic" functions as well; such as "relieving the home, controlling delinquency, and keeping kids from competing for jobs."[21] Everett Reimer has explained that custodial care is an important function of the schools in modern society. In Reimer's words:

> Custodial care is now so universally provided by schools that it is hard to remember earlier arrangements. Children must, of course, be cared for--if they are children, that is, and not just young members of the community taking part in its normal productive and social affairs. Most youngsters still get along without special care, all over the world, in the tribal, peasant and urban dwellings of the poor. It is only the mothers who have been freed from the drudgery of food production and preparation who find it necessary to turn the care of their children over to others. This is because of other differences between modern and traditional societies. Older children are taken out of the house by the school, fathers go to work, and grandparents and other members of the extended family are left behind in rural or older urban settlements. Were it not for the school, child care in the modern family would fall exclusively upon the mother. Schools thus help to liberate the modern woman. Women clearly need . . . the liberation schools provide. . . . Child care costs money, and although schools provide it relatively cheaply, this is where most of the school budget goes.[22]

Thus, another weakness of the deschooling philosophy is that (1) it diminishes the high value contemporary society places on the schools in providing custodial care for 59 million

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[21]Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd, (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 33.

[22]Everett Reimer, School Is Dead: Alternatives In Education, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 33-34.

students estimated to be enrolled in our nation's schools;[23] and (2) it offers no realistic, detailed plan for the development of alternative agencies which would equal or surpass the competency of the schools in providing such custodial care. As Philip W. Jackson has explained:

> even if educators or their critics wanted to set children free to learn on their own without the confines of a school and all the restrictions it implies, there is ample reason to believe that parents and other adults in our society would not stand for it. Like it or not, our schools presently perform a custodial function as well as an educational one. Parents, particularly those of young children simply do not want their offspring to be unsupervised during much of the day. We could of course, substitute compulsory day-care centers or neighborhood clubs for compulsory schools, but, when we consider such alternatives, they begin to look not at all that different from what used to go on in the empty schoolhouse down the block.[24]

Economic Considerations

The relevance of the deschooling philosophy is further diminished by the fact that the existing educational system is an elaborately established, extremely important part of the American Economy. As Peter Drucker has observed, education has become our largest single expenditure and it is "the cost center of the American economy."[25] The United States Office of Education has reported that "education is by far the

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[23]Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1974), p. 110.

[24]Philip W. Jackson, "Farewell to Schools--No!" in Critical Issues in Education, p. 206.

[25]Peter Drucker, "School Around The Bend," Psychology Today, VI, No. 1 (June, 1972), p. 50.

largest item in the budget of state and local governments."[26] State and local governments spend approximately 40 percent of their total fiscal budgets on education.[27] (The direct expenditures of state and local governments for all functions and for education, by per capita amount and percent of per capita income is shown in Table 1 in the appendix.) For example, in the state of Oklahoma where this dissertation was written more money is spent on education than on any other function of government. A recent study showed that:

> The State spends more on education than any other function of government. In Fiscal 1973, the Oklahoma State Government spent $543.8 million on Education. This amounted to 40.5 percent of total state expenditures.[28]

Documentation of the monumental importance of the existing educational system as an economic enterprise may be found on a national scale as well. The American Enterprise

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[26]U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, by W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind, National Center for Educational Statistics, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 26.

[27]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[28]Oklahoma State Expenditures in Brief: A Description of State Government Expenditures By Function In The Fiscal Year, Ended June 30, 1973. (The Kerr Foundation, Inc. of Oklahoma), p. 9. The report goes on to show the specific areas in which the educational expenditures were made. It states, "Institutions of higher education, elementary and secondary education received 90 percent (490.2 million dollars) of Education expenditure. Vocational-technical education received about four percent of the Education dollar, and vocational-rehabilitative education about two percent. Less than one percent of Education expenditures was spent on libraries, museums, and cultural activities in general. The amount the State paid into the Oklahoma Teachers' Retirement System accounted for most of the remaining three percent of Education expenditures." (p. 9.)

Institute for Public Policy Research has reported that the United States spends almost as much on education as do all of the world's other nations combined:

> In sheer magnitude, America's educational establishment is truly something to behold. In 1971, one-third of all Americans were directly connected with educational institutions: 61 million as students and 6.5 million as employees. Public and private schools and colleges were scheduled to spend $85 billion in the school year 1971-1972, nearly eight percent of our Gross National Product (GNP). This is approximately as much as the combined educational expenditures of all the other countries on earth.[29]

The report indicates that as a "business," education is among the nation's largest "growth industries".

> Education is not only one of the countries biggest industries--or, depending on how we categorize the various industries, possibly the biggest--but it is also among the most ebullient growth industries. Enrollment has nearly doubled since 1950, climbing from 31 million students to 61 million; and employment has nearly tripled from 2.2 million to 6.5 million. As a percentage of all residents of the United States, the number of students jumped from 21 percent in 1950 to 30 percent in 1971.[30]

Additional available data substantiates the role of the existing educational system as a thriving economic

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[29] Financing The Schools: What Should Be The Policy Towards Financing Elementary and Secondary Education in the United States?, (Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, July, 1972), p. 3.

[30] Ibid., p. 3. The report further compares education with other expenditures. It reports that in the fiscal year 1972, in the United States, more than 7 billion dollars was spent on public and private education than was spent on National Defense. $85.1 billion dollars (7.8 percent of the Gross National Product, representing an increase of 653 percent since 1952) was spent on Education; whereas $78 billion dollars (7.2 percent of the Gross National Product, representing an increase of only 67 percent since 1952) was spent on the National Defense.

enterprise. The United States Bureau of the Census and U.S. Office of Education have verified the fact that enrollment in the nation's schools has nearly doubled since 1950, from a previous student population of approximately 31 million to nearly 60 million in 1973.[31] (See Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix).

Furthermore, the U.S. Office of Education, has reported that school expenditures amounted to an estimated $96.3 billion in 1974, which is 7.4 percent of the Gross National Product.[32] Figure 1 is a graph of the total expenditures for education as a percentage of the gross national product 1929-1930 to 1971-1972. Figure 2 shows the growth of public and private school expenditures and enrollment, 1960-1974. (Additional data pertaining to school expenditures, enrollment, and growth are summarized in Tables 1-6 in the Appendix).

The Office of Education has stated that "the rapid rise of educational expenditures in recent years reflects the growth of the school-age population as well as the increased efforts of the Nation to provide quality education for its young people."[33] Furthermore, the Office of Education has projected that annual educational expenditures will continue to rise to an estimated $114.5 billion by 1982-1983. (See

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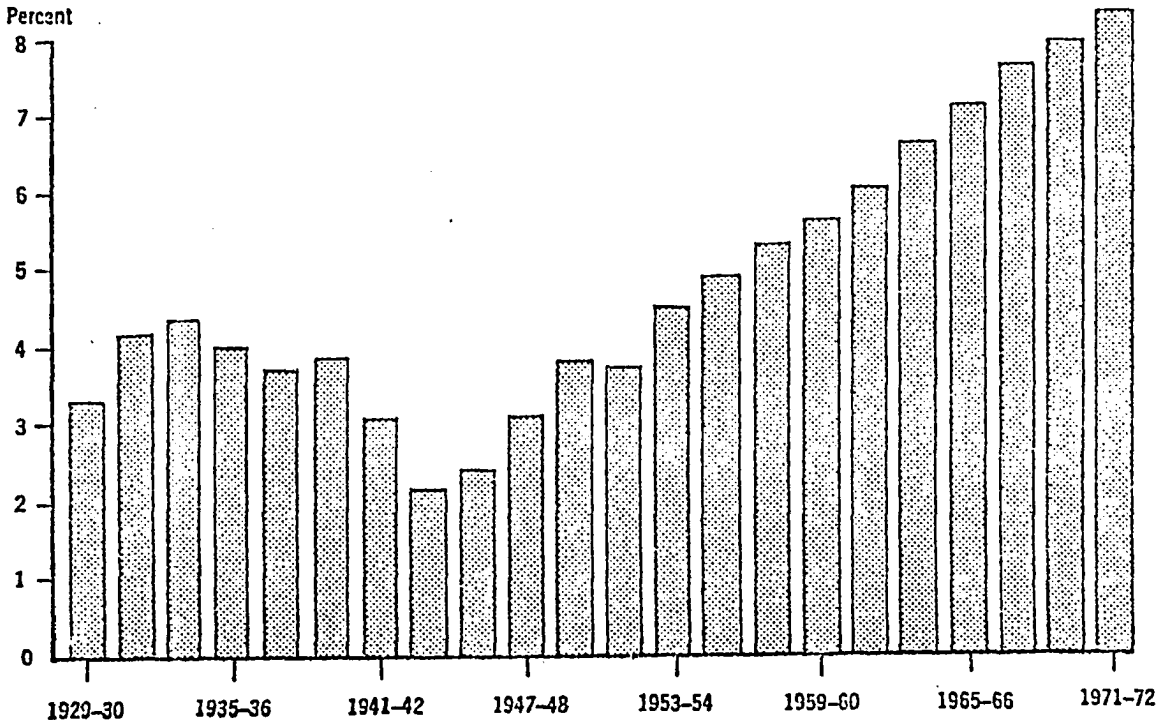
[31] Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, pp. 109-110.

[32] Ibid., p. 109.

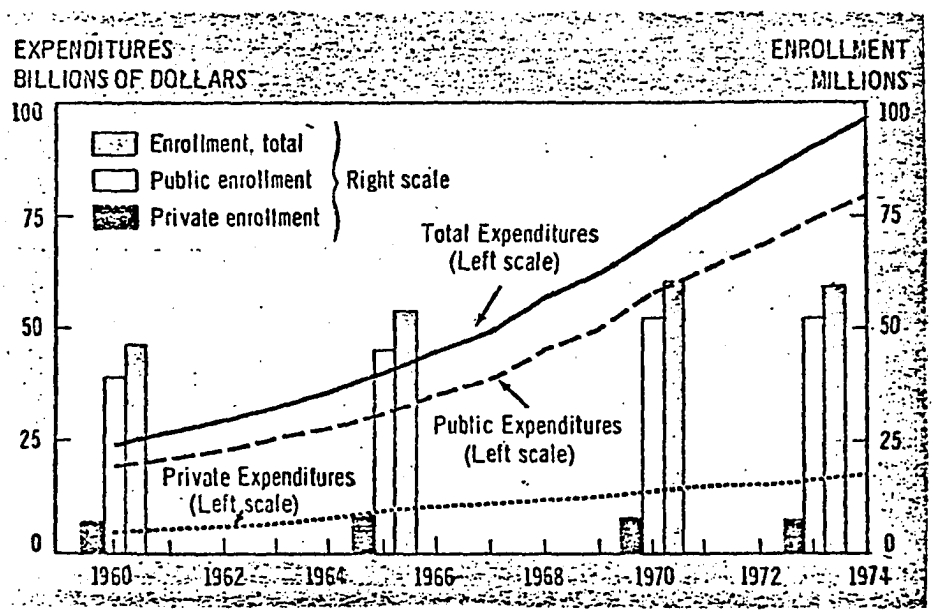
[33] Digest of Educational Statistics, p. 24.

Figure 1. Total Expenditures for Education As a Percentage of the Gross National Product: United States, 1929-1930 to 1971-1972*



*Source: Digest of Educational Statistics, 1974, p. 24.

Figure 2. Public And Private School Expenditures And Enrollment: 1960-1974*



*Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 107.

Table 6 in the Appendix).

The purpose for citing these various statistics is simply to show that in addition to being agencies of socialization, custodial care, and education, the schools function equally (if not more so) as an important economic enterprise. As Merle Curti has said, "The school structure itself has been much less the expression of humanitarianism and democracy and much more the result of, and dependent upon, dominant economic interests than is commonly supposed."[34] Here again, whereas the deschooling philosophy is unconventional, theoretical and by no means universally endorsed, the existing educational system is established, functional, and highly valued in our culture.

Deschooling vs. Social Realities

In sum, what is the most profound limitation of the deschooling concept? It is a highly utopian theory which is largely incompatible with modern-day socioeconomic realities. First, as it has been shown, there is a tremendous economic and cultural investment in the existing educational system, and it is most unlikely that deschooling will become a social reality in the near or even distant future.

Even if there were substantial interest and support

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[34]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 590.

for a deschooled society, an elaborate and comprehensive plan for the relatively smooth transition from the existing system to a deschooled society would need to be developed--at this time, no such plan exists. Finally, as Carl Bereiter has suggested, there would be no real guarantee that a deschooled society would be any less problematic and bureaucratic than the existing educational system.[35]

Ardent deschooling proponent Ivan Illich offers living proof that the deschooling philosophy is an extremely utopian theory which has limited relevance to the practicalities and realities of present day life. Illich, while propounding theories of socioeconomic revolution and radical educational reform, in actuality directs a school in Cuernavaca, Mexico, where traditional educational methodology and classroom structure are used in teaching various subjects to students from affluent American suburbs. Howard Ozmon has studied Illich's "school of deschooling," which is called The Centro Intercultural de Documentacion (CIDOC), and has described its curriculum and methods of operation.[36] The CIDOC catalog lists over one hundred courses presently being given. Current course offerings may include such diverse subjects as Mexican history, encounter games, and non-traditional educational alternatives. The most heavily enrolled courses are in

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[35]Carl Bereiter, "Must We Educate," Harvard Educational Review, XLII, No. 3 (August, 1972)

[36]Howard Ozmon, "The School of Deschooling," Phi Delta Kappan, LV, No. 3 (November, 1973), pp. 178-179.

learning Spanish, which is an intensive, six hour per day program with one instructor for every four students. All entering students must pay a registration fee of $50. Students enrolled in the Spanish language course pay $30 per week for that program, and students who wish to participate in ICLAS, "a number of free-wheeling courses strangely enough dubbed Institute Contemporary for Latin American Studies," are required to pay an additional sum (from $3. to $8. per week, depending on whether or not they are in the language program).[37] Students who have paid their ICLAS fees are entitled to attend various sessions (called "iclos"), which are held between 11 o'clock and noon each day. During these periods instructors present lectures designed to encourage students to enroll in their classes. After attending an "iclo" session if students want to pursue the subject further, they then arrange a fee with the instructor (generally ranging from $10. to $30. for a two week course) and plan to meet at regularly scheduled times.

Ozman has reported that while Illich has written extensively about the need for radical educational reform, the actual program at CIDOC is highly structured, very formal, and in fact is not very much different from a traditional university. In Ozman's words:

> The language program . . . is highly structured with students attending set classes, repeating drills, memorizing dialogues and changing teachers at the sound of a

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[37]Ibid., p. 178.

> bell. . . . Not only within the language courses, but throughout the school in general there is an aura of strictness and control. Many students who expected . . . a free and easy Summerhillian environment are surprised at the rules and regulations that exist. Students cannot . . . wander into lectures without paying, nor can they attend the "iclos" without both a registration fee and an "iclos" fee. . . . Students complained that (the language courses) consisted mostly of rote learning and that the teachers frequently become exasperated with the slowness of students in learning Spanish.
>
> Although one can understand why the language course is so formalized, he would not expect it of the ICLAS program. . . . Yet ICLAS is not as free as one might expect. . . . ICLAS courses tend to end up as either lecture or limited discussion courses.[38]

In pointing out the contradiction which seems to exist between Illich's well intentioned yet radical educational philosophy and the realities of life, Ozman has presented additional information to suggest that the deschooling philosophy has limited relevance (beyond the theoretical drawing board) to the educational crisis. Despite the imaginative visions of the deschooling philosophy, schooling in the United States of America (as well as in Cuernavaca, Mexico), appears to be a continuing fact of life.

Conclusion

In view of the tremendously important educational, social, and economic functions of the schools in American culture today, it is almost inconceivable that the existing educational system would be discontinued. The deschooling philosophy is a utopian theory which is almost totally

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[38]Ibid., pp. 178-179.

incompatible with the realities of modern day society. Even Ivan Illich, one of the most prominent supporters of the deschooling philosophy has expressed the realization that the concept of deschooling is "meant to serve a society which does not now exist."[39]

This is not to deny that the existing educational system is beset with very serious problems which require considerable amelioration. As Philip W. Jackson (a deschooling opponent who has expressed the view that the deschooling philosophy is too radical a cure for the ills of American education) has said:

> Meanwhile, back in the classroom, there is a lot of work to be done. Our inner-city schools, particularly high schools, are disaster areas; too many of our students, particularly our adolescents, are being turned off by their school experience; the bureaucratic structure of our schools . . . is more abrasive than it needs to be; our graded system is too rigid and requires loosening up; our teacher certification laws are shamefully archaic and prevent many good people from taking their place in the classroom; our schools do need to be linked more imaginatively to the communities they serve.[40]

Deschooling is not likely to become a social reality in the near or possibly even distant future. While there is some hope for deschooling to occur within the new towns that are springing up across the United States, the new towns comprise only a small percentage of children being educated in America. In order for deschooling to become a reality in

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[39]Illich, Deschooling Society, p. 105.

[40]Jackson, "Farewell To Schools--No!" in Crucial Issues in Education, p. 210.

the new communities, it is imperative that the educational programs not emulate traditional public and private school programs. The deschooling philosophy is nevertheless important however, and it serves a positive function, in that it brings attention to the rigidities and shortcomings of the existing system, and expresses the optimistic vision that through imagination and innovation, a more flexible, effective and humanistic educational consciousness may be developed.

In the following chapter a summary of the study's findings will be presented, along with some relevant recommendations for positive change.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem for this study was to critically analyze the concept of deschooling with respect to its theoretical and practical relevance as a potential solution to the educational crisis. A summary of the study's findings is presented below. The summary is followed by the study's conclusions and recommendations.

Summary

Beset by an abundance of problems, the American educational system has been and is currently being attacked on all sides, not only by radical critics, but by prominent and responsible educators and researchers as well. In the relevant literature there is a great amount of data available which supports the contention that the schools are in deep crisis. The specific problems which have been investigated in this study, that collectively, constitute the educational crisis include: (1) the inflexibility of the educational system in its maintenance of strict rules and processes which do not make sufficient allowances for a variety of individual learning needs and personality differences; (2) the overemphasis in schools on extensive instruction, and external coercion and manipulation, to the extent that the individual's self-motivated learning (for its own sake) is limited, or

denied; (3) the overemphasis on the acquisition of verbal, symbolic learning, and rote-memorization of isolated information; (4) nonmotivating teaching methods and dull and irrelevant curriculum content; (5) the failure of schools to effectively teach basic skills and traditional subject matter; (6) the lack of student involvement in making decisions regarding curriculum content and school rules; (7) the extensive encouragement of conformity and subservience to designated authority, procedures, and rules in the schools with little or no room for deviation, or for individual self-expression, creativity, or non-conformity; (7) the lack of extensive opportunities for learning and experience outside of the classroom; (8) the existence of racial discrimination throughout the educational system; (9) the creation and perpetuation of problems related to stereotyped sex-roles in the schools; (10) the lack of extensive provisions for education related to self-understanding, self-reliance, and human relations in the schools; (11) the lack of agreement between various educational philosophers, researchers, administrators and planners (not to mention parents and students), regarding educational theories, policies and practices; and (12) the vast bureaucracy of the existing educational system which makes it extremely difficult to actualize even the most brilliant and well intentioned pedagogical innovations into classroom practice.

In noting the various problems that confront the existing educational system, many educators and researchers have suggested that the schools are more harmful than they

are beneficial in terms of enhancing existence and promoting learning and creativity. On the other hand, there are educators who have suggested that the encouragement of conformity, competition, and strict academic discipline in accordance with the designated curriculum is functional and in fact necessary in preparing students for present day life as it really exists in society, outside of the school. Here again another element of the educational crisis may be seen--that is, the disagreement between educators with regard to educational philosophy and policy mentioned earlier.

Regardless of what one's own personal philosophy of education is, the fact remains that the existing educational system is beset with a great many problems. The realities of the educational system have led to an increasing discontent and sense of frustration, which in recent years has manifested itself in widespread student reaction, including sit-ins, boycotts, vandalism and violence as means of protest. It has been suggested that such demonstrations are likely to persist.

In viewing the problems and limitations of the existing educational system, a growing number of serious educational thinkers have suggested that the system as it currently exists is beyond hope. Some critics have suggested that we must look beyond reforming the schools, toward a broader, more effective, and more humane system of education. Thus the concept of deschooling society has been offered as a solution to the educational crisis.

The deschooling philosophy believes that inasmuch as the schools limit, rather than enhance the individuals existence and intellectual, creative, and humanistic growth and development, they should be discontinued as society's primary agency of education. While deschooling is thus a philosophy of negation in its condemnation of schools, it also has a positive side as well since it suggests that other, more convivial, non-compulsory alternatives for education, recreation and socialization be developed. Although the deschooling philosophy at this point in time can offer no specific comprehensive plan for the creation of a deschooled society, it does offer general guidelines for the development of alternative educational arrangements and resources. These alternatives include: (1) the development of the libraries as learning centers which offer various educational programs; (2) the development of community media centers offering access to films, records, books, videotape equipment, computers, microscopes and so forth; (3) the creation of skill development centers wherein people could learn fundamental skills such as reading, writing, basic math, typing etc.; (4) computer centers which direct people to educational resources, teachers, and peers with common learning interests; and (5) educational programs built around agencies and businesses in the community, such as museums, factories, airports, libraries, zoos, farms and so forth. It was suggested that through imagination and innovation other possibilities for educational opportunity could be designed as well by educational thinkers and planners,

The underlying idea of a deschooled society is that everyone would have free choice and unlimited access to an extensive range of non-compulsory educational opportunities and resources. In this sense, the deschooling philosophy is extremely valuable, since it offers a broader concept of education that extends beyond the confines of the schools, which may serve to stimulate the imaginations of those people who are involved in improving our educational system.

The deschooling philosophy is extremely beneficial, because it (1) identifies and brings attention to the limitations and problems which exist in schools; (2) suggests that the human being (as opposed to the process or institution), is the most important factor in the determination of educational policies; and (3) presents the idea that through imaginative innovation, a freer, more effective and humanistic educational system may be developed. However, while the deschooling philosophy is extremely thought provoking, and valuable as a theoretical pole which may serve to offset many of the rigidities of the existing system, deschooling is unlikely to become a social reality in the near or possibly even distant future.

Whereas the deschooling philosophy is extremely utopian and hypothetical, the existing educational system is established and is not only highly functional but highly valued as well. The schools are a vital part of the American culture and economy, and they serve our society in a variety of ways. For example, one extremely important factor to be considered

is the role schools play in providing children with a place "to be." That is, schools furnish our society with a functional setting where young people may interact with peers, form friendships, and channel their energies into various forms of work and play.

Schools currently provide a place where students can express their individuality, and demonstrate their creativity, ability, and talents in a variety of educational and recreational activities. Although as the relevant literature has indicated, the schools in many cases might limit the students' choice of activities and options for self-expression, there are at present few other institutions in our society to which most children would have access, which allow even an opportunity for such educational, creative, and social involvement. The importance of schools as a place to be is particularly apparent in the socioeconomically disadvantaged areas, and in neighborhoods where there are limited opportunities for children to form friendships with peers.

A deschooled society would have to undertake the monumental task of providing extensive realistic opportunities for social interaction and educational involvement which would be readily accessable to all students who would otherwise be served in this context by the schools. Again, other than some hypothetical suggestions, the deschooling philosophy at present does not have a realistic, definitive plan for the development of alternative agencies for such socialization and education.

In addition, several researchers have expressed the concern that even if the schools were discontinued and extensive alternative agencies were established in a deschooled society, these alternative learning opportunities would be noncompulsory. In terms of present day society, it is very likely that many people would simply not be self-motivated to use the various available facilities. Again, in spite of the limitations of the existing educational system, the schools provide an environment wherein learning and positive social interaction are encouraged.

Furthermore, the schools serve society in another highly valued capacity, as agencies of custodial care. In this context, schools are extremely important in our society in that they relieve the home, thus providing a form of liberation for the modern day housewife. It was suggested that the schools are highly valued as custodial agencies in that parents feel more secure knowing that their children are adequately supervised during the day. In view of the vast enrollment figures, and in light of the fact that there are at present no other institutions being developed en masse to take over this custodial function, again, there is great societal support for maintaining the schools as they currently exist.

In addition, the practical relevance of deschooling as a solution to the educational crisis is further diminished by the fact that the existing educational system is an elaborately established, extremely important part of the American

economy. Educational expenditures are by far the largest item in the budget of state and local governments. State and local governments spend approximately 40 percent of their total fiscal budgets on education. In 1974, an estimated $96.3 billion was spent on education in the United States; this was approximately 7.4 percent of the American economy's gross national product. This study noted that the "education industry" has substantially grown in past years and its continued growth in the future is very likely to prevail. Thus, in addition to being agencies of education, socialization, and custodial care, the schools are equally important as an economic enterprise. Here again, whereas the deschooling philosophy is unconventional, theoretical, and by no means universally endorsed, the existing educational system is established, functional and in fact an extremely vital part of our economy and culture.

Finally, the credibility of the deschooling philosophy is further diminished by the fact that ardent deschooling proponent Ivan Illich, while propounding theories of socioeconomic revolution and radical educational reform, in actuality directs a school in Cuernavaca, Mexico, where traditional educational methodology and classroom structure are used in teaching various courses to students from affluent American suburbs. Illich's somewhat contradictory situation simply provides additional evidence which supports the contention that deschooling has limited practical relevance beyond its theoretical value as a solution to the educational crisis.

In summary, the most profound limitation of the deschooling concept is that it is a highly utopian theory which is largely incompatible with modern-day socioeconomic realities. There is a tremendous economic and cultural investment in the existing educational system. In view of the extremely important and highly valued functions of the schools in contemporary American society, it is most unlikely that deschooling will become a social reality in the immediate or possibly even long term future.

The deschooling philosophy is nevertheless valuable, however, as a theoretical catalyst which may serve to stimulate thought and action relating to educational amelioration.

Conclusions

Based on the research of this study, the following conclusions were made:

1. Although the existing educational system is an elaborately established, and extremely important institution in our culture, it is presently beset with a great many problems and limitations, which collectively, constitute the crisis in American education.
2. In view of the tremendously important educational, social, and economic functions of the schools in contemporary American culture, deschooling is not likely to become a social reality in the immediate, or possibly even long-term future.
3. The deschooling philosophy is a highly utopian theory, which

is almost totally incompatible with present day socio-economic realities.

4. There is theoretical value in the deschooling philosophy, inasmuch as it (a) identifies and brings attention to the specific problems and limitations which exist in the schools; and (b) offers a hypothetical alternative which stimulates the imagination and provokes thought related to educational amelioration.
5. Since deschooling is unlikely to become an actual social reality, it would be more productive to think in terms of continuing reformation and improvement within the structures of the existing system, aimed at the development of a more flexible, human-being oriented educational system, which would allow the individual a freer choice among a wider range of educational opportunities and alternatives.

Recommendations

Whether or not one chooses to work toward the elimination of the schools in meeting the educational crisis is a matter of personal choice. However, in the meantime the schools currently do exist, and unless considerable improvements are brought about they will most likely continue to function in the future as they have in the past.

The problems which exist in our educational system are extremely perplexing; it would be highly presumptuous for this writer to claim that he has any "sure-fire" ultimate solutions.

However, based on the study's findings, the following thirteen recommendations are offered for consideration:

1. Educators, administrators, students, and anyone else who is involved in the field of education should seriously consider the various problems which presently exist within our educational system, and do whatever they can--wherever they can--to generate positive change.
2. A more positive attitude toward children (that is, the realization of children as human beings; and the appreciation of childhood as a most important time in human existence) should be nourished, both in teacher education programs and in the schools themselves. Extensive, easily understandable literature, emphasizing various aspects of child development, the importance of childhood, and the child's perspective as a human being should be continually disseminated in education classes and in the schools. Children of all ages, from various schools in the community, should be encouraged to attend teacher education courses, in order to provide greater insights into the child's perspective of the educational system. Furthermore, prospective teachers should be encouraged to interact regularly with students of all ages in actual classroom settings in the community. Researchers might even investigate the feasibility of using prospective teachers as para-professionals to work in various learning situations in community schools, under the guidance and direction of

classroom teachers. This would not only provide situations where future teachers could interact with students, but it would reduce the high student-to-teacher ratio which currently exists in most school classrooms. In addition, workshops and siminars for in-service teachers, sponsored by school boards and colleges of education, should be held regularly to emphasize sensitivity to the needs of children, and the child's basic human rights. Here again, students from various grade levels might participate in these seminars to provide feedback regarding their individual perspectives.

3. The concept of mutual respect between teachers and students should be emphasized, both in teacher education programs and in the schools. Both students and teachers are people who should relate to one another at the human level, rather than merely from behind their designated roles. Open communication between teachers and students should be continually promoted at all levels of the educational system. Here too, workshops and seminars wherein educators, administrators, and students have the opportunity to express themselves, and learn more effective ways of communicating with others, would be helpful.
4. Additional ways in which the most positive human relations might be fostered and promoted throughout the educational system should be continually investigated and pursued by researchers, educators and others who have positive contributions to offer.

5. Students should be given the opportunity to participate in the determination of curriculum content and school rules. Educators and administrators should attempt to arrange school programs in such a manner as to allow extensive opportunities for students to be involved in activities which meet the student's individual interests and needs. Students should be allowed a freer hand in choosing from among a wide range of educational alternatives, what they wish to learn. A contract system, whereby students sign up to participate in various learning and recreational activities might work well in this regard, and its feasibility should be studied. Researchers, planners and administrators should study other plans which might be implemented in the schools, which offer students greater latitude in the determination of their own individual educational programs. Classes which offer extensive opportunities for creative participation and self-expression (art, music, drama, discussion groups) should be included in the curriculum, and should be readily available to students. Opportunities for relaxation and socialization (i.e., lounges, snack bars, and television, as well as game rooms) should be provided in the schools, and students should be free to go to these various areas whenever they are not involved in classes.
6. Arbitrary school rules and rigid authoritarian discipline for their own sake should be gradually replaced by an emphasis on self-discipline, based on the encouragement

of mutual respect for the rights of other human beings, and the individual's participation in worthwhile, meaningful activities of their own choosing.

7. The overemphasis on grades, and other forms of external coercion should be gradually replaced by an emphasis on self-motivated learning for its own sake, based on the interests of individual students. In this way fear of failure or rejection by a student who is slow to comprehend a subject would be superseded by the student's heightened self concept and feeling of accomplishment, when he masters a skill or subject which he is interested in.

8. Excessive competition in classroom learning situations (i.e., extensive competition among students for teacher approval, high grades, etc.) should be reduced or eliminated. Instead, helping relationships among students should be encouraged by the teacher. For example, students who have mastered certain basic skills could help other students to do the same. This would not only give the helping student a sense of satisfaction and recognition in being able to help another peer, but it would also provide the necessary help for the student requiring it, and it would free the teacher to help other students who actually require the teacher's attention. The most important aspect though is to promote a spirit of cooperation, rather than competition (which should be relegated to athletics, recreational games, etc.) in the

various learning situations in the schools.

9. Educational researchers should continue to study the most effective and humane teaching methodology and theories of learning, and disseminate their findings in teacher education classes and among teachers in the schools, in an effort to provide students with the most adequate educational opportunities.

10. Extensive investigation and experimentation should be conducted relating to the educational value and application of various non-intellectual, transcendental forms and processes of meditation, self integration, and unification. Perhaps this requires elaboration. William James, in his Varieties of Religious Experience said that our normal waking consciousness is only one way of perceiving reality. In James' words:

> Our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness as we call it, is but one special type of consciousness, whilst all about it, parted from it by the filmiest of screens, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different . . . they forbid a premature closing of our accounts with reality.[1]

In recent years various researchers, including David Cole Gordon[2] and Andrew Weil,[3] have concluded that the desire

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[1]William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, (New York: Random House, 1902), pp. 378-379.

[2]David Cole Gordon, Self-Love, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 48-49.

[3]Andrew Weil, The Natural Mind, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1972), pp. 19-21.

to transcend mundane reality and achieve altered states of consciousness, wherein the individual is unified in mind and body and at peace with the world, is a natural human drive. Spontaneous play in younger children, various forms of meditation, and activities related to rhythm and music are among the ways in which these unified, altered states of consciousness may be realized. There is at the present time at least some evidence to suggest that the attainment of altered states of consciousness has positive educational application. For example, Francis Driscoll, Superintendent of Schools, Eastchester, New York, has reported positive results in using one meditative technique, Transcendental Meditation (TM), as an adjunct to the high school curriculum.[4] Driscoll concluded that transcendental meditation was "of direct and positive help to students," since "scholastic grades improve, relationships with family, teachers and peers are better, and very significantly, drug abuse disappears or does not begin."[5] Educators and researchers should study transcendental meditation, as well as other forms and activities related to unification, transcendence, and alternate states of consciousness with respect to their potential educational value and application.

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[4]Francis Driscoll, "TM As A Secondary School Subject," Phi Delta Kappan, LIV, No. 4 (December, 1972) pp. 236-237.

[5]Ibid., p. 237.

11. Furthermore, educators should continually attempt to maintain a good sense of humor. Students at all levels of education appreciate a humorous anecdote which serves either to illustrate a particular point, or simply to relieve any tension which might exist in the classroom. It is felt that a good sense of humor would also serve to reinforce a positive learning environment, and maintain the interest of students. For example, at the University of California recently a comedy writer from N.B.C.--T.V., who writes for the Johnny Carson Show, was hired by U.S.C. Dean Donald Lewis to write jokes for professors to use in their lecture courses, in an effort to "lure (apathetic) students back into the lecture halls and make them more attentive."[6] In the case of one professor of psychology, who was rated "one of the worst" by his classes, the gags which were infused into his lecture met with an overwhelmingly positive student response. Of course, the important point is not that educators continually attempt to be uproariously funny, but rather that the spirit in which something is taught is equally as important as the subject itself; teachers should attempt to promote good will and good humor in their classes.
12. Educational programs, built around agencies and functions in the local community (i.e., libraries, museums, businesses, factories and so forth), should be developed

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[6]"Heeere's The Prof . . . ," Time, December 2, 1974, p. 92.

in conjunction with the school curriculum, in an attempt at enhancing the experience of students and linking the educational system with the real lives (and possible futures) of students. The details for the development of such programs should be studied by educational planners and administrators in an effort to create the best possible programs.

13. Finally, continuing research should be conducted that studies (a) the progress toward amelioration which the schools are making; and (b) other non-traditional educational alternatives which might be of either theoretical or practical value to the educational system.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

Direct Expenditures of State And Local Governments For All Functions And For Education, By Per Capita Amount And Percent Of Per Capita Income*

State	Per capita personal income 1970	Direct general expenditures. 1970-71			
		All functions		Education	
		Amount per capita	Percent of per capita income[1]	Amount per capita	Percent of per capita income[1]
1	2	3	4	5	6
United States...	$3,933	$730.52	18.6	$288.05	7.3
Alabama.....	2,876	564.36	19.6	217.54	7.6
Alaska.....	4,586	1,827.52	39.8	643.39	14.0
Arizona.....	3,620	704.02	19.4	328.32	9.1
Arkansas.....	2,864	507.95	17.7	186.35	6.5
California.....	4,444	916.32	20.6	309.15	7.0
Colorado.....	3,831	728.43	19.0	336.39	8.8
Connecticut.....	4,817	789.82	16.4	293.38	6.1
Delaware.....	4,353	921.28	21.2	440.50	10.1
District of Columbia.....	5,466	1,233.51	22.6	304.97	5.6
Florida.....	3,664	613.34	16.7	251.87	6.9
Georgia.....	3,354	615.58	18.4	245.15	7.3
Hawaii.....	4,557	1,126.21	24.7	368.29	8.1
Idaho.....	3,264	639.24	17.9	251.51	7.7
Illinois.....	4,486	711.16	18.8	297.09	6.6
Indiana.....	3,787	580.79	15.3	295.28	7.8
Iowa.....	3,750	690.33	18.4	331.11	8.8
Kansas.....	3,918	645.78	16.5	285.16	7.3
Kentucky.....	3,099	576.83	18.6	233.77	7.5
Louisiana.....	3,054	677.88	22.2	237.77	7.8
Maine.....	3,242	646.23	19.9	250.69	7.7
Maryland.....	4,287	779.57	18.2	324.06	7.6
Massachusetts...	4,343	782.72	18.0	255.66	5.9
Michigan.....	4,133	757.00	18.3	337.07	8.2
Minnesota.....	3,855	805.86	20.9	378.99	9.8
Mississippi.....	2,597	594.54	22.9	217.20	8.4
Missouri.....	3,713	606.48	16.3	241.83	6.5
Montana.....	3,444	753.78	21.9	313.94	9.1

TABLE 1--Continued

State	Per capita personal income 1970	Direct general expenditures, 1970-71: All functions — Amount per capita	All functions — Percent of per capita income[1]	Education — Amount per capita	Education — Percent of per capita income[1]
1	2	3	4	5	6
Nebraska.....	3,792	648.51	17.1	277.45	7.3
Nevada.....	4,552	956.31	21.0	271.51	6.0
New Hampshire...	3,620	615.44	17.0	249.38	6.9
New Jersey.....	4,577	711.42	15.5	281.13	6.1
New Mexico.....	3,127	716.72	22.9	337.98	10.8
New York.....	4,731	1,075.49	22.7	355.77	7.5
North Carolina..	3,218	527.32	16.4	236.17	7.3
North Dakota....	3,069	725.88	23.7	310.44	10.1
Ohio.....	3,977	584.39	14.7	243.32	6.1
Oklahoma.....	3,332	623.00	18.7	241.61	7.3
Oregon.....	3,718	756.33	20.3	324.25	8.7
Pennsylvania....	3,942	680.72	17.3	270.55	6.9
Rhode Island....	3,918	687.35	17.5	272.77	7.0
South Carolina..	2,933	501.42	15.8	228.64	7.8
South Dakota....	3,164	724.42	22.9	338.91	10.7
Tennessee.....	3,075	569.53	18.5	214.87	7.0
Texas.....	3,573	563.73	15.8	246.67	6.9
Utah.....	3,221	677.19	21.0	343.09	10.7
Vermont.....	3,448	840.25	24.4	315.16	9.1
Virginia.....	3,650	592.86	16.2	261.82	7.2
Washington.....	3,984	879.57	22.1	374.60	9.4
West Virginia...	3,034	634.46	20.9	238.53	7.9
Wisconsin.....	3,712	763.72	20.6	349.25	9.4
Wyoming.....	3,674	939.64	25.6	400.52	10.9

[1]Percentages were computed by the Office of Education.

*Source: Digest of Educational Statistics, 1974, p. 27.

TABLE 2

School Enrollment, By Type of School: 1930-1971*

(In thousands. Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Beginning 1964, data as of fall of preceding year)

Item	1930	1940	1950	1960	1964	1966	1970	1971
Total.....	29,652	29,751	31,319	45,228	51,191	54,306	58,766	59,138
Kindergarten[1]....	786	661	1,175	2,293	2,555	2,493	2,821	2,770
Public[1].....	723	595	1,034	1,923	2,132	2,262	2,601	2,559
Nonpublic[1].....	54	57	[2] 133	[2] 354	404	212	[3] 200	[4] 191
Grades 1-8[5].....	22,953	20,466	21,032	30,119	32,147	33,266	34,290	34,078
Public[1].....	20,555	18,237	18,353	25,679	27,172	28,315	29,996	30,018
Nonpublic[1].....	2,255	2,096	[3] 2,575	[3] 4,286	4,796	4,763	[3] 4,100	[4] 3,865
Residential schools for exceptional children[6].....	[7] 124	56	[8] 49	[9] 59	75	[3] 85	[3] 87	[3] 87
Federal schools for Indians.....	19	17	20	25	29	32	34	34
Federal schools on Federal installations.....	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	19	28	29	[3] 33	33
Grades 9-12[5].....	4,812	7,130	6,453	9,600	12,255	13,021	14,518	14,744
Public high schools[1]	4,399	6,601	5,725	8,485	10,883	11,597	13,022	13,332
Nonpublic high schools[1].....	341	458	[3] 672	[3] 1,035	1,287	1,329	[3] 1,400	[4] 1,314
Residential schools for exceptional children[6].....	[7] 4	10	[8] 10	[9] 24	31	[3] 35	[3] 37	[3] 39
Federal schools for Indians.....	8	7	8	12	13	14	12	12
Federal schools on Federal installations.....	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1	2	[3] 3	[3] 3	[3] 3
Higher education[1]...	1,101	1,491	2,659	3,216	4,234	5,526	7,136	7,545
Publicly controlled.	533	797	1,355	1,832	2,633	3,624	5,112	5,477
Privately controlled	568	698	1,304	1,384	1,601	1,902	2,024	2,068

TABLE 2--Continued

School Enrollment: By Type of School: 1930-1971*

NA Not available.
[1]Excludes subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education, residential schools for exceptional children, and Federal schools, except that, for kindergarten, available data are included in the totals.
[2]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, series P-20.
[3]Estimated.
[4]Includes estimates for nonreporting schools.
[5]Includes subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education, not shown separately.
[6]Schools for the blind, deaf, mentally deficient, epileptic, and delinquent.
[7]1927 data
[8]1946 data
[9]Estimate based on 1958 survey.

*Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 109.

TABLE 3

Enrollment In Public And Private Schools: 1960-1973*

(In millions of persons 3 to 34 years of age, except as noted. As of October. Elementary includes grades 1-8; high school, grades 9-12 and postgraduates. See headnote, table 169)

Level	1960[1]			1970			1972			1973		
	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private
Total	46.3	39.0	7.2	60.4	52.2	8.1	60.1	52.1	8.1	59.4	51.6	7.8
Nursery.....	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1.1	.3	.8	1.3	.4	.9	1.3	.4	.9
Kindergarten	2.1	1.7	.4	3.2	2.6	.5	3.1	2.6	.5	3.1	2.6	.5
Elementary...	30.3	25.8	4.5	34.0	30.0	3.9	32.2	28.7	3.5	31.5	28.2	3.3
High school..	10.2	9.2	1.0	14.7	13.5	1.2	15.2	14.0	1.2	15.3	14.2	1.2
College.....	3.6	2.3	1.3	7.4	5.7	1.7	8.3	6.3	2.0	8.2	6.2	2.0

NA Not available

[1]Data are for persons 5 to 34 years of age.

*Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 110.

TABLE 4

School Expenditures; Public and Private, By Type Of Control And Level Of Instruction: 1930-1974*

(In billions of dollars, except percent. Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Estimates for school years ending in year shown; data for 1972-1974 are projections)

CONTROL AND LEVEL	1930	1940	1950	1960	1966	1970	1971	1972 est.	1973 est.	1974 est.
Total[1]	3.23	[2] 3.20	[2] 8.80	[3] 24.7	45.2	70.2	76.3	83.3	89.5	96.3
Percent of gross national product	3.1	3.5	3.4	5.1	6.6	7.5	7.8	7.9	7.7	7.4
Current expenditures and interest	2.70	2.83	7.23	20.6	37.6	60.0	66.4	73.5	79.2	85.2
Capital outlay or plant expansion	.53	.37	1.57	4.1	7.6	9.6	9.9	9.8	10.3	11.1
Public	2.66	2.70	7.06	19.4	35.3	56.8	62.2	68.2	73.3	79.0
Percent of total	82.1	84.3	80.2	78.7	78.1	80.9	81.5	81.9	81.9	82.0
Current expenditures and interest	2.23	2.38	5.77	[4] 16.1	29.4	49.0	54.0	60.0	64.8	69.8
Elementary and secondary	2.00	2.10	4.87	13.0	22.7	36.3	39.4	43.7	47.1	50.6
Higher	.24	.27	.90	3.1	6.7	12.7	14.6	16.3	17.7	19.2
Capital outlay or plant expansion	.42	.32	1.29	[4] 3.3	5.9	7.8	8.2	8.2	8.5	9.2
Elementary and secondary	.37	.26	1.01	2.7	3.8	4.7	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.4
Higher	.05	.06	.28	.6	2.1	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.5	3.8
Private	.58	.50	1.74	5.3	9.9	13.4	14.1	15.1	16.2	17.3
Current expenditures and interest	.47	.46	1.46	4.5	8.2	11.6	12.4	13.5	14.4	15.4
Elementary and secondary	.20	.21	.65	2.0	3.0	4.0	4.2	4.6	4.9	5.1
Higher	.27	.25	.81	2.5	5.2	7.6	8.2	8.9	9.5	10.3
Capital outlay or plant expansion	.11	.05	.28	.8	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.9
Elementary and secondary	.04	.03	.14	.4	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5
Higher	.07	.02	.14	.4	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.4

Table 4--Continued

School Expenditures; Public and Private, By Type
Of Control And Level Of Insturction: 1930-1974*

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[1]Excludes expenditures for schools of nursing not affiliated with colleges and universities.
[2]Excludes higher education current expenditures for auxiliary enterprises and other noneducational current-fund expenditures.
[3]Excludes expenditures for residential schools for exceptional children.
[4]Includes expenditures for Federal schools for Indians and Federal schools on Federal installtions that are excluded from breakdown.

*Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 109.

TABLE 5

School Expenditures; Public And Private, By Source Of Funds: 1960-1974*

(Estimates for school years ending in year shown)

ITEM	TOTAL (bil. dol.)							PERCENT						
	1960	1966	1970	1971 est.	1972 est.	1973 est.	1974 est.	1960	1966	1970	1971 est.	1972 est.	1973 est.	1974 est.
Total.....	24.7	45.2	70.0	76.3	83.3	89.5	96.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	1.7	5.1	7.7	8.3	9.0	9.5	9.6	6.9	11.3	11.0	10.9	10.8	10.6	10.0
State.....	7.2	13.1	22.5	24.7	27.4	29.8	32.3	29.1	29.0	32.1	32.4	32.9	33.3	33.5
Local.....	9.7	15.0	21.9	24.0	25.9	27.5	29.9	39.3	33.2	31.3	31.4	31.1	30.7	31.1
All other..	6.1	12.0	17.9	19.3	21.0	22.7	24.5	24.7	26.5	25.6	25.3	25.2	25.4	25.4
Public.....	19.7	35.3	56.6	62.2	68.2	73.3	79.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	1.2	3.7	6.0	6.6	7.2	7.7	7.7	6.1	10.5	10.6	10.6	10.6	10.5	9.8
State.....	7.2	13.0	22.4	24.6	27.3	29.6	32.1	36.6	36.8	39.6	39.6	40.0	40.4	40.6
Local.....	9.7	15.0	21.8	23.9	25.8	27.4	29.8	49.2	42.5	38.5	38.4	37.8	37.4	37.7
All other..	1.6	3.6	6.4	7.1	7.9	8.6	9.8	8.1	10.2	11.3	11.4	11.6	11.7	11.9
Private....	5.0	9.9	13.4	14.1	15.1	16.2	17.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	10.0	14.1	12.7	12.1	11.9	11.1	11.0
State.....	(z)	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2	(z)	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.1
Local.....	(z)	(z)	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	(z)	(z)	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6
All Other..	4.5	8.4	11.5	12.2	13.1	14.1	15.1	90.0	84.9	85.9	86.5	86.7	87.1	87.3
Elementary and secondary schools[1]...	18.0	30.0	45.3	49.2	53.8	57.5	61.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	.7	2.2	3.6	4.0	4.5	4.8	4.6	3.9	7.3	7.9	8.1	8.4	8.3	7.5
State.....	5.6	9.6	16.1	17.5	19.4	21.0	22.8	31.1	32.0	35.5	35.6	36.0	36.5	37.0
Local.....	9.5	14.6	21.0	22.9	24.7	26.2	28.5	52.8	48.7	46.4	46.5	45.9	45.6	46.3
All other..	2.2	3.6	4.6	4.8	5.2	5.5	5.7	12.2	12.0	10.2	9.8	9.7	9.6	9.2
Public.....	15.9	26.5	40.8	44.5	48.7	52.1	56.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	.7	2.2	3.6	4.0	4.5	4.8	4.6	4.6	8.3	8.8	8.7	9.3	9.2	8.2
State.....	5.6	9.6	16.1	17.5	19.4	21.0	22.8	35.4	36.2	39.5	39.4	39.8	40.3	40.8
Local.....	9.5	14.6	21.0	22.9	24.7	26.2	28.5	59.6	55.1	51.5	51.7	50.7	50.3	50.8
All other..	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	0.4	6.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Private, all other.	2.1	3.5	4.5	4.7	5.1	5.4	5.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 5--Continued

School Expenditures: Public And Private, By Source Of Funds: 1960-1974*

(Estimates for school years ending in year shown)

ITEM	TOTAL (bil. dol.)							PERCENT						
	1960	1966	1970	1971 est.	1972 est.	1973 est.	1974 est.	1960	1966	1970	1971 est.	1972 est.	1973 est.	1974 est.
Institutions of higher education..	6.7	15.2	24.7	27.1	29.5	32.0	34.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	1.0	2.9	4.1	4.3	4.5	4.7	5.0	14.9	19.1	16.6	15.9	15.2	14.6	14.4
State.....	1.6	3.5	6.4	7.2	8.0	8.8	9.5	23.9	23.0	25.9	26.5	27.1	27.4	27.4
Local.....	.2	.4	.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	3.0	2.6	3.6	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.0
All other..	3.9	8.4	13.3	14.5	15.8	17.2	18.8	58.2	55.3	53.9	53.5	53.6	53.9	54.2
Public.....	3.8	8.8	15.8	17.7	19.5	21.2	23.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	.5	1.5	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.1	14.9	17.6	15.0	14.5	14.1	13.7	13.3
State.....	1.6	3.4	6.3	7.1	7.9	8.6	9.3	41.4	38.4	40.0	40.4	40.4	40.4	40.4
Local.....	.2	.4	.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	4.6	4.1	5.1	5.4	5.5	5.7	5.8
All other..	1.5	3.5	6.3	7.0	7.8	8.5	9.3	39.1	39.9	39.9	39.7	40.0	40.2	40.5
Private....	2.9	6.4	8.9	9.4	10.0	10.8	11.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Federal....	.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	17.0	22.1	18.8	18.3	17.6	16.9	16.2
State.....	(z)	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8
Local.....	(z)	(z)	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9
All other..	2.4	4.9	7.0	7.5	8.0	8.7	9.5	18.3	76.3	78.9	79.3	79.9	80.4	18.1

Z Less than $50 million or less than 0.05 per cent.
[1]Includes residential schools for exceptional children, Federal schools for Indians, and federally operated elementary and secondary schools on military posts.

*Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974. p. 110.

TABLE 6

Expenditures (1972-1973 dollars) of regular Educational Institutions, by Instructional Level and Institutional Control: United States, 1962-1963 to 1982-1983*

(In billions of 1972-1973 dollars)

Year and control	Total (all levels)	Elementary and secondary schools[1] (nonpublic school expenditures estimated on the basis of expenditures per teacher in public schools)				Institutions of higher education[2]		
		Total	Current expenditures[3]	Capital outlay[4]	Interest[5]	Total	Current expenditures[6]	Capital outlay[7]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1962–63:								
Total	$48.6	$33.0	$26.2	$5.8	$1.0	$15.6	$10.8	$4.8
Public	38.0	29.1	23.1	5.1	0.9	8.9	5.9	3.0
Nonpublic	10.6	3.9	3.1	0.7	0.1	6.7	4.9	1.8
1963–64:								
Total	52.4	35.7	28.1	6.5	1.1	16.7	12.2	4.5
Public	41.0	31.5	24.8	5.7	1.0	9.5	6.7	2.8
Nonpublic	11.4	4.2	3.3	0.8	0.1	7.2	5.5	1.7
1964–65:								
Total	57.6	38.7	30.1	7.5	1.1	18.9	13.9	5.0
Public	44.7	34.2	26.6	6.6	1.0	10.5	7.7	2.8
Nonpublic	12.9	4.5	3.5	0.9	0.1	8.4	6.2	2.2
1965–66:								
Total	63.1	41.5	33.1	7.2	1.2	21.6	16.1	5.5
Public	49.3	36.8	29.3	6.4	1.1	12.5	9.0	3.5
Nonpublic	13.8	4.7	3.8	0.8	0.1	9.1	7.1	2.0
1966–67:								
Total	67.5	43.4	34.7	7.3	1.4	24.1	17.7	6.4
Public	53.0	38.5	30.8	6.5	1.2	14.5	10.3	4.2
Nonpublic	14.5	4.9	3.9	0.8	0.2	9.6	7.4	2.2
1967–68:								
Total	74.6	48.3	39.5	7.4	1.4	26.3	19.9	6.4
Public	59.3	43.0	35.2	6.6	1.2	16.3	12.1	4.2
Nonpublic	15.3	5.3	4.3	0.8	0.2	10.0	7.8	2.2
1968–69:								
Total	76.3	48.7	40.0	7.4	1.3	27.6	21.5	6.1
Public	61.4	43.6	35.8	6.6	1.2	17.8	13.2	4.6
Nonpublic	14.9	5.1	4.2	0.8	0.1	9.8	8.3	1.5
1969–70:								
Total	81.8	53.0	44.7	6.9	1.4	28.8	23.0	5.8
Public	66.3	47.8	40.3	6.2	1.3	18.5	14.4	4.1
Nonpublic	15.5	5.2	4.4	0.7	0.1	10.3	8.6	1.7
1970–71:								
Total	83.2	53.4	45.2	6.7	1.5	29.8	24.5	5.3
Public	67.9	48.4	40.9	6.1	1.4	19.5	15.7	3.8
Nonpublic	15.3	5.0	4.3	0.6	0.1	10.3	8.8	1.5

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 6--CONTINUED

Expenditures (1972-1973 dollars) of regular Educational Institutions, by Instructional Level and Institutional Control: United States, 1962-1963 to 1982-1983*

(In billions of 1972-1973 dollars)

Year and control	Total (all levels)	Elementary and secondary schools[1] (nonpublic school expenditures estimated on the basis of expenditures per teacher in public schools)				Institutions of higher education[2]		
		Total	Current expenditures[3]	Capital outlay[4]	Interest[5]	Total	Current expenditures[6]	Capital outlay[7]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1971–72:								
Total	$86.8	$55.9	$47.9	$6.1	$1.9	$30.9	$26.2	$4.7
Public	71.1	50.7	43.5	5.5	1.7	20.4	17.0	3.4
Nonpublic	15.7	5.2	4.4	0.6	0.2	10.5	9.2	1.3
1972–73:								
Total	89.2	57.2	49.9	5.5	1.8	32.0	27.2	4.8
Public	73.1	51.9	45.3	5.0	1.6	21.2	17.7	3.5
Nonpublic	16.1	5.3	4.6	0.5	0.2	10.8	9.5	1.3
	PROJECTED							
1973–74:								
Total	91.9	58.7	51.3	5.5	1.9	33.2	28.3	4.9
Public	75.4	53.4	46.7	5.0	1.7	22.0	18.4	3.6
Nonpublic	16.5	5.3	4.6	0.5	0.2	11.2	9.9	1.3
1974–75:								
Total	94.5	60.1	52.6	5.5	2.0	34.4	29.5	4.9
Public	77.5	54.7	47.9	5.0	1.8	22.8	19.2	3.6
Nonpublic	17.0	5.4	4.7	0.5	0.2	11.6	10.3	1.3
1975–76:								
Total	97.6	61.7	54.2	5.5	2.0	35.9	30.9	5.0
Public	80.0	56.2	49.4	5.0	1.8	23.8	20.1	3.7
Nonpublic	17.6	5.5	4.8	0.5	0.2	12.1	10.8	1.3
1976–77:								
Total	100.5	63.2	55.6	5.5	2.1	37.3	32.2	5.1
Public	82.4	57.6	50.7	5.0	1.9	24.8	21.0	3.8
Nonpublic	18.1	5.6	4.9	0.5	0.2	12.5	11.2	1.3
1977–78:								
Total	103.4	64.5	56.8	5.5	2.2	38.9	33.7	5.2
Public	84.7	58.8	51.8	5.0	2.0	25.9	22.0	3.9
Nonpublic	18.7	5.7	5.0	0.5	0.2	13.0	11.7	1.3
1978–79:								
Total	105.6	65.2	57.5	5.5	2.2	40.4	35.1	5.3
Public	86.4	59.5	52.5	5.0	2.0	26.9	22.9	4.0
Nonpublic	19.2	5.7	5.0	0.5	0.2	13.5	12.2	1.3
1979–80:								
Total	107.8	66.2	58.4	5.5	2.3	41.6	36.2	5.4
Public	88.1	60.4	53.3	5.0	2.1	27.7	23.7	4.0
Nonpublic	19.7	5.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	13.9	12.5	1.4
1980–81:								
Total	110.1	67.5	59.6	5.5	2.4	42.6	37.3	5.3
Public	89.9	61.5	54.3	5.0	2.2	28.4	24.4	4.0
Nonpublic	20.2	6.0	5.3	0.5	0.2	14.2	12.9	1.3

TABLE 6--CONTINUED

Expenditures (1972-1973 dollars) of regular Educational Institutions, by Instructional Level and Institutional Control: United States, 1962-1963 to 1982-1983*

(In billions of 1972-1973 dollars)**

Year and control	Total (all levels)	Elementary and secondary schools[1] (nonpublic school expenditures estimated on the basis of expenditures per teacher in public schools)				Institutions of higher education[2]		
		Total	Current expenditures[3]	Capital outlay[4]	Interest[5]	Total	Current expenditures[6]	Capital outlay[7]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1981–82:								
Total	$112.4	$68.9	$60.9	$5.5	$2.5	$43.5	$38.2	$5.3
Public	91.8	62.8	55.5	5.0	2.3	29.0	25.0	4.0
Nonpublic	20.6	6.1	5.4	0.5	0.2	14.5	13.2	1.3
1982–83:								
Total	114.5	70.4	62.4	5.5	2.5	44.1	38.8	5.3
Public	93.5	64.1	56.8	5.0	2.3	29.4	25.4	4.0
Nonpublic	21.0	6.3	5.6	0.5	0.2	14.7	13.4	1.3

[1] Excludes expenditures for residential schools for exceptional children, subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education, Federal schools for Indians, and federally operated schools on Federal installations. See text table on expenditures by source of funds for data on these schools. All nonpublic elementary and secondary school expenditures shown here are estimated on the basis of expenditures per teacher in public elementary and secondary schools.

[2] Includes expenditures for subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education, estimated at $90 million in 1972–73. Includes expenditures for interest paid from plant funds. (An estimated $275 million was expended for total interest in 1972–73.)

[3] Includes current expenditures of public elementary and secondary school systems for community services, summer schools, community colleges, and adult education.

[4] Includes capital outlay of State and local school building authorities.

[5] Interest for nonpublic schools is based on interest for public schools.

[6] Includes expenditures for interest from current funds. Excludes expenditures from current funds for capital outlay.

[7] The estimated annual capital outlay data shown here include estimated expenditures for replacement and rehabilitation.

NOTE.—Data are for 50 States and the District of Columbia.

*Source: Projections of Educational Statistics to 1982-1983, 1974, pp. 89-91.

**Figures are projected.

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