Seymour Fox

Visions In Action

Selected Writings

Edited by
Jonathan Cohen

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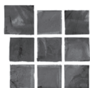

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About the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation

Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel founded the Mandel Foundation in 1953 in their hometown of Cleveland, Ohio. The work of the Foundation is grounded in the belief that exceptional leaders, inspired by powerful ideas, are key to improving society and the lives of people around the world. The Mandel Foundation has identified five areas of engagement that influence its decisions for giving, which include:

Promoting leadership development, with the aim of producing outstanding leaders for the educational and social sectors.

Fostering excellence in the management of non-profit and public sector institutions, which are indispensable vehicles of social improvement.

Strengthening Jewish education and Jewish studies, with the aim of helping successive generations of Jews to discover the richness of the Jewish cultural and religious heritage and build and sustain vibrant Jewish communities in Israel and the United States.

Enhancing the humanities in higher education, with the aim of cultivating leaders and citizens whose deliberations are creative, disciplined, and humane.

Supporting urban renewal and community development, as an expression of our commitment to just, inclusive, and democratic societies.

The Normative and the Deliberative Sensibility in the Writings of Seymour Fox: An Introduction

Jonathan Cohen

Prof. Seymour Fox was one of the foremost Jewish educational pioneers of the 20th century.[1] The institutions and programs in which he played a leading role — the Teachers Institute and Melton Research Center at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), the School of Education and the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Ramah Camps, the Mandel Leadership Institute, and many others — continue to exert a lasting influence on the leadership, content and quality of general and Jewish education in Israel and the Diaspora. Prof. Fox was first and foremost a builder of vision-driven educational institutions, the kind of leader who accompanied the projects he founded from conception through to realization. He was, however, also a prominent professor of education at both JTS and the Hebrew University, a specialist in curriculum theory who trained generations of curriculum writers and project coordinators. His advanced students in the area of curriculum theory themselves went on to be academic figures in their own right at Israeli and American universities. Those who knew Seymour well could observe the manner in which the entrepreneurial and the professorial in him constantly influenced each other and

1 For a biography of Prof. Seymour Fox, see Nisan, Mordecai and Schremer, Oded, eds., *Educational Deliberations: Studies in Education Dedicated to Shlomo (Seymour) Fox* (Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House and Mandel Leadership Institute, 2005), pp. xi–xv.

reinforced each other. This should be borne in mind when reading the entries in this anthology. Looked at from the "theoretical" side, Fox's writings bespeak a personal **engagement** with ideas and their implementation. From a "practical" perspective, they represent highly sophisticated **reflections-in-action** on the actual conduct of educational innovation.

The compilation and ordering of the writings of Prof. Seymour Fox was not a simple task. Some of his writings were meant to be bona fide academic articles, of the kind that did indeed appear in specifically academic journals — like *Curriculum Theory Network* and *Curriculum Inquiry.* Others take the form of essays in educational thought, presenting Fox's personal vision of what a worthy general education, or Jewish education, should look like. Still others read like narratives of educational projects informed by theory modified in a complex process of deliberation. Nonetheless — we did not think that genre or audience should be the crucial factor in categorizing the entries.

At one point, it appeared that, given the multi-facetedness and complexity of Fox's oeuvre, the best option would simply be to order the articles chronologically. The writings collected here span the years 1959–2003, most of Fox's working life, thereby presenting the reader with a comprehensive historical panorama of the whole range of his concerns. A chronological ordering might also facilitate the location of certain "developments" in Fox's thinking on curriculum over the years. While both of the above are true, on reflection it became clear that it is not the historical time-line per se that can disclose what in Buber's terms might be called the "dynamic center" of Fox's educational orientation.

Seymour Fox's writings, together with what we know about his intellectual and professional background, would seem to indicate a basic, dialectical tension between what could be called the "normative" and the "deliberative" strain in his educational thought and practice. By "normative," we mean an approach that begins with a world-view that assumes certain principles or overarching values. This orientation

begins with a specific philosophic perspective held to be "true" or "good" concerning the nature of the world (eternal essences or dynamic flux), the possibility of knowledge (objectivity, inter-subjectivity or social construction) and the essence of the human (rationality, freedom, production, relationality etc.). It then proceeds to derive an image of the ideally educated person, or the ideally educated collective, that flows from those philosophic principles (the classic "Talmid Chacham" [traditional Jewish scholar], the English Gentleman or the Marxist Revolutionary). It then develops a sustained strategy for "growing" the ideal person or society from among "real" individuals and societies over time ("immersion," "project-oriented education," etc.). Finally, it devises a set of tactics for realizing its strategy under changing conditions.

The "deliberative" approach, on the other hand (and I am indebted to my teacher Prof. Michael Rosenak for clarifying this distinction), does not start from a conception of "what's right," or what the "right" is. It starts from a "sense" (as yet undefined) of "what's wrong." A certain group of people is beset by a sense of "malaise." Something seems "not to work" and to cause "dissatisfaction." What's "wrong" here is not defined by some pre-conceived, philosophically grounded conception of the "good," but rather by the "pain" suffered by the "patients" — those who might have to undergo some kind of "treatment" and live with the consequences. The first step in a deliberative approach to education, as in medicine (Fox started as a pre-med student!), is "problemation," or the conceptualization of the nature of the problem — reaching a "diagnosis." In order to reach such a "diagnosis," the educational thinker-cum-policy-maker will need access to theoretical knowledge — ideas, conceptions, even varying definitions of "health." These, however, will function as resources, and not as "normative" definers of the "absolute good," and its correlate — "evil." At some point, a therapeutic intervention is proposed, introduced, evaluated, revised, retried, etc. This, however, could conceivably lead to a re-definition of the problem, and perhaps even to a re-definition of what we can mean by "health."

From what we know of Seymour Fox's personal, professional and intellectual background, we need not be surprised to find that his educational orientation was informed by both a normative and a deliberative sensibility. On the normative side, Fox was raised as a traditional Jew — an ambience wherein there is a strong, pervasive sense of what the "good" is, and what "straying from the good" means. Within such circles, one experiences an almost physical sense of intense and continuous obligation. True, in the study of the Talmud in a traditional Yeshiva, like the one in which Fox studied as a youth, there is a lot of room for deliberation — but this takes place within very strict normative parameters.[2] Later on, in growing up, Fox studied and worked with a whole series of towering Jewish scholars. Though not all of them were "orthodox" in the conventional sense, they had clear, normative views about the nature of Judaism and the right path for the Jewish people (Simon Ravidovicz at the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago, Saul Lieberman, Louis Finkelstein, Abraham Joshua Heschel and Mordechai Kaplan at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York).

It is widely held and largely true that the major intellectual influence on Fox in the area of curriculum theory was Joseph Schwab of the University of Chicago, who co-supervised his doctoral dissertation (together with Bruno Bettelheim) on the educational implications of Freud's personality theory. Schwab was a pragmatist in the Deweyan tradition, and one of the most articulate expositors of the deliberative orientation. According to Fox's own witness, however, Schwab was not the only educational thinker who exerted a long-term influence on him. While at the University of Chicago, he was also profoundly impressed with and affected by the intellectual stature and executive ability of the University's President — Robert Maynard Hutchins. He liked to think of himself as a follower of Hutchins in his striving to be

2 For the limits of deliberation in a Yeshiva setting, see Halbertal, Moshe and Hartman, Tova, "The Yeshiva" in Oksenberg-Rorty, Amelie, ed. *Philosophers on Education* (London & New York, Routledge, 1998) pp. 458–469.

a "philosophic administrator," one whose institutional leadership was rooted in a fully developed philosophy of education. [3]

Hutchins' thought, as distinct from that of Schwab, had a decidedly **normative** cast. He followed Aristotle in speaking of the cultivation of moral and intellectual virtues as an intrinsic good. According to Hutchins, all people should be encouraged to attain the theoretical virtues of induction, demonstration and the pursuit of first principles. They should also be educated in the virtues of the practical intellect, namely the ability to create useful and beautiful objects according to a rationally conceived plan and the virtue of prudence, or "right reason" with respect to action. With Cardinal Newman, he believed that "the intellect is so excellent a portion of us, and its cultivation so excellent – it is not only beautiful, perfect, admirable and noble **in itself**, but in a true and high sense it must be useful to the possessor and all around him."[4] True, Hutchins was a democrat; he was opposed to indoctrination and did not believe that a University should inculcate one "normative" view over all others. Progress towards rational understanding and intelligent action could only be made by listening to the plural voices of the past in their attempt to come to terms with the Great Questions that had exercised mankind since time immemorial (Hutchins liked to call this the "Great Conversation").[5] Nonetheless, it was perfectly clear to him, with no further deliberation needed, what the Great Books were (those that had stood the test of time) and how they were to be taught (by the Socratic method of logical inquiry).

These two orientations, the normative and the deliberative, subsisted simultaneously in Fox's theory and practice of educational leadership. For this reason, both perspectives, though seemingly contradictory,

3 See Hutchins, Robert Maynard, "The Administrator," in *Freedom, Education and the Fund: Essays and Addresses* (Meridian Books, 1956), pp. 167–185.

4 See Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936), pp. 67–68.

5 See Hutchins, *The Conflict in Education* (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1953), pp. 95–96.

can be found reflected in his writings in creative interaction with each other. On the one hand, when Fox led a curriculum deliberation, or when he worked with colleagues on the foundation of a new educational institution, he scrupulously avoided presenting or imposing his own normative world-view on the participants. For him, the role of the leader of educational deliberations was to enable all participants to have an equal opportunity to express **their** world-views and bring their bases of expertise to bear — however plural they might be. This, in order that decisions issuing from the deliberative process might reflect a genuine consensus between consciously distinct perspectives. On the other hand, he was acutely aware of the fact that human beings — however "objective" or "value-neutral" they might want to appear — have a "normative" core of values that profoundly influences their thought and work, **and that these normative commitments must be honored**. For this reason, he knew that any and all deliberations would have to be constrained and guided by the normative values of the participants.

Precisely because of this, however, the educational leader was also called upon to subtly "educate" the participants to understand and respect the normative commitments and "bodies of experience"[6] represented by the other members of the planning group. Normativity — an unavoidable and positively energizing force in deliberation — could not be allowed to get out of hand. The strong views and feelings of any one of the group members about how things "ought to be" could not be allowed to dominate the proceedings such that the perspectives of other members of the group are silenced or quashed.

Though, as we said, both the normative and the deliberative sensibility can be found reflected in just about all of Fox's writings, in some articles one of them is clearly dominant, with the other remaining in the background. For this reason, we thought it appropriate to group

6 For the term "bodies of experience" as a term describing the resources offered by the members of a curriculum planning group, see Schwab, Joseph, *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education,* (Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 365–371.

the articles in the first two sections of the anthology according to the pre-eminence of either the normative or deliberative strain within them.

Reading Part One — The Normative Ethos

The first part of this anthology comprises articles that highlight the indispensable importance of the normative moment in educational theory and practice. In these writings, Fox issues a clarion call for the extrapolation of overarching, normative philosophies of Jewish education from the sources of Judaism — under the guidance of great Jewish thinkers and scholars. True, much of the motivation behind this call may sound pragmatic, and not strictly normative. For example, Fox claims that the conduct of Jewish education under the aegis of a systematic and consistent normative philosophy can provide educators with **a compass and a sense of direction**. Working within the parameters of a specific world-view can give them "something to believe in," a clear statement of ends that can serve as an **inspiration for sustained action.** It can also bring **coherence to practice**, allowing for the considered adjustment of ends to means — avoiding the kind of self-inflicted failure that inevitably results from an often unintended and unconscious dissonance between assumed goals and actual practices. The "normative," then, can help fulfill needs and solve problems. However, in order that these "pragmatic" benefits ensue, practitioners must genuinely and "categorically" **believe** in their normative world-views and have **reason** for doing so. This cannot happen unless these views are systematically articulated and elaborated — so that reference can be made to them in **justifying** subsequent practices in the areas of curriculum planning, teacher training or institution-building.

The first article in this section is perhaps the most normatively oriented of all. It begins by stating that if people "are to lead a life of order, coherence and meaning," they must "**live by principles.**" The assumption would seem to be that **the principled life is the good life.** Chaos, incoherence, a sense of meaninglessness and the absence

of commitment to principles is clearly a negative condition. Fox then goes on to articulate what the elements of a normative philosophy of education consist of. The "normative" mode moves from the "top down." It first formulates its "principles," namely its understanding of the nature of the world, the nature of the good and the essence of the human. It then draws a portrait of the ideal human being, or the worthy human society that is commensurate with this vision of the world, the good and the human. This is already a "living and breathing" human being, or society — with character traits, dispositions and virtues — but it is an ideal type, serving as a focus for human striving, and never to be found in this perfect state in the real world. It then translates these "habits, skills and values" that have served to "spell out the idea of the principle" into more proximate ends that can serve as guidelines for an educational program. This long-term program is intended to cultivate real people, and help move them gradually and incrementally in the direction of the ideal. Finally, it proposes "means and methods" that can serve to promote, and not undermine, that program.[7]

He then illustrates how this "ladder" of principles, ideals, goals and means can be located in two fully articulated normative philosophies of education emanating from the Western tradition — that of Plato and of John Dewey. With this in hand, Fox engages in a critique of Jewish education for its "refusal to deal in depth with the problem of a philosophy of Jewish education." Drawing again on a medical model, Fox insists that any "cure" proposed for the ills of Jewish education must be predicated on an agreed conception of "health." But how is such a normative philosophy of education to be generated out of the sources of Judaism? Only by way of "an interdisciplinary endeavor requiring text scholars who are acquainted with the problem of philosophy and education — educators and philosophers rooted in

7 The progression from "principles," through to "ideals," "goals" and "means" in Fox's thought was clarified and articulated systematically by my teacher and mentor, Michael Rosenak, who, like myself, was a doctoral student of Prof. Fox. See Rosenak, Michael, "Jewish Religious Education and Indoctrination," in *Studies in Jewish Education — Vol. 1* (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1983), pp. 125–128.

text who are sensitive to and respect the materials of the tradition." Although virtually all of the essay is written in the normative tone described above, Fox was already aware — in 1959 when the text was first composed as a speech — that interaction between the "vast riches which constitute the Jewish tradition" and the insights gained from the work of scholars who have plural perspectives on that tradition, cannot issue in **one** normative philosophy of Jewish education. It must be expected and endorsed that multiple philosophies of education will result. All of them, however, must somehow show that they are both "authentic images of Judaism" and "valid theories for education" (namely: plausible and relevant to the modern context). This distinction could very well be the ground for what Prof. Rosenak would later term the tension between "authenticity" and "relevance."[8]

The next essay in this section was published in 1973 and it is called "Toward a General Theory of Jewish Education," a title that naturally places it as a companion piece to the "Prolegomenon." Now the "Prolegomenon" does seem to be almost entirely normative in tone — with only a hint at the deliberative tasks awaiting the educational leader in attempting to decide which normative philosophies of education might be appropriate to the multiple problems facing the contemporary Jewish educator. "Toward a General Theory of Jewish Education," however, is clearly encased in a deliberative framework: one that attempts, on the basis of "symptoms," to locate the genuine "problems" of Jewish education so that an appropriate "cure" might be found. The "diagnosis" yielded by this search, though, is that **the** problem facing the field of Jewish education is that **it is bereft of systematic normative discourse on the proper ends of its activity.** While educators argue as to whether the general "dissatisfaction" with Jewish education is caused by lack of money, time or adequately trained teachers, there is virtually no discussion of the "ends" or the

8 For the terms "authenticity" and "relevance," see Rosenak, Michael, *Teaching Jewish Values: A Conceptual Guide* (Jerusalem, Melton Centre for Jewish Education, 1986), pp. 35–45.

"nature" of Jewish education. Without a "clarification of the goals and content of Jewish education," however, without "basic ideas" that can inform a curriculum or an institution, there can be no criteria for the investment of funds, for the training of teachers or the allocation of time. The lack of a normative philosophy of education, then, turns out to be, for Fox, **the fundamental problem** of the Jewish educational field, the one upon which the solution to all the other problems depends. For example – if it were to be determined that character development is a fundamental aspect of Jewish education, this would have far-reaching implications for the relations between formal and informal education in the cultivation of the educated Jew. If it were to be determined that the Bible can and should be regarded as "great literature" that "deals with basic ethical issues," investments would have to be made in the education of teachers who could focus on these aspects of the Bible in their classes.

As we said in our opening remarks, Seymour Fox was both an educational entrepreneur and a professor of education. This means that his insights regarding the desirability of reflection on the normative foundations of Jewish education **grew out of his work in the field, and his sense of the limitations that beset the field.** It also **spurred him to act in the field in order to remedy the diagnosed condition**. He established institutions wherein philosophical reflection on the ends of education became one of the staple elements in a curriculum for educational leaders. He acted such that the results of interaction between philosophers, scholars and educators currently taking place in general education, could be appropriated and adapted to the unique circumstances of Jewish education. He regarded the proliferation of academic career tracks for scholars in Jewish studies as a model to be adopted for the field of Jewish education as well. Already in this essay, written in 1973, we encounter the conception behind some of the institutional initiatives undertaken by Fox in the late '70s, the '80s and beyond. These include the generation of academic positions in Jewish Education at both JTS and the Hebrew University's Melton Centre for Jewish Education, the establishment of the Mandel

Jerusalem Fellows Program (MJF), the Mandel School for Educational Leadership (MSEL) and the Mandel Leadership Institute, to name but a few — the last three together with the Chairman of the Mandel Foundation, Mr. Morton L. Mandel.

The third essay that rounds out the first section of this collection is a monograph that Fox wrote with the great philosopher of education Israel Scheffler in 2000, when the "Visions of Jewish Education" project, sponsored by the Mandel Foundation, was at its height. It is called "Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity: Prospects and Limitations," and it begins with an analysis of different possible meanings of the term "continuity." On the one hand, "continuity" can be regarded as a **descriptive** term, indicating the fact that all kinds of education, whether deliberate or unintended, pass on patterns of thinking, feeling and acting from one generation to the next. Even revolutionary movements that reject the past end up transmitting certain aspects of the culture they wish to overthrow (witness the Russian Revolution or the Zionist Revolution). However, "continuity" can also be understood as a **prescriptive** or **normative** term, as a call for the perpetuation of as much of the past culture as possible, or of critical components of it. It is this, **normative** understanding of continuity that sets the tone for the essay throughout. It assumes that the Jewish community is interested in certain non-negotiable desiderata, namely: "the maintenance of Jewish loyalties as distinct from assimilation or rejection or rebellion." The parent generation is presumed to be committed to a specific "ought;" it wishes to cultivate young "people who continue to think of themselves as Jews, and who make serious efforts to raise their children as Jews in turn, retaining positive and vital connections to the Jewish heritage."

The essay then begins to consider the educational conditions of such continuity. It is understood that no form of education can guarantee the realization of the normative notion of continuity in all cases, given the circumstances of the open society. Still — and here the essay continues the claim made in the previous essay — both research and experience seem to show that vision is not only normative. It can also be effective.

Educators can be inspired to act coherently and expeditiously if they are guided by a clear, normative vision, and if they have worked on "translating this vision into goals that directly guide classroom practice."[9] Fox and Scheffler then turn to the history of education for evidence of the influence of comprehensive visions. In this connection, they mention the visions of the Gaon of Vilna and the Rabbi of Brisk in establishing the content and ethos of the Lithuanian yeshivot, the powerful influence of the Mussar movement led by Rabbi Israel Salanter, and the profound effect of Zionist thinkers like Ahad Ha'Am and Bialik on the educational system of the Yishuv and the early State.

According to Fox and Scheffler, the **first step** to be taken in addressing the problematics of Jewish continuity in the open society is the disclosure of **normative educational visions** that can be found embedded in the thought of modern Jewish scholars and thinkers who themselves reflected deeply on the tensions between Judaism and modernity. It should be mentioned that three of Fox's doctoral students undertook to carry on this very work in different forms. Michael Rosenak, z"l analyzed the works of R. Joseph B. Soloveitchik and Emil Fackenheim in order to disclose their educational implications for Jewish religious education in the Diaspora. Oded Schremer wrote on the educational significance of Martin Buber's personality theory, and I myself wrote a dissertation on relevance of the works of Harry Wolfson, Julius Guttmann and Leo Strauss for issues of principle in Jewish education. [10]

9 For an "existence proof" of a Jewish educational institution that was guided by both an "existential vision" and an "administrative vision" that permeated all the practices within the school, see Pekarsky, Daniel, *Vision at Work: The Theory and Practice of Beit Rabban* (New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 2006).

10 See Rosenak, Michael, "Tasks of Contemporary Jewish Theology in the Construction of Religious Educational Theory in the Diaspora," Unpublished Doctoral Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975; Schremer, Oded, "M. Buber's Concept of Personality: Implications for Curriculum," Unpublished Doctoral Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975; and Cohen, Jonathan, "Selected Trends in Contemporary Scholarship in Jewish Philosophy: Implications for Curriculum," Unpublished Doctoral Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990.

The rest of the essay "Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity" is devoted to single illustration of the "top down" derivation process – from a normative world-view through to its implications for the educational reality. Within the framework of the "Educated Jew" project sponsored by the Mandel Foundation – leading Jewish thinkers and scholars were requested to articulate what they consider to be the characteristic dispositions (habits of mind, feeling and action) of Jews who have been successfully educated in the open society. Prof. Moshe Greenberg, z"l, the renowned Bible scholar, responded with an essay called "We Were as Those Who Dream: An Agenda for an Ideal Jewish Education" which eventually found its place in the publication that summarized the work of the project: *Visions of Jewish Education*.[11] Without mentioning it by name, Fox and Scheffler actually apply the "ladder of derivation" originally suggested by Fox in the "Prolegomenon" in analyzing Greenberg's essay. For example, as far as philosophical "**principles**" are concerned – Greenberg assumes that humans are spiritual beings who aspire by their very nature to "understand what is of ultimate significance in the world." Theologically – he assumes that canonical Jewish texts and their interpretive tradition point to this "transcendent realm of ultimate significance." Greenberg would also seem to assume (although Fox and Scheffler do not mention this explicitly) that the insights of these texts are organically embodied in specific linguistic and literary forms. For this reason **one cannot really disengage form from content** in studying these texts and their commentaries, and therefore knowledge of the original language within which the texts are encased is an indispensable condition for their proper understanding. Speaking of "**ideals**," then, the educated Jew would be one who, among other things, could confront these texts in their original language and who had been stimulated to regard them as a serious address in his/her own search for ultimate meaning. According to Fox and Scheffler, this vision carries certain important implications for the long-term programming

11 (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2003)

of educational "**goals**" — namely that the mastery of Hebrew and the nurturance of curiosity on issues of ultimate significance in relation to biblical content would have to begin already in early childhood. Given the variability of Jewish educational settings in Israel and the Diaspora, the question of "**means**" would probably have to be determined by local educators working in the spirit of Greenberg's vision.

The "Prolegomenon," then, the essay called "Towards a General Theory of Jewish Education," and the monograph written with Scheffler on "Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity" are all written in a **normative** key — although the eventual need for deliberation on normative alternatives is always in the background. The "Prolegomenon" represents Fox's first call for a philosophy of Jewish education, with only a few lines hinting at the fact that serious work in this direction would ultimately issue in multiple philosophies — which would then have to be deliberated upon with regard to their respective educational potential and limitations. The "General Theory" piece is actually framed by a deliberative quest: what are the root "problems" that lie behind the "symptoms" of "malaise" in Jewish education? Is it the teachers and their status, the lack of adequate financial investment or the lack of "up-to-date" curriculum? The overarching answer to this question, however, is that these are not the most fundamental problems. The **root problem** is actually **a lack of normativity**; no overall ends and no "basic ideas" to **direct policy** with regard to investment, teachers, curriculum, etc. Finally, the essay on "Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity" begins to illustrate what a "top down" analysis of a particular normative vision of Jewish education could possibly look like.

Reading Part Two — The Deliberative Ethos

In what follows, we turn to essays devoted to articulating and justifying the **deliberative process**, although, as we shall see, normative visions will always be present as grist for the mill of this very process. The writings that appear in Part Two of this anthology focus on the dynamics of the deliberative process itself. Certainly,

normative visions, as represented in Part One, also come into play in the deliberative process. In a bona fide educational deliberation as conceived by Dewey and Schwab, however, **plural** visions of the ends of education, **conflicting** conceptions of the educated person and **alternative** descriptions of what Alasdair MacIntyre has called an "educated public"[12] are brought into play. Deliberation as such does not begin from a single, normative standpoint. It begins, as we said, with a sense of "malaise," dissatisfaction or sense of dysfunction on the part of individuals or groups who cannot yet **define** "what's wrong." True, in actual fact, no deliberation takes place in a normative vacuum. The members of a deliberation team are committed to norms and values that must be honored. The range of plural options entertained by the group will be limited by what the members of the group consider to be normatively legitimate. Nonetheless, the deliberative ethos, as Dewey, Schwab and Fox articulate it, is characterized by open-mindedness, respect for alternative views and a willingness to confront the unexpected.

In order that we fully understand the dynamic of educational deliberation as Fox learned it from Schwab, elaborated upon it, and activated it in practice, we must take the time to consider certain basic notions that he refers to constantly. These include the notion of "commonplaces" in education and the "eclectic" treatment of theory for practice (a notion we will elaborate on further when introducing Part Three). We should also be aware of a fundamental characteristic of curriculum deliberation that I would call "double pluralism."

The idea of "commonplaces" in Schwab's thought derives from Aristotle's term "topica," namely commonly visible, out-standing areas (as in "topography") that indicate the fundamental discussion points of a discipline or practice.[13] They represent the basic foci about which

12 See MacIntyre, Alasdair, "The Idea of an Educated Public," in Haydon, Graham, *Education and Values* (London, University of London Institute of Education, 1987).

13 For the term "commonplaces" in Schwab's thinking, see *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education,* pp. 339–340.

the different practitioners of a discipline or profession argue. Scientists, scholars or reflective professionals may actually have conflicting, even incommensurable conceptions of these foci, but the very argument about them is what makes the discipline what it is. For example — physicists have been arguing throughout history about the definition of "mass," "energy" and "motion" and the nature of their interaction. The conceptions of Aristotle, Newton and Einstein regarding "mass," "energy" and "motion" are irreconcilable and incommensurable, yet active disagreement about the definition of these terms and their possible interrelations is what makes them physicists. Some have said that theoreticians of literature, more particularly the short story, entertain conflicting conceptions of "plot," "style," "character" and "message."[14] Still, what makes them literary experts who specialize in the short story is the very fact that they cannot avoid giving an account of their views on these "topics" and their mutual interaction. In the field of education, argument seems to have centered around four "commonplaces," without which one cannot give a full account of educational activity. In any educational situation, there will always be a **learner**, a **teacher** of some sort (whether formal or informal, human or virtual), a **subject matter** — something that is learned (whether a content, a set of attitudes or a habit), and a context or **milieu** wherein the process of education takes place (since no education takes place in a neutral vacuum).

For education, these distinctions not only have theoretical significance — they also have practical implications. In curriculum planning, for example, experience and reflection have taught us that ignoring one or more of these "commonplaces" can undermine the effectiveness of an educational program. Curricula that are not adapted to students' capabilities, that take no account of what teachers either can or are willing to do, distort the subject matter out of all recognition in the interest of "relevance," or take no cognizance of the social forces operative on educational policy — will necessarily

14 Op. cit., pp. 376–377.

fail. Continuous lack of success in solving educational problems, due to lack of consideration of one or more of the "commonplaces," can undermine any trust that might have existed in the possibility of educational change.

The main practical implication of this, for Schwab and Fox, is that all the "commonplaces" must be represented on the curriculum planning committee at some point. At least one of the members of the curriculum group should be a practicing scientist or scholar of the "subject matter." Another should be someone who knows the experience of classroom teaching from the inside. Still another should have either professional or more intimate knowledge of the students to be taught. Finally, there must be people who represent, as well as those who can critically evaluate, the social milieu mandating education.[15] This is one dimension of what I have called the "double pluralism" exhibited by Schwab and Fox in their writings on curriculum. The **plurality of commonplaces** that typify the field of education must find expression in a group that comes together to generate educational change. The second dimension, that which makes it a "double pluralism," is that, ideally, each "commonplace" should be represented by people who offer **plural perspectives on that "commonplace**." For example — we need more than one school of thought about early childhood or adolescence and more than one approach to the nature of history or philosophy (if that is the subject matter). We also need more than one perspective on the life of the teacher as well as multiple takes on the various "contexts" or "milieus" within which education takes place (classroom dynamics, school culture, social and cultural trends, etc.). Only in such fashion can we defensibly and responsibly address the complexity of the educational problems and situations that confront us.

One might say — this seems very unwieldy, expensive and time-consuming. Schwab and Fox were aware of this, and were equally aware of the fact that most real-world deliberations would be partial and

15 Op. cit., 365–375.

incomplete. They still believed that making the effort to approximate the deliberative model as much as possible is preferable to abandoning the deliberative route altogether.

In the three articles comprising this section on deliberation we see that Fox largely adopted Schwab's model of curriculum planning. His practical experience in enacting that model, however, led him to reflect on subjects and issues that Schwab never wrote about explicitly. For example, in his groundbreaking article, "A Practical Image of the Practical," the reader is offered an inside view of a particular, incomplete educational deliberation that took place at the Hebrew University's School of Education. The problem on the table was the construction of a curriculum in botany for the eighth grade in light of certain difficulties encountered in the field. At this stage in the deliberation, not all the "commonplaces" were represented (the "milieus" of the school and society were given voice later on in the process). Due to exigencies of availability and time, certain members of the group necessarily represented more than one "commonplace." A very experienced master teacher represented intimate knowledge of the students and the world of the teacher. A well-known scientist represented the discipline of botany and also offered a broad philosophical perspective on the scientific enterprise in general. A psychologist with a specialty in retraining was also present. The most interesting aspect of the article, however, is the manner in which the **curriculum specialist** chaired and managed the discussion. A close reading of the **protocol** of this deliberation shows how the chairperson attempted to realize a most important maxim of deliberative practice — namely the insurance of parity and coordinacy between the representatives of the various commonplaces, such that no one commonplace was either over-represented or repressed.

The article following the "Practical Image" focuses on another subject that Schwab did not address thematically, namely the particular role and contribution of the **school principal** to curriculum deliberation. At one point, Fox was so impressed with the uniqueness of the principal's perspective on curriculum development that he

thought he might have found a "new commonplace."[16] Eventually he was content to regard the principal as offering special insight into the values and interests of prominent groups in the "milieu" surrounding education, such as parents, municipal authorities, etc. The main contribution of the principal to curriculum deliberation, however, in Fox's view, is his/her comprehensive perspective on the structure of the school curriculum as a whole. It is the principal who can reproduce in his/her mind's eye not only what one grade is learning in one subject, but also what that grade is learning in all subjects (what he calls the "horizontal" dimension of the school curriculum). He/she can also make the curriculum group aware of the trajectory of one particular subject from the earliest grade to the later grades (the "vertical" dimension). These factors are crucial for curriculum development as far as the individual school is concerned, and only the principal really has them in his/her sights.

Taken together, these two articles focus on the role of **educational leaders** in the development of educational programs. The curriculum specialist is the leader of the curriculum group. He/she must allow for genuine plurality of expression yet also bring about consensus and decision on a particular, chosen course of action. The principal is the leader of the school. Only he/she can really envision the school program as a whole, fully experience the student body as a community, and anticipate the possible reception of a curriculum change by teachers called upon to participate in it, as well as by teachers who will be left out of it.

The third article appearing in this section of the anthology is arguably the richest and most extensive essay by Fox in the area of curriculum theory — "The Vitality of Theory in Schwab's Conception of the Practical." This penetrating and comprehensive summary of Schwab's oeuvre touches upon just about every aspect of his teacher's

16 I have a distinct memory of Prof. Fox proclaiming in the halls of the School of Education "I think I might have found a new commonplace!" in connection with his work on the principal as a member of the curriculum team.

thought. We have decided to place it at the end of this section of the anthology, the section focusing on the deliberative process, for two reasons. First, the bulk of the article is concerned with the knowledge, virtues and skills needed by the representatives of the various "commonplaces" in order that they might successfully take part in the deliberative process. Second, it also contains a substantive passage on the notion of "eclectic" as a bridge between theory and practice, a passage that can serve as a transition to the next section of the collection – the section that focuses on the "eclectic."

The very name of the essay is thought-provoking. There is a tendency to associate theory with disembodied reflection, such that the notion that theory might be possessed of "vitality" strikes one at first as unusual. Yet, all of us have memories of teachers or books that have made theory "come alive." Actually, according to Schwab, a theory is most "alive" when it does not have absolute power, when it does not rule or dominate discussions that must deal with the complexity of concrete life-situations. A theory makes its most "vital" contribution to deliberation when it is brought into interaction with other theories – either within the same "commonplace" (different conceptions of "society"), or with theories coming from another "commonplace" ("identity" in the adolescent peer group and the "professional identity" of teachers, for example). This, of course, involves the disclosure of each theory's strengths and weaknesses, both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. Theories are "theoretically" partial in that they represent "bounded" subject matters extrapolated arbitrarily from the richness of experience (as if the "market," the "polity," "society" and the "mind" existed independently of each other). They are also partial in that they embody specific schools of thought within those bounded discipline ("structure-function" theory and "exchange" theory in sociology, for example). Further, no theory is "complete" since each contains different potentialities for practice. This partiality, however, does not reduce a theory's vitality – since a theory's ability to contribute to deliberation depends on recognition of its limitations and the manner in which

it can "read" and address a complex situation more adequately if it is brought into creative interaction with other theories.

Still, as we said, most of the article has to do with the dispositions that must be cultivated by representatives of the "commonplaces" in order for fruitful curriculum deliberation to take place. The reader will find that as regards this issue, as well as others, Fox does not merely summarize the views of his teacher. On the one hand, he presents new concepts that grow out of his work under the aegis of the Schwabian framework. On the other hand, he undertakes an empathetic critique (both overt and covert) of certain aspects of his mentor's thinking — especially his later thinking. The article is one of a number of reaction-pieces sent to the journal *Curriculum Inquiry* after Schwab's last published article in the "Practical" series.[17] Fox detects a significant shift in Schwab's views on the composition of the curriculum group, and finds himself in disagreement with some aspects of Schwab's "new thinking."

In the interest of locating Fox's own contribution to deliberation theory as reflected in this unusually rich article, I would like to call the reader's attention to three points that warrant special attention when reading "The Vitality of Theory:"

1) Fox treats Schwab here not only in his own right, but as an innovator in the research tradition of curriculum theory. He points out how Schwab goes beyond one of the founders of the field, Ralph Tyler,[18] by including the teacher as an indispensable "commonplace" and resource for curriculum deliberation — along with the subject matter, the society and the world of the student. He also clarifies Schwab>s major disagreement with Tyler on the structure of educational discourse. Tyler began the curriculum planning process in a "normative" mode, starting from pre-conceived, fixed "objectives" which were later to be reflected in appropriate "learning experiences"

17 It is called "The Practical 4: Something for Curriculum Professors to Do" and it appeared in *Curriculum Inquiry* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1984), pp. 239–265.

18 See Tyler, Ralph, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949).

and then evaluated with regard to their commensurability with the "objectives." Schwab began, as we saw, with "problem situations" and the attempt to get at a fruitful conceptualization of the "problem." Like Dewey, he saw the use of formulated "objectives" as a temporary and experimental means for the testing of educational interventions. As means, they could be changed and re-formulated if it became clear that they were not helping to assuage the malaise afflicting the actual "actors" in the educational situation. Fox also shows how Schwab goes beyond Jerome Bruner, author of the famous *Process of Education*[19] in articulating a far more sophisticated understanding of the concept "structure of knowledge." Schwab insisted that disciplines do not have **a structure**, but a series of successive and/or competing **structures** that have different valences for education.

2) In working under the aspect of Schwabian deliberation in actual curriculum workshops and planning groups, Fox coined terms and underlined conceptual differences that made that work clearer and more effective. For example, he vivified Schwab>s distinction between "problem situations" and actually formulated "problems" by introducing the medical distinction between **symptoms** and **diagnosis.** Regarding the deliberation process, he realized that what Schwab had called "anticipating the consequences" of a chosen educational policy, actually involved the "staging" of a full-blown **simulation in context** of a wide range of possible scenarios that could ensue if that policy were to be put into practice. There would have to be a "thick description" of what could conceivably ensue from the adoption of a given curricular strategy. Given this richness, Fox decided to divide the simulation process into two stages. In "**Simulation One**," future circumstances are envisaged up to the point of «problemation,» wherein the group reaches consensus on the root of the problem. In "**Simulation Two**," the group continues to imagine possible developments through the further stages of deliberation: the generation of alternative interventions and the implementation and evaluation of a chosen intervention.

19 (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960)

3) A close reading of this text will disclose that Fox, based on his experience in teaching and curriculum development, had reservations about some of Schwab's later views on the composition of the curriculum group. In the "Practical 4," Schwab proposed that the representation of teachers in the group be intensified. He had already underlined the importance of the teacher as the one who "makes or breaks" the implementation of the curriculum in his earlier writings, and Fox had no quarrel with him on this point. In "The Practical 4," however, Schwab also assigned the teacher a major role in representing the commonplace "student." Psychologists were no longer to be regarded as the chief "experts" on the student, or even as full members of the curriculum group. Instead, they were cast as "consultants," to be accessed as resources from time to time. Schwab came to feel that psychologists' contributions to deliberation tended to be too abstract and removed from the actual educational setting. For Fox, however, their insights remained essential and he insisted on their regular membership in the group (witness the solution offered by the psychologist in the protocol presented in "A Practical Image of the Practical!"). A similar fate awaited the subject matter specialist in Schwab's later writings. In "The Practical 4" they too became "consultants" rather than regular participants in the curriculum deliberation. Fox opposed this as well, insisting on the central (though not exclusive or dominant) role of the subject matter specialist in educational deliberation – true to Schwab's earlier position. In addition, in the Practical 4, Schwab maintains that high school pupils should provide curriculum planners with direct access to their own "body of experience." He insisted that they be given a place on the curriculum committee as representatives of the commonplace "learner." Fox, in polite response, wrote that he knew of no settings where this had taken place, although he would welcome any information in this regard. From his tone, however, it seems clear that he does not place much stock in this possibility. As a kind of apology for Schwab, he allows that his overall shift in "weight" **to** teachers and students and **away from** subject matter specialists and

psychologists as contributors to the curriculum group might mean that in "The Practical 4" Schwab has a more local (or school-based) curriculum group in mind. Nonetheless, Fox's empathetic respect for his teacher cannot hide his genuine reservations concerning Schwab's later views.

Reading Part Three — The Eclectic — Moving Theory from Normativity to Deliberation

The selections composing this part of the anthology, writings wherein Fox both describes and enacts what Schwab has called the "eclectic" mode of readying theory for practice, have been placed here because they represent a kind of transition from the normative to the deliberative mode of educational discourse.[20] The eclectic mode calls for a penetrating philosophical analysis of the first principles, the irreducible basic terms and the internal relations between basic terms that lie at the root of theories tendered for "use" in education. One aspect of this analysis is the disclosure of what might be called the theory's **normative claims**, namely its presumption to be the one **complete, definitive and correct** understanding of the subject matter under consideration. Almost all proponents of theories in the various scientific and humanistic disciplines believe that their theories are "right" and "true." Further, "good" theories actually confer a sense of coherent "wholeness" on their subject matter, such that, when studying them, one has a sense that everything is perfectly explained. It seems as if nothing could conceivably be otherwise than as construed by the theory. It is this sense of definitiveness (along with exigencies of time, the charisma of certain professors, the need to produce so-called "results") that often persuades decision-makers to adopt single theories as guides to practice. Philosophical analysis clarifies this dimension of coherence and systematic comprehensiveness that characterizes theory at its best, and brings it into sharp focus.

20 For a full discussion of the "eclectic" by Schwab, see *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education*, pp. 322–364.

It is precisely this aspect of a theory, however, the one that makes it theoretically "good," that generates serious difficulty when the theory is adopted wholesale by policymakers or practitioners. The sense of "wholeness" and "rightness" exuded by the theory hides its inevitable partiality. No one theory can capture the complexity of the human being and human interaction. Each theory places certain features of the human in the foreground and others in the background. For example, Skinner's psychology valorizes tangible and measurable behavior, stimulated by other behavior, and discounts the "inner life" as empirically unverifiable and even "occult." Freudian psychology, on the other hand, regards the interaction between various "parts" of the "psyche" as the true source of behavior. Structure-function sociology see the "organs" or "institutions" of society as striving towards a kind of homeostatic equilibrium — enabling the whole "organism" or "society" to "function." Marxian sociology, on the other hand, sees class conflict as an endemic social condition, at least until the proletarian class gains the ascendancy. An important part of the "eclectic," then is the disclosure of the partiality of theories — the manner in which they artificially "bound" the subject matter they treat and the way they look at that bounded subject matter only from a certain "angle."

Paradoxically — if scholars and scientists had not **believed** in their theories as right and true (the normative ethos) they probably would not have called forth the energy and fortitude to carry them through to their conclusion and defend them against formidable opponents. We would not have such a treasury of "good" theories to bring to bear on practical problems if theoreticians had not exhibited the kind of dedication that comes from commitment to truth. On the other hand, if we do not balance this cognitive enthusiasm with the kind of criticism that uncovers the partiality inherent in precisely the "best" theories, we risk the unconscious imposition of what Schwab has called "tunnel vision" on educational policy. Theories considered definitive by some members of a discipline must have their undisclosed assumptions revealed, and they must be compared with other theories of the same subject. This, in order that they

make the transition from "normative" exclusiveness to "deliberative" plurality and cooperation, for it is only by the "eclectic" appropriation of theoretically incommensurable paradigms that we can attain a more adequate (though still incomplete) "reading" of the complex educational reality we want to improve.

The first entry in this part of the anthology begins by illustrating the practical price that is invariably paid when the eclectic is ignored and single theories of specific subject matters are adopted as normative, exclusive guides for educational policy. Its title is "Theory into Practice (in Education)," and it appeared in a collection that Fox himself edited called *Philosophy for Education* in 1983.[21] In Israel, for example, early, exclusively cognitive conceptions of the "disadvantaged" child ignored the role of the emotional influence of the family or peer group on student achievement and overall quality of life. Many resources were invested in this narrow conception of the "disadvantaged" before perspectives reflecting other dimensions of deprivation were brought into the discussion. In the US, one particular conception of the "structure of knowledge," drawn from only one commonplace (subject matter) became the normative fount of the "new science" curricula of the '50s and '60s. It was assumed that the other commonplaces — like students and teachers of all backgrounds, and all school environments — would somehow "fall in" and internalize this conception without further ado. Piaget became a kind of "guru" for early childhood education, as practical implications were drawn indiscriminately from his theoretical views of child development. This was done before the strengths and limitations of his theory had been analyzed in comparison with other conceptions.

As we have seen, education, as a multidimensional practical pursuit, must be informed by multiple theories drawn from different disciplines. These plural theories can indeed serve as valuable resources for deliberation, but they must first be **theoretically prepared for practical deliberation.** It is precisely this kind of preparation, the disclosure of

21 The collection was published in Jerusalem by the Van Leer Institute.

what different theories both highlight and hide, that can provide them with deliberative potency. According to Fox, advocates of these theories need not feel threatened by the "eclectic" process. When a certain theory has its relative weaknesses exposed, its strengths (for both continued research and practical application) also come into view.

In the academic world of subject matter specialists, the word "eclectic" is often used pejoratively. It is assumed that an academic expert should be "systematic" in explaining all relevant phenomena in terms of a specific theory, and not use an incoherent or superficial amalgam of theories to account for his/her subject matter. Within the framework of a discrete subject matter governed by a hegemonic theory or group of theories, this is only to be expected. However, in theory-rich, yet ultimately practical disciplines like medicine, therapy or education, responsible policy and decision-making can only issue from the comparative evaluation of insights derived from competing theories. These theories, however, must first be grasped and understood thoroughly in their own terms. Only then should they be compared to other theories of the same or similar subject matter relevant to the case at hand. It is this kind of rigor that characterizes what Schwab and Fox called "defensible eclectic" — as distinct from muddled and unsystematic amalgamation.

It is in this context that Fox's rigorous philosophical analysis of Freud's psychology, and its implications for education, should be understood. As he writes in his introduction to *Freud and Education*: "In this volume we undertake the first step in the translation from theory in a discipline to theory in education, the disclosure of the architectonic of a theory." His goal is to "disclose the terms and principles Freud imposed upon his subject matter in developing his theory. After we have uncovered his theoretical framework we will be in a position to consider the uses of his personality theory for education." The book, published in 1975, represents a distillation and updating of the extensive doctoral dissertation he submitted to Bettelheim and Schwab at the University of Chicago in 1965, called "The Conceptual Structure of Freud's Theory of Personality and its Implications for Education."

Although both the dissertation and the book are focused on Freud, they represent the beginnings of a true eclectic, since they are based on a comparison of Freud's theory to other conceptions of personality deriving from works of both "ancients and moderns" — such as Plato, Aristotle, Bettelheim, Erikson, Piaget, Rogers and Sullivan. After a most thorough reading of works by all these philosophers and psychologists, Fox concludes that the subject matter known as "personality theory" can be said to conduct its debates and controversies around **seven** "**commonplaces**," — and we quote:

"1) a **social factor**, e.g. Sullivan's interpersonal relations, Freud's super-ego; 2) a **biological factor,** e.g. Aristotle's appetitive parts, Freud's id, Sullivan's primary needs; 3) a **rational part**, e.g. Freud's ego, Plato's rational, Aristotle's deliberative, scientific and philosophical faculties; 4) an **energy factor**, e.g. Freud's libido; 5) a **factor of pleasure or satisfaction**; 6) an **additional emotive or affective factor,** e.g. Plato's shame, Freud's guilt, Sullivan's anxiety; and 7) **the therapist.**

However, after narrowing down the discussion to "most Western theories after Plato," Fox finds that they tend to focus on the **biological, the social and the rational,** often attaching **pleasure** (understood by Freud as a diminution of need) and **energy** (identified by Freud with the libido) "to one or more of these [first three] in different ways." It is these five foci, then (coupled with certain insights on the role of the **therapist**) that he discusses in Chapter Eight of *Freud and Education,* also included in this anthology.

It should be noted that this chapter presents the "architectonic" of Freud's personality theory in very concise terms. This formulation of Freud's conceptual framework is, in my view, a first-class case study in the kind of close reading and sharp analysis that must accompany the disclosure of what Schwab has called the "substantive structure" of a theory.[22] All the cognitive virtues of philosophy are exhibited

22 For the terms "substantive structure" and "syntactic structure" in Schwab, see his article "Problems, Topics and Issues,' in Elam, Stanley, ed., *Education and the Structure of Knowledge* (Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964) pp. 4–47.

here to a very high degree: the analysis of distinctions between terms, a discussion of the types of motion and interaction that can "befall" or "beset" those terms, the uncovering of (often undisclosed) assumptions underlying a theory and the articulation of the systematic connections between its various components. In order to gain fully from the richness and insight concentrated in the six pages that make up Chapter Eight, it is strongly advised that the reader proceed slowly and reflectively, reviewing both the text and the notes a number of times. Most fascinating is Fox's discussion of what he calls Freud's "beginning-orientation," namely his assumption that existents or forces that are more primordial are also more powerful. The traumatic, relatively late irruption of the "life-force" is always in danger of being overwhelmed by the death instinct, which would return the organic to its earlier state — the inorganic. Further, all biological instincts — whether towards death (aggression) or life (libido) — are more primordial than the rational or social factors, and therefore more potent. It is this principle that also explains Freud's hierarchy of the parts of the psyche. The "id" (representing "pure" energy or instinct, and the "biological" commonplace) has the highest valence, since "it is closest to the beginning and contains the instincts." Next follows the "superego" (which represents a direct call for restraint on the instincts, and embodies the "social" commonplace). Last, and unfortunately also least, comes the ego (representing that aspect of the "rational" commonplace that has to do with practical wisdom) that must "serve" two masters — the id and the superego, and mediate between them.

Again, even though the bulk of the book is taken up by an analysis of Freud, Fox never forgets that he undertook his project as part of an "eclectic" in the interests of education. He therefore directs us, from time to time, to compare the structure of Freud's theory with other conceptual frameworks derived from other thinkers. He shows how, in Plato's personality theory, the "rational" commonplace has the highest rank (since for him, the "high," rather than the "low," has the greatest valence). Plato then posits the existence of a certain instinctual affect for the "right" (nobility or gentlemanliness) and awards it second place.

The biological (that which disturbs or works against the rational) is given last place. Harry Stack Sullivan, the founder of "interpersonal" theory, places the "social" commonplace first, then the "rational" and finally the "biological." These remarks are highly important, since they remind the reader, who might very well have been "drawn in" by the "magic" of Freud's beautifully coherent theory, that there are serious alternatives to his view of human nature — and that none of them should be regarded as the be-all and end-all of either psychology or education.

In Chapter 9 of *Freud and Education*, Fox takes up the challenge of drawing out the educational implications of Freud's theory of personality. This is no easy task, since Freud never directly addressed the problems of education. Both Freud himself, and subsequently Fox, warn against the facile transference of either principles or practices from the **therapeutic situation** (called by Schwab a "physicianly" pursuit, namely the treatment of mental pathology in adult neurotics) to the **educational situation** (which is an "orthogenic" pursuit concerned with the guidance of the "normal" child to maturity).[23] Nonetheless, Freud's understanding of human nature, once "readied" for deliberation by way of the eclectic, can provide a unique and valuable prism through which to view and interpret educational phenomena.

The reader will notice that Fox organizes his "translation" of Freud around the four "commonplaces" of education — the child, the teacher, the society and the subject matter — and restricts himself to the realm of formal education. He/she should also be prepared for some very unusual and not necessarily "politically correct" educational implications that Fox believed would flow from a rigorous reading of Freud — and here are only a few:

1) Acceptance of the fact that the child's personality is largely formed before school entry — an implication that places a great deal of responsibility on early childhood education.

23 See *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education,* p. 349

2) Acceptance of the fact that the “normal” child has strong erotic and aggressive drives, that these drives they will most likely be directed towards teachers and peers. Since these drives cannot be eliminated they will have to be rechanneled or sublimated.

3) Acceptance of the fact that children have different levels of ego-strength and dependence. This means that willy-nilly children will divide up into leaders (the elite) and followers (the masses). **Each of these groups needs a different kind of education**, a conclusion that might not sit well with certain advocates of “equality” or “democracy” in education.

4) Teachers of subject matter in formal education, whether they like it or not, will have to accept that they represent significant adults and objects of identification for children. Teachers will no longer be able to conceive of their work as mere cognitive instruction. In other words, there is a hidden, informal dimension that accompanies all so-called formal education, and all members of the school community are “implicated” in it.

Insights like the above can prove either highly empowering or highly explosive for different kinds of educational policy-makers. Only through full-fledged deliberation, however, wherein other theories — both personality theories and theories drawn from the other commonplaces — are given an equally rigorous hearing, can educators be advised of the relative wisdom or folly of adopting a Freudian, or any other, conceptual framework as a guide to educational practice.

Reading Part Four — Application and Implementation

In this fourth and final part, we present those of Fox’s writings that articulate the **process** leading from the adoption of a viable vision to the actual implementation of educational ventures, as well as writings that **narrate and illustrate the inner life of institutions** in which Seymour Fox played a key role. Institutions such as these include, from the Diaspora, the Ramah Camps (founded by Moshe Davis and Sylvia Ettenberg in 1946) and, from Israel, the MSEL (founded by Morton L. Mandel and Seymour Fox in 1992).

In placing the first two entries in this part, those that describe the **pathway to implementation**, we will consult an important piece of writing by one of Fox's closest associates and most astute students — Dr. Daniel Marom. In a passage from an essay called "Four Lessons on Education that I Learned from Seymour Fox," Marom elaborates on what Fox, together with Israel Scheffler, called "The Five Levels Theory."[24] Fox wrote only briefly on this theory, as we shall see, but Marom reports that it figured strongly in his teaching of both staff and Fellows at the Mandel Institute. These "levels" are actually way-stations on the road from theory to practice (implementation of a vision) or, conversely, from practice to theory (reflection on the theoretical assumptions underlying patterns of action). The first level is similar to what Fox called "Principles" in his "Prolegomenon" (the first entry in this volume), and it is here called simply "philosophy." These principles constitute the overall world-view that informs an educational project — whether "classical," "conservative," "progressive" "radical" or otherwise. At this stage of what is called "philosophy," the world-view is formulated in terms that need not have any direct reference to education, although elements within it might be pregnant with educational implications. For example, in Marom's words: "A definition of knowledge as being a fixed closed system [classical] will almost certainly produce a different kind of curriculum than a definition that sees knowledge as being open [progressive]." The second level is termed "philosophy of education" and is similar to what Fox called "Ideals" in the "Prolegomenon." This level "does not yet speak in the language of educational practice," but it does concern itself with the ends of a successful education — described in terms of the desired dispositions of an educated person. For example, it answers questions like "How does an educated person hold his/her

24 Marom's account of Fox's "Five Levels Theory" in the "Four Lessons" article appeared in Hebrew in a collection called *Chotam Shlomo* (in English: *Educational Eclectics: Essays in Memory of Shlomo (Seymour) Fox by Graduates of the Mandel Leadership Institute)* (Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House and the Mandel Foundation, 2009). The treatment of the "five levels" theory is on pp. 72–76.

knowledge (dogmatically, tentatively, or otherwise)? How does this knowledge, as held by the educated person, affect his/her identity? What virtues or traits of character are associated with a person we consider "mature?"

Before we get to the "third level," the one that figures most prominently in the first two entries in this part of the anthology, a few words about the "fourth" and "fifth" levels. The fourth level is termed "implementation," and it describes actual educational undertakings in action. We follow how concrete educational institutions are organized and conducted, how a particular curriculum is developed and taught to teachers. "Thick descriptions" of classroom practice are recorded. The "fifth level" is called "evaluation." This stage most often involves simultaneous reference to the other stages — since we will want to know if the world-view and image of the educated person that we have embraced is actually being embodied in the "implementation."

The third level is the one that Fox and Scheffler call "theory of practice." It lies midway between theory and practice and is close to what he called "goals" in the "Prolegomenon." Here, the ends of education — as articulated in the "philosophy of education" — are "translated" in light of what it actually takes to move "real" people closer to the "ideal." For example, suppose it is agreed, after much deliberation on alternatives, that despite the serious difficulties involved, a Bible curriculum encouraging discussion of philosophical issues arising from the text is to be adopted and tested. However, it is clear to the planning group that in most settings in which the curriculum will be tried, students expect that teachers clearly summarize "conclusions" from the text — without classroom discussion, theological questioning or controversy about alternative readings. It is equally clear that most teachers have not been trained to lead discussions in which plural views are expressed and debated. At the level of "theory of practice," then, maxims of practice and more proximate goals will have to be set — the kind that gradually lead teachers and students from a more authoritative to a more inductive mode of study. For example, in a

"theory of practice" that might be called "pre-inquiry," it might be prescribed that two interpretations (not only one, but not more than two) of a particular text will be introduced to students by the teacher (the alternative interpretations will not have been generated by the students themselves at this initial stage). The teacher might well also present some of the pros and cons of each interpretation. Students could then add their own insights to the ones already presented by the teacher. Teachers would take care to clearly summarize the discussion for students in order to add to their sense of security. We have here, then, a "theory of practice," a set of maxims for practice that reflect both the ultimate aim of cultivating a more inquiry-based mode of learning, while also reflecting the limitations imposed by the educational setting. At this "third level," as is visible from the example, we are clearly speaking "the language of practice." Yet we are chiefly concerned with prescribed maxims of practice — and not yet with describing their concrete "implementation."

In order to highlight the significance of what Fox and Scheffler have called the "theory of practice" as a crucial stage in the process leading from vision to implementation, we open the fourth part of the anthology with a lecture originally given by Prof. Fox at the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies held at the Hebrew University in 1997. The lecture is called "From Theory to Practice in Jewish Education," and it gives special attention to the category he calls "theory of practice." In this lecture, he divides theory of practice into two discreet steps. One might say that in his analysis of the educational implications of Freud's personality theory, Fox takes us up to what he calls here "Step One" of the theory of practice. As we saw, Fox derives certain maxims of educational practice from Freud's understanding of the human personality: schools will have to provide outlets and sublimations for aggressive drives, teachers will not be able to avoid seeing themselves as objects of identification, etc. What is still needed, however, beyond the extrapolation of implications such as these, is what he here calls "Step Two." At this stage, educators working on the basis of a particular world-view or theory must ask themselves:

what are the specific "products of curriculum-making which will embody a particular approach to subject matter and pedagogy"? What are the "kinds of teacher education which will manifest, in actual practice," the maxims derived within the framework of "Step One"? For example, how will the consciousness of being an object of identification be represented in the actual curriculum of teacher training institutions?

In order to further illustrate the difference between the two steps, Fox returns to the Jewish educational vision of Prof. Moshe Greenberg. One of the overall "maxims of practice" that Fox derives from Greenberg's philosophy of education is that a comprehensive Jewish education such as that mandated by Greenberg's view can only take place, at least in the Diaspora, in what he calls a communal "enclave." Conventional day schools and informal educational frameworks, in their present form, are too isolated and restricted in their mandate to constitute a real "community." Schools, camps, youth movements and Israel trips will have to interact in order to form the kind of matrix that could constitute such an "enclave." The "Step Two" questions, then, might be: what exactly would be the components of the "enclave," what content would be taught in each component, and what might be the characteristic pedagogy of each? How would this re-conception affect the training and hiring of staff in each of the components? How, and by way of what patterns and methods, would formal and informal educational settings interact in the enclave? Without responses to such questions, no "educational translation" can be complete.

At the end of this lecture, Fox makes another very important move, one that I believe says a lot about his ultimate position concerning the normative and deliberative orientations in education. As we have been saying in this introduction, Fox exhibited both a normative and a deliberative sensibility in his writing, teaching and entrepreneurial practice. It would be most difficult to determine "qualitatively" which of the two modes was dominant in his consciousness and activity. From a systematic point of view, however, based on what he says in this lecture and the way he conducted his curriculum seminars, I think

it would be fair to say that he **effectively assimilated the normative ethos to the process of deliberation.**

How so? When Fox speaks briefly of the "five levels" at the end of this lecture, he begins by placing them in a vertical line going in two directions: from theory to practice, and from practice to theory. This reflects what often happens in thought-experiments and simulations that precede implementation. Sometimes, we move from the abstract to the concrete – from philosophy to philosophy of education, through the two steps that make up theory of practice, and then on to implementation and evaluation. Sometimes, we reflect on the concrete in order to uncover the hidden theoretical principles reflected in observed practices. In this case, we move from the evaluation of current practice to the maxims underlying that practice, and then on to the (sometimes unconscious) philosophy of education and general philosophy that inform the whole project.

Most often, educational planners move only once from the "top down" in an exclusively normative mode, privileging what is on "top" (ideas and values) as setting the "standard" and creating the "objectives" for practice. Fox expressly states, however, that he wishes "**to avoid the misconception that the process** (involving the "five levels") **is hierarchical**" and that for this reason he has "**rendered the process to reflect Dewey's ends-means continuum**." And indeed, in his diagram, after placing the "five levels" in a vertical line, he redraws them as subsisting **in a horizontal mode, in a circle.** This circle represents the reciprocal interaction between the levels characteristic of the deliberative mode. Here, ends are not privileged over means (they are not "higher"). Ends and means can mutually determine each other. On the one hand, if specific "means" do not serve to accomplish our "ends," then the means might have to be altered or replaced. In the normative mode, however, our "ends" remain largely fixed; what changes are the means. In the non-hierarchical deliberative mode, however, "ends" not only test "means" (Do these practices actually enact our philosophy?) but "**means**," implementation and practice, **also test "ends."** (If all the means at our disposal cannot realize this

ideal, maybe we have to change it?) "Ends" (such as beliefs, values and dispositions) that cannot be embodied in reality must, in a full-fledged deliberative framework, be either revised or even discarded. This means that no ends are absolute or eternal. By placing the "five levels" on a circle (thereby making them commensurate with Dewey's ends-means continuum), Fox effectively removes normative allegiances from the "top" of the vertical line, and assimilates them to the circular motion of deliberation. Sometimes, the unexpected negative results of our best efforts at implementation force us to stop moving forward or "downward." We must return, as in a circle, to reconsider not only our original diagnosis of the problem, but even our most cherished values and ideals.

The next entry in this section of the anthology continues the discussion of the **process** that moves educational planners from conception to implementation (and sometimes back around again, as we have seen). It is one of the concluding chapters from the ground-breaking book *Visions of Jewish Education* that Prof. Fox edited together with Prof. Israel Scheffler and Dr. Daniel Marom.[25] The book represents the written culmination of what was called the "Educated Jew" project, or the "Visions" project, conducted with the support of the Mandel Foundation and under the leadership of Fox and Marom. The project began in 1991 when leading scholars and thinkers in the areas of Jewish studies, general education and Jewish education were invited and encouraged, both individually and interactively, to articulate their visions of "the educated Jew." How was such a Jew to be cultivated? What would he/she have to know, feel and do — and how were these dispositions to be engendered? At a certain point in the discussion, the scholars and thinkers were brought into contact with leading educators with long experience in educational planning and practice. The mutual interaction between the scholar-thinkers and the educators led to significant modifications in the visions presented. As one of the educators that participated in those meetings at the time,

25 (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2003).

I can say that both scholars and educators found that their notions of what was "possible" and "impossible" changed as a result of the interchange.

In the Chapter "The Art of Translation," Fox does a number of important things. First, he defines precisely what he means by a full-fledged educational "vision." He distinguishes between what he considers to be a developed "vision" of education and a mere "theory." Theories treat of entities defined and bounded by the disciplines — the organism, the economy, the personality or the society — from the perspective of this or that school of thought. Some theories can provide great and varied insight into the commonplaces of education — students, teachers, subject matters and milieus. Educational visions, however, are, in Fox's language "more comprehensive than theories." In addition to articulating conceptions of, say, human nature or knowledge, they make assumptions about the educational reality and the possible realization of theoretical ideas in practice. They set goals and standards for educational practice — stipulating, for example, that the "educated person" can only grow and flourish under certain environmental or "dietary" conditions. These stipulations encourage us, in turn, to "choose particular approaches to teaching and learning" over others and to choose certain curricular contents as opposed to others. They might suggest altogether new educational settings that have to be created — such as the community "enclave" and institutions that combine formal and informal education. In terms of the "five levels," then, "visions" include not only a philosophy (or a scientific theory) and a philosophy of education. A "theory" that is on its way to becoming a "vision" also contains an explicit or implicit "theory of practice."

At this point, a potential vision, or "proto-vision," is ready to move from the stage of "theory of practice" to the stage of application. Only when it is "translated" from theory to actual practice in the context of a deliberation that takes responsibility for implementation, does such a "proto-vision" become a full-fledged vision. It is then that it is brought into contact with insights derived from all the commonplaces of education and with the exigencies of the educational reality. In

Fox's language, it is only when all the commonplaces of education are "considered…one by one — and together as they influence each other" that a given "proto-vision" becomes a fully developed vision, or a "comprehensive guide to education in the actual circumstances that confront us."

This reminds me of a distinction that Fox often used in his seminars between what he called an "idea for education" and an "idea for research in education." He would say that an "idea for education" **is not even an idea** until it can be implemented. Other ideas for the improvement of education, even (and especially) the kind that seem logical, compelling and inspiring — but that cannot (yet) be shown to be practicable — he called "ideas for research in education." Ideas like this must be studied — with regard to their coherence and feasibility — by means of the different disciplines relating to the commonplaces. Will a certain educational orientation contribute to the intellectual, emotional or moral growth of the student? Can teachers sympathize with it and appropriate its innovative methodology? Will the authorities mandating education support it or see it as subversive? Does it represent a distortion of the subject matter? Only when "research" has been undertaken on issues like these, and the idea has been tested and deemed practicable in a given educational context, can it be called a full-fledged "idea for education." This dovetails very well with what Fox says here in "The Art of Translation." What he calls a fully developed "vision" in "The Art of Translation" runs parallel to what he would call an "idea for education" in his seminars. "Theories" are often mistakenly taken for "visions," and "ideas for research in education" are often mistakenly referred to as "ideas for education." Since both often use conceptual language, they are easily mistaken for each other. Educational policy-makers and planners, however, must be wary of "theories" dressed up as "visions" and "ideas for research in education" dressed up as "ideas for education." In an age of "coaching" and "management training," where the catchword "vision" is used so indiscriminately, Fox's admonitions — both in his teaching and in his writing — remain more relevant than ever.

Further along in the essay, Fox extrapolates a number of common educational implications that he believes derive from the writings of all the scholars who took part in the "Visions" project. In spite of the significant differences between them, thinkers representing Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Secular perspectives all seem to imply that Jewish education cannot really flourish unless it is 1) conceived as a project of lifelong learning, 2) places great emphasis on early childhood education, 3) recognizes the unique potential of informal education, and 4) emphasizes text study and text interpretation. Within the framework of each of these commonalties, however, Fox makes sure to advise us of the significant differences that obtain in their implied conceptions of curriculum and instruction.

For example, the "educated Jew" imagined by both Moshe Greenberg and Isadore Twersky would be one who had, from an early age, been accustomed by his/her teachers to the close reading and interpretation of original, sacred texts (as distinguished from teachers' narratives of textual content, or textbooks that "summarize" and homogenize this content). For Twersky, however, teachers of sacred text must be role models who enact the imperatives embodied in the texts they teach. Lack of consistency in this matter would be inauthentic from an educational point of view. For Greenberg, on the other hand, the most important virtue of the teacher would not necessarily be personal adherence to what the text says, but the ability to uncover the "text's [human and existential] profundity and its capacity to speak to the [innate] spiritual yearning of students." It is highly recommended that the reader study this essay together with the other chapters of the *Visions* book. This, in order to fully appreciate how Fox draws out educational implications like the ones mentioned above from the world-views and educational philosophies as articulated by the various thinkers.

As the chapter moves to its conclusion, Fox gradually moves away from deriving specific implications for practice from the ideas presented by the thinkers who took part in the project. He seems convinced that the implementation of any of the profound visions presented

in the book is dependent on the commitment and "education" of a number of key players often ignored, or insufficiently cultivated, by curriculum planners who wish to bring about educational change. For example, **principals** who lack basic Jewish literacy, though they may be excellent administrators, but will not be able to embody the ideals suggested by the various thinkers — whatever they might be. Principals should not assume that they can implement serious curricular changes within a school all by themselves. They will have to work with other stakeholders, such as directors of Jewish and general studies, master teachers, board members and others — if the suggested change is meant to actually permeate the atmosphere of the school. **Teachers** who are not convinced that their own lives and identities as teachers will be significantly enhanced by a given innovation — will not be motivated to cooperate in its implementation.

In what has sadly turned out to be something of a last will and testament, Fox concludes the chapter with a long excursus on the vital role of **policy-makers and lay people** in mandating and implementing educational change. As I recall, this issue preoccupied him for many years and figured prominently in the seminars he led at the Hebrew University in the '80s and '90s. This section reflects Fox's lifelong, wide ranging entrepreneurial experience in forming partnerships with key policy-makers — whether within the Israeli Ministry of Education or the Jewish Federation world in the Diaspora — for the advancement of comprehensive educational projects. In my view, this chapter, together with the entire *Visions* book, is required reading for all aspiring educational entrepreneurs. Within it, the potential innovator will find a most comprehensive checklist of issues that must be addressed if an educational project is to have a reasonable chance of success.

The two final entries in the anthology record, and reflect on, the actual implementation of two major projects in which Prof. Fox played a major role — the Ramah Camps in the Unites States and the MSEL in Israel. True, Fox had an equally central role in founding and leading a number of other institutions — such as the Melton Research Center

at JTS and the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University. His leadership role at Ramah and MSEL, however, is documented to the degree that the reader can actually follow how concrete decisions-in-action reflect the complex interaction between a sophisticated conception and a multifaceted reality.

The monograph "Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions" is the written record of an interview given by Fox to William Novak — who spent many years at Ramah, and later went on to be the editor of a number of important Jewish journals in the United States. Many of us who knew Prof. Fox as a university professor, as the director of the School of Education and the founder of the MSEL together with Morton L. Mandel, often forget that at the beginning of his career, back in 1954, he was the director of a summer camp — Ramah Wisconsin, the first of the Ramah camps. It was here that he began to contend with the difficulties that inevitably accompany the translation of theory to practice in education.

In the academic world, it is common to regard summer camps, and informal education in general, as a place where young people have the kind of pleasant experiences that might then motivate them to go on to something "more serious." One is hardly in the habit of thinking of summer camps as sites where philosophical ideas and psychological theories of the first order are enacted and applied. After reading "Vision at the Heart" a number of times, however, it became clear to me that Ramah was a place where the educational leadership actually worked to translate philosophy and theory at the highest level to the minutest details of camp life. When I got to end of the monograph, I found myself nodding and agreeing with Fox's summative statement that Ramah was most significantly about "combining sophisticated approaches to content and theoretical discussions with the most concrete and mundane nitty-gritty details." I could accept this statement as trustworthy, even though I have never been at the camp myself, since the monograph ends with a most candid and honest admission of the failures of Ramah — the central goals set by the

leadership that were never realized. This kind of candor is extremely rare in accounts of institutions by key stakeholders, and is itself worthy of special note.

Perhaps Fox's greatest contribution to the field, the one where he set a standard that had never been imagined before, was the "drafting" of academicians at the highest level, and of recognized leaders in the world of business — to support and lend their expertise to innovations in Jewish education. In my view, what might be called Fox's "meta-vision" was the redemption of Jewish education from its endemically low status by the systematic infusion of knowledge and status from the world of the academy and the business community into its deliberations and doings. While "Vision at the Heart" certainly mentions the cultivation of community leaders as a critical step in ensuring Ramah's success, a much more significant portion of the monograph is devoted to giving an account of the substantive contribution of Jewish scholars and world-class experts in general education to the day-to-day programming of the camp. The moral voice of Louis Finkelstein, the textual scholarship of Saul Lieberman, the theology of Heschel with regard to Shabbat and prayer, and the insight of Kaplan with regard to the parameters of Judaism as a comprehensive civilization are all described as inspiring specific aspects of the day-to-day conduct of the camp. Joseph Schwab's view of the interaction between thought and feeling — as expressed in his article "Eros and Education" — informed discussions of the interaction of the formal and informal dimension of the program. Most impressive for me in this regard, however, is Fox's account of the contribution of Bruno Bettelheim to what has come to be called the "hidden curriculum" of the camp. His concept of the school, or the camp, as a "home haven" for children in the face of the demanding and tension-producing programs imposed on young people on the "outside," served as a veritable model for the design of cabins and the components of the diet. In keeping with Bettelheim's conception of the camp as a total environment, particular attention was given to the human qualities of the supposedly "non-educational" staff.

"Vision at the Heart" stands out most particularly as a "thick description" of the actual implementation of a vision in reality, as well as its constant evaluation and monitoring. It is, for this very reason, a most reflective description; it is in this context that Fox himself articulates, in his own words, what he means by the "five levels" of motion from theory to practice and back again. In the interview, William Novak asks Fox to demonstrate what these "five levels" might look like in practice, and Fox replies by bringing examples from the life of the camp — one, as it were "spiritual" (prayer) and one, as it were "physical" (sports). With regard to prayer, for example, Level One, "Philosophy," would be concerned with questions of the possible relationship between human beings and God. At Level Two, "Philosophy of Education," one might ask how the assumed spiritual potential of children could be activated. As usual, however, Fox's richest comments relate to Level Three, the "Theory of Practice." It is in this context that he articulates what he might have called, in one of his seminars, "pre-prayer" — namely the dispositional precondition of prayer that would have to be cultivated first. He writes "You might decide that you can't really accomplish much in this area **until you make people sensitive to words,** because the whole assumption of prayer is that **reading or chanting certain words will set off something inside you.**" Frankly, this seemingly prosaic statement is one of the most profound **educational** analyses of the problematics of teaching prayer that I have ever encountered. It claims that maxims of practice will have to be developed that enhance sensitivity to the emotional and intellectual repercussions of words before a curriculum that actually "teaches prayer" has any chance of "taking."

Level Four, "Implementation," would involve devising a practical pedagogy composed of exercises and experiences wherein young people learn not to treat words casually. Regarding Level Five, "evaluation," observations of what actually happens to campers when this pedagogy is enacted would help to determine whether our diagnosis of the necessary pre-condition for prayer was on the mark or not. Perhaps the whole "philosophy" underlying the pedagogy,

wherein prayer is conceived as engendering a personal relation to the transcendent, or as stimulating an attempt to enter into relation with the transcendent — by way of the sounding of significant words — is not communicative. We might have to consider a philosophy of prayer that is more "meditative" in character. Such a move might raise a new question at Level One, namely whether or not the Jewish tradition contains models of meditative prayer — and what those models might be.

The last entries in this anthology refer to another foundational project initiated by the Chairman of the Mandel Foundation, Mr. Morton L. Mandel and Seymour Fox — an enterprise that has changed the status of educational and social leaders in Israel: The Mandel School for Educational Leadership. It was launched in 1992, and has been training and "growing" educational and social leaders up to the present day. Having had the privilege of teaching the Fellows on this program for a number of years, I can testify to the fact that MSEL has managed to recruit and cultivate a most outstanding "order" of informed, sensitive and reflective leaders. Many of them have taken up some of the most senior and influential positions in both the public and "third" sector of Israeli society. The MSEL was preceded by the Mandel Jerusalem Fellows Program, also planned and designed by Fox and his colleagues together with Morton L. Mandel, the aim of which was to cultivate leadership for Jewish education in the Diaspora as well as for programs designed for Diaspora Jews taking place in Israel. This premier program, in which I had the privilege to participate, ran from 1982 until 2007 (with one brief interruption) and provided something of a template on which the MSEL could build. Nonetheless, the Israeli reality posed unique educational problems that necessitated novel thinking and renewed deliberation. It is unfortunate that Prof. Fox did not leave behind a comprehensive reflection on the MSEL of the same depth and sensitivity as the interview that was held with William Novak concerning Ramah. Such a written reflection by Fox himself would have done greater justice to MSEL as a fully implemented vision that keeps evaluating and re-examining itself.

What we do have in writing, however, is Prof. Fox's speech at the launching of the program in 1992 — a speech that nonetheless outlines some of the major contours of MSEL as instituted then, articulating features of the program many of which have remained largely intact until the present day. We also have, thanks to the archive of the Mandel Foundation — Israel, some recorded protocols of a deliberation that took place in the year 2000 on the "conception of training" seen as necessary for the "education of the professional leader" within the framework of the MSEL program. We have chosen some instructive passages from that protocol, passages that shed light on the image of the ideal graduate of MSEL as conceived by Fox and his associates after the program had already been running for some years. In order to obtain a more complete picture of the "DNA" of the MSEL program, however, I highly recommend that the reader consult a comprehensive and penetrating article that has recently been written by Dr. Daniel Marom called "The Deliberative Journey: Founding Ideas of the Mandel School for Educational Leadership." This article will soon appear in a volume on the visions and rationales underlying the various Mandel-sponsored programs — to be published by the Mandel Foundation in the coming year.

What most immediately comes to mind when reading the dedicatory speech by Fox is the amount of reflection and research that was undertaken before the implementation of the MSEL program was decided upon. At the highest level of policy, the program represented a "wedding" of **ideas** long embraced by Mr. Morton L. Mandel concerning the centrality of quality personnel in the success of organizations and institutions with the acute **need** felt by then Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer for highly trained leaders to take up senior positions in the Ministry and the Israeli school system. Once this "meeting of the minds" had been established, a comprehensive investigation was undertaken on the characteristics of elite leadership institutions in countries with varying traditions — such as France, the United States and Israel. Only when precedents and alternatives had been studied, was it decided that "an institution could

be created that would be appropriate for Israel." This principle — that empirical research into previously existing and competing models must precede program planning and implementation — has since been incorporated into the program of MSEL itself. Only when consensus on feasibility was reached between the Mandel Foundation and the Ministry, was the support network of the program expanded and full finding obtained.

Further on in the address, the reader can identify all the main components of the MSEL program as they are still maintained, though in varying forms and with different relative "weights," in the curriculum today: the rigorous selection process, the main areas of common study — humanities/Judaica, policy studies and education — individual and group projects, the role of the tutor in facilitating reflection on and integration of the various elements of the program, etc. Some elements mentioned in the speech have by now only historical interest — the conception of a program with 40 participants, the possibility of integrating cohorts of Russian immigrants who were arriving in vast numbers at the time, the idea of a Mechina program and the encouragement of parallel enrollment in Universities and Yeshivot (this was later discouraged, since it was found that a Fellow could not really devote him/herself to the MSEL program itself under these conditions).

The anthology ends with excerpts from internal protocols composed by Fox in the year 2000 as part of a monitoring process of both MSEL and the MJF undertaken by the leadership of these programs. The document presents a profile of the "ideal graduate" of these programs, one who embodies the virtues of the "professional leader" as conceived by Fox, Morton Mandel and their associates. The document, entitled "Educating the Professional Leader," begins by insisting that future leaders guided by a vision must be aware of powerful visions other than their own. This allows them to choose or modify their vision in light of alternatives, and to defend it in the face of theoretical and practical challenges. This educational end is what justifies the inclusion of the "great visions" of ethics, society and education in the curriculum

of MJF and MSEL. This exposure to philosophy and philosophy of education at the highest level is also meant to help Fellows articulate their visions clearly and systematically — taking their example from the great thinkers of the past and present.

Fellows are also expected to be able to "translate" their visions into the complex reality they will be encountering when they graduate. For that reason they must "master the principles and practice of planning, or strategic development and implementation." It is this characteristic of the ideal graduate that justifies the inclusion of a policy component in the curriculum of Mandel programs. Further on in the document, we find Fox maintaining — as he did elsewhere — that implementation is not a step independent of "visioning." Rather a vision in the full sense of the word is always accompanied by implementation as part of its very conception. Fox also relates here that the process of implementation should cause participants in these programs to refine their philosophical and educational assumptions. This experience draws out the Fellow's strengths and weaknesses — and confronts him/her with aspects of his/her professional identity he/she might never have encountered before. At the end of the document, Fox enumerates some of the features of what he calls the "theory of practice institution" as distinguished from the University or on-the-job training institutions. This is an institution that, while it takes responsibility for the knowledge it generates, and the implementation of that knowledge by its graduates, (unlike universities) it also demands "the highest standards of theoretical grounding and justification" for any proposed practice (unlike on-the-job training). Perhaps more than any other, this document can help the reader understand why MJF and MSEL were built the way they were by Fox and Mr. Morton L. Mandel.

From the interview with William Novak concerning the principles and practices that informed everyday life at the Ramah camps, and from the address given at the launching of MSEL and the protocols monitoring the premier programs of the Mandel Institute — we get a glimpse of the actual **makings and workings** of some of the major projects that Seymour Fox envisioned and led in the course of his

career. They bear witness to the fact that Fox actually lived up to the demands he made of others: implementation was always an integral part of his educational visions — from conception to realization.

Future Possibilities for the Educational Thought of Seymour Fox

It is my hope that the above paragraphs will serve the reader as a "gateway" to the writings of Prof. Seymour Fox, a mentor and teacher from whom I personally learned so much. It is also my hope that this anthology will be widely read and studied by both academics and professional educators concerned with the enrichment of general and Jewish education in Israel and the Diaspora. Should this wish materialize, and this volume lead to a re-cognition and re-evaluation of the contribution of Seymour Fox to the theory and practice of education, it might be possible to imagine two significant developments taking place.

The first builds on the two basic orientations we found animating Fox's oeuvre — the normative and the deliberative — but seeks to go beyond the way Fox "held" them. As mentioned earlier, Seymour Fox was possessed of both a normative and a deliberative sensibility. On the one hand, he had a tremendous respect for scholars and thinkers, whether of the Jewish or Western tradition, who promulgated a demanding, normative and coherent world-view. On the other hand, he learned from Dewey and Schwab, and from his years of experience in curriculum development and institutional leadership, that competing normative world-views and theories would have to be significantly modified within the framework of an educational deliberation if they were to have any practical value. From the point of view of sensibility — what Avishai Margalit (in conversation) once called "the aesthetics of ideas" — Fox sensed both the normative and deliberative moments as "beautiful" and valuable. It would be difficult to say, especially since he opposed separating the emotions from the intellect, which he valued more. From a systematic point of view, however, it would appear that he actually assimilated the normative perspective to that of the deliberative. He insisted that all conceptions

of "truth" and the "good" be absorbed into an all-encompassing deliberative process. In the free play of deliberation, concerned with temporary solutions to ever-changing problems, no set of values could ever really remain "eternal" or "ultimate" — in the sense in which they were conceived by those who formulated them.

This feature of Fox's outlook often caused a certain unease in his seminars. Highly intelligent participants who were deeply committed to well-thought-out normative world-views were upset by the possibility that within the framework of a full-fledged deliberation, they might have to give up on their most profound beliefs if they could not be shown to "work." Isn't faith tested, some of them would say, precisely when it seems eminently unworkable?[26] Certainly, Fox was acutely sensitive to the fact that many members of curriculum groups are seriously committed to normative values and that this reality constrains the parameters of any deliberation. Still, like Schwab, he saw this, ultimately, as a **pragmatic contingency to be dealt with a posteriori** — not as a good in itself.

In this context, I would like to propose a way that the two elements that figured so prominently in Fox's thought and personality might live together, not only at the level of sensibility or the level of pragmatic co-existence. Let us suppose that within the framework of an educational deliberation, two incommensurable normative positions actually come together to form an **alliance of principle and not only of convenience.** Imagine that a traditional Jew (committed to the world-view that humans are not sovereign and that all Being is a gift of God) and a liberal democrat (who believes in human autonomy and in the human polity as the source of political sovereignty) are invited to take part in a curriculum deliberation together. Their task is to come up with a theme around which some curriculum materials on "Judaism and Democracy" can be written. After much discussion,

26 For a profound account of this position, see the famous essay by R. Joseph. B. Soloveitchik entitled "The Lonely Man of Faith" in *Tradition*, Volume 7, no. 2 (Summer, 1965).

the participants in the deliberation decide to focus on the theme of **idolatry**, or rather the charge to oppose idolatry, as both a Jewish and democratic imperative. It is proposed that the sources of the Jewish tradition and the sources of liberal democracy be accessed as resources to underline the insight that **human beings are not God**. **No human being should be endowed with God-like prerogatives.** In this curriculum, democracy would be presented as that form of government that can introduce the kind of checks and balances that can act to prevent tyranny — or the deification of the human being. This example illustrates how people with incommensurable world-views can sometimes agree, normatively and substantively, on **what they oppose** without necessarily agreeing on what they support. When that happens, however, they find that they can nonetheless espouse many of the **implications** of what they oppose — like certain features of democratic government. Precisely from my work with the MJF and the MSEL, pluralistic programs that are engaged in the search for a "common language," I have found that such alliances of principle can be formed.[27]

Finally, I would like to take the opportunity of the re-appearance, in one volume, of many of the writings of Seymour Fox, to issue a call for the reinstitution of philosophy of education and curriculum studies as major, constitutive disciplines in the study and practice of education. In the mid-twentieth century — well into the '70s, it was considered commonplace (in the conventional sense of the word!) that education needed to be guided by explicit, well-articulated, overarching philosophies — whatever they might be. It was inconceivable then that education could conduct its business on the basis of empirical studies alone. It goes without saying that educational planners need to have

27 For a more extensive discussion of this possibility, see my article "Deliberation, Tradition and the Problem of Incommensurability: Philosophical Reflections on Curriculum Decision-Making" in *Educational Theory* Vol. 49, no. 1 (Winter, 1999), pp. 71–89. As becomes clear in the article, I owe much of my thinking on this issue to insights gained from the writings of Erich Fromm, David Hartman, Avishai Margalit and Moshe Halbertal.

access to the latest empirical research on child development, societal trends, teaching and learning options, etc. Without this knowledge, educational visions will never be able to engage reality as it is. Fox himself insisted that knowledge of educational reality cannot and should not remain anecdotal. Still, the sub-discipline of the philosophy of education must be re-invigorated if education is to have direction and purpose. True, the post-modern age is not friendly to "ideologies" of any type, educational ideologies included. Yet, precisely the study of the philosophy of education can serve, by way of the analysis of concepts and the uncovering of hidden assumptions, to demystify some of the reigning ideologies and perhaps put some more considered alternatives in their place.

As far as curriculum studies are concerned, my intuitive sense is that they have lost much of their status in the profession as the result of an overall trend towards de-centralization in educational policy and planning. It is now much less legitimate for a central planning agency to be responsible for a state or national curriculum. Some put their faith in "school-based curriculum," claiming that those familiar with the local educational scene are best equipped to design relevant curriculum materials. I believe, however, that the writings of Fox (and the "earlier" Schwab) have shown that the depth and breadth of expertise that must be accessed in order to mandate a defensible curriculum can only be mustered by a central agency. Certainly, as my colleague Dr. Asher Shkedi has taught me, a curriculum must be adapted to local circumstances, preferably by teachers who will be using it, in order that it might "speak" to the specific needs of a school community. This, however, should come only after representatives of all the "commonplaces," including teachers and students, have brought their insights together to justify a reasonable choice from the many bodies of knowledge that might be chosen for study. It is my fervent hope, then, that this volume will stimulate a renewed interest in philosophy of education and curriculum studies, so that they might both regain their rightful place in the academy and in the profession.

As far as the texts of the various entries are concerned, we have tried as much as possible to preserve the writings of Prof. Fox in their original form. Since they were written in a number of genres, we thought it most fit to leave the notation system as it appears in each article intact — without undue attempt to harmonize the systems. Quotes without notation in the Introduction are all taken from the writings of Prof. Fox as they are found in the respective articles in this collection. In articles that began as speeches, or were actually presented as speeches, as well as in protocols, the original text was not always entirely complete and sometimes left certain matters unexplained. At those points, we have taken the liberty of adding very brief connecting words, or explanatory words, in brackets. All phrases in parentheses belong to the original text as composed by Prof. Fox.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the many people who contributed so much to the conception, design and expeditious publication of this volume. First and foremost, I would like to thank Ms. Annette Hochstein, a longtime associate of Prof. Fox and former President of the Mandel Foundation — Israel. It was she who encouraged me so earnestly over the years to take on this project and, more importantly, to complete it. Without her aid and support, the project could never have reached fruition. A hearty vote of thanks belongs also to Dr. Daniel Marom, one of Prof. Fox's most astute and intimate students, who gave generously and unselfishly of his insight and knowledge at various stages of the book's conception and production. Many thanks also to Mr. Avi Katzman of the Mandel Leadership Institute, who contributed greatly to the preparation of this anthology for publication. Sincere thanks go to Ms. Rachela Levanon of the Mandel Leadership Institute, who diligently coordinated between the functions of editing, proofreading and indexing — while all the time handling the many technical matters that invariably attend the publication of a volume of this kind. I extend my gratitude also to Ms. Natalie Geller of the archive of the Mandel Foundation — Israel, and her staff, who went out of their way to help me find important

documents left by Prof. Fox. Additional thanks go to three people whose efforts have significantly upgraded the quality of the volume — Ms. Rena Ashkenazi and Ms. Vivienne Burstein who proofread the entire manuscript, and Mr. Marc Sherman who designed the index. I am grateful also to the Keter Publishing House for the expeditious publication of the volume in such an aesthetically pleasing form. Finally, I wish to thank Mr. Morton L. Mandel, Prof. Jehuda Reinharz and Mr. Moshe Vigdor of the Mandel Foundation for their generous support of the publication of this volume.

May the memory of Prof. Seymour Fox be for a blessing.

Part One:

Featuring the Normative: Philosophy and Educational Ends

A Prolegomenon to a Philosophy of Jewish Education

If men are to lead a life of order, coherence, and meaning; if they are to live, in short, by principles; we, as educators and committed Jews, must fulfill two tasks. The first task is to discover the operative meaning or relevance of those principles in the circumstances of the present century. To do this is the necessary work of making the principles appropriate to the raw materials they must form, as well as to the ideas they represent. That is, they must be capable of molding the nascent character of our children here and now in the image of the ideals the principles represent. The task of so adjusting principles is analogous to the work of the wise judge in English common law: to adjust statutes written in one era so that they will apply effectively in another.

The second task flows from the first. It is the task of making real and actual what is so far only potential and possible; that is, the person who is, in values, habits, and skills, a living embodiment of the chosen principles. This task involves two stages. There is first the work of discovering those habits, skills, and values which spell out the ideal of the principle and then to use these enunciated qualities as the immediate, concrete, or proximate ends of education. The actual educational approach will then consist of the means necessary to attain the immediate or proximate ends. Thus we move, first, from an ideal to a possible; second, from the possible to a plan for making it real.

These are together the problems of education. Namely, to specify

to a modern context a body of principles, to specify the proximate ends which embody these principles, and to specify the means and methods which will lead to these proximate ends.

The profound philosophers and philosophies of education have proceeded thus. Having first developed their principles, they proceeded to adumbrate the kind of societies, men, actions and habits which would exhibit these principles. These embodiments of the principles then served as guides to determine the educational approach whose purpose it was to bring to life their ideal of man and society.

Let us examine, briefly and sketchily, two such complete philosophies so separated in time as Plato and Dewey, where we can see in bold relief the creation of an educational theory that flows from the context of the philosopher.

For Plato, the world we live in is composed of two ingredients: on the one hand, a component which is intelligible and good; on the other hand, a component which muddles and dilutes the intelligible good. Man is similarly divided, consisting of a reason which could make contact with the intelligible good in the world, and a part which chains and muddles this ability to perceive the good. Concretely, Plato saw man as a tripartite psyche or soul. The first of the parts of man was the Rational — [wherein man learns and understands the intelligible good]. The second part was Appetitive — that with which man desires, wishes, wants. The third part was the Spirited — the source of energy which under "normal" conditions abides by the rule of the Rational.

Up to this point we have, in Plato, the development of principles in an ideal form and the invention of a schema by which to state them, the function of a merely formal philosophy. Were those precepts to be used without undertaking what we call the first task of the educators, to indicate the relevance of the principles, Plato would have proceeded to recommend a state consisting entirely of disembodied intellects; men altogether shorn of appetite, serving reason only. But, he is guilty of no such ellipsis. He faces the fact of human differences. He poses a state therefore in which a structure of classes takes account of varying

human abilities. Each of these classes mirrors the rule of reason in a different way, each way appropriate to the ability of the individual in the class. Having thus changed his ideal to the possible, he proceeds to the second step, that of moving from the possible to a plan for making it real. The first phase of this second step is to spell out the competence required of each class. This he does, creating a ruling, an auxiliary class [dedicated to the public security], and an artisan class. The last phase of the second step is to turn to the store of culture, of science, and scholarship available to him and to select therefrom the materials and methods appropriate to his proximate possible ends. Therefore, in Books II, III and VII of *The Republic*, Plato selects the appropriate education: first music and gymnastics, then arithmetic and geometry, as preparation for the dialectic — the method required to grasp truth and reason.

For John Dewey, on the other hand, the world we live in is a flux created by the effects of living things constantly attempting to modify themselves and their environment. Every effort at change instigated by a need, leads to [further] changes and so on ad infinitum. The only way for a man to approach such a world is by rational efforts at perceiving problems and inventing solutions — the method of inquiry or, in more popular terms, the "scientific method".

Dewey saw man therefore as primarily an inquiring animal; one who felt needs as do all living things, but also one who sought to anticipate and identify his needs; one who sought to invent and develop an armory or variety of means for their solution.

Up to this point we have in Dewey the development of principles in merely an ideal form. Had he followed these without taking the step which moves the ideal to the possible, Dewey would have commended a world in which all men equally participated in all inquiries. But again, the philosopher is guilty of no such ellipsis. He recognized the diverse needs and interests of different men, their diverse abilities, and the complex structure of modern society. He develops a scheme of social relations and communications, and a division of labor with respect to the kinds of problems and problem-solving knowledge.

With this scheme, he is able to recognize different kinds and levels of problem-solving competences, any one of which could be the proximate or immediate goal of a school, depending on the abilities, needs and social situations of its clientele.

Thus, like Plato, he moves his "ideal" to the realm of possibility and proceeds to what we have named the second step. To make his plan for converting the possible to the real, he turns to what we know of human love, human association and human learning and adapts them to the classroom, the apprenticeship, the committee, the community, and other learning situations.

The second phase of step two, that of prescribing specific means or methodologies, is more difficult for Dewey than for Plato because Dewey's conception of a world in flux forbids his specifying the precise materials and methods used. Rather, he must take his second step by proxy; by describing the training and behavior of the teacher, leaving to such a teacher the task of final selection of materials and methods.

We see, in these two examples, the essential components of a defensible program of education; ultimate ends, proximate ends, and materials with methods. Each is developed in the light of the others; the proximate ends mirroring the ultimate and designed for feasibility, the means developed as means to the proximate ends.

But, when we approach Jewish education somehow we find the picture far less clear. It is almost as though Jewish education and Jewish educators have forgotten the problem of ends or goals. Or possibly, they have assumed that the ends are given and therefore need not be re-examined. But, whatever the case may be, and whatever the cause, Jewish education has paid a very heavy price for its refusal to deal in depth with the problem of a philosophy of Jewish education. There have been many people who have documented the extent to which Jewish education is aimless. And when education is aimless then the practical, the means of education, educational methodology, becomes a matter of taste. One teaches a given way or organizes subject matter because it appears to succeed. But, it appears to succeed only because

success is vague and ill-defined. In fact, we ask little or nothing about what we succeed at or whether the successes are appropriate to our ultimate aims. We act as if the means of Platonic education could be used to achieve the ends of Dewey and that the means of Dewey and education could be used to achieve the ends of Jewish education.

Any observer of the Jewish school notices how Jewish education points with pride to the use of "modern" methodologies of education. Some of these means and methods disclosed by modern science doubtless could and should be utilized in developing the educated or ideal Jew. The determining question will be, however: Do these means give promise of developing the ends implied within the Jewish tradition? In short, one must be critical in employing the means disclosed by "scientific" education or psychology for they are not neutral. They will serve only those ends whose principles are consistent with the principles of the science which created the means. For example, a medical therapy based on one conception of health and disease will, if successful at all, achieve the state of health from which the therapy was derived. If the health we wish to achieve is in any way fundamentally different we must remodel the therapy. Thus, in psychiatry Freud, Sullivan, and Fromm differ as to what constitutes health or cure. Therefore, they imply and employ different means of therapies.

Jewish education cannot escape this dilemma. It cannot import means of education from one scheme or system and ends from another and hope that they will work together except by lucky accident.

The problem for a philosophy of Jewish education is to disclose the principles that will lead to a coherent structure of ends and means. Principles which are Jewish, embodiments appropriate to life in the 20th century, means and methodologies which indeed will lead to those embodiments and not some unknown others.

Even this statement of our problem must come under the principles we are trying to state; this is an ideal. It will not, in any simple sense, be achieved. It is an ideal, and not a possible. The possible must take account of the vast riches which constitute the Jewish tradition, and

the great inventiveness which characterizes Jewish scholarship. In brief, we will not achieve a **single** system of Jewish education to which we all subscribe. Instead, we must expect, nay welcome, a number of such schemes differing as different scholars give different weights to different sources of Jewish tradition and organize them according to their lights. But each scheme will be a valid theory for education and an authentic image of Judaism.

I would like to suggest an approach, a framework, with which one could view the Jewish tradition, with the hope of discovering the educational theories implicit in it. It has been formulated with the help of Professor Joseph Schwab, my teacher and colleague, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago.

A. Practical specification

Only rarely does a tradition specify its ideal of the educated man explicitly enough for educational purposes. Instead, it is implied in stated ideals and approved conditions of the state, the society, the family, the hero, the person and the relations of men to each other and God. Hence, the educational ideal must be spelled out from such sources in its own terms. One set of terms for such a specification follows.

To begin with the most general categories, it is usually necessary to state:

1. What bodies of knowledge the educated man is to possess, e.g., science, mathematics, history, ethics.
2. In what state this knowledge is possessed, i.e., on the one hand, whether as received, unquestionable doctrine, as the product of ongoing enquiry, as substance for continuing revision, or as passing sophistry. On the other hand, whether held by the individual man only at the verbal level as something capable of being repeated, or in more intimate ways, as for instance, knowledge known in terms of its validating arguments and evidence and as wisdom to be brought to bear on appropriate problems.

3. What skills [must be acquired by the educated person] — intellectual, interpersonal, artistic or technical — [in his relationship to] God, to fellow men, to himself, to work and play, to natural things, to things made by man.

To expand the above categories:

1. Knowledge: It is useful to divide knowledge into large sets such as the following, and to determine for a culture (a) what relative emphases it makes among them, and (b) what specific content it places in each:
   - 1.1 "Sciences": All organized theories and doctrines.
     - Science of nature: science in the modern sense, metaphysics, etc.
     - Science of human and divine past: history
     - Science of God: theology
     - Science of the good, the true, the beautiful: ethics, politics, aesthetics, epistemology
   - 1.2 "Mathematics" and "logic": Organized lore concerning *how* to think or concerning the ideational forms into which knowledge is to be cast.
   - 1.3 Art: Knowledge of the elements, structure and variety of works of fine art.
   - 1.4 Technics: Knowledge of the variety, structure and elements of the useful arts, whether as things to be used or as things to be made (including agriculture and husbandry, as well as the arts of inanimate objects).
   - 1.5 Practice: Grasp of rules and precepts governing behavior — the bases of personal, social, juridical and political decision and action.

2. The state of knowledge: This category is difficult to specify beyond the remarks made in the first paragraph above.

3. Skills:
   - 3.1 Intellectual skills
     - Basic:
       - Languages, numbers, calculation, measurement
     - Nature:
       - Of enquiry
         - Discovery and invention of principles, evidence, data.
         - Inference and interpretation: leading from principles, evidence, data to theories, conclusions, laws.
       - Of application and emendation
         - Adaptation of knowledge to changing or growing problems and circumstances.
         - Specification of knowledge to particular cases, conditions and problems.
   - 3.2 Interpersonal skills: the skills required to initiate and maintain human relations
     - Hierarchical:
       - Governance, leadership, admonishment, advising, teaching; being governed, obedience, servitude, learning.
     - Nurturant:
       - Parenthood, love and friendship, support and assistance.
     - Peer:
       - Maintenance of individuality and difference; coming to agreement and cooperation; group, team and mass action.
   - 3.3 Artistic and technical skills:
     - Skills desired for all
       - Specialized skills — vocations, avocations.
   - 3.4 Manners:
     - Rituals of daily life

4. Values: as expressed in habits and attitudes

Work and leisure:	whether work is treated as a necessity, a duty, a satisfaction. whether undertaken for itself primarily or for the end product. whether leisure is growth and fulfillment or regeneration of energy or the occasion for license, etc.
Relation to God:	whether God is an inscrutable manipulator, implacable meter of intelligible justice, a placable power, giver to beggars, Father and Protector, friend, etc.
Self:	conceptions of personal honor, duty, right privilege.
Others:	See Appendix I.
Things and events:	whether master or victim, i.e., whether attitude to the world is one of intelligent use, adaptation and structuring, or one of fear, and submission to the unknowable and uncontrollable.

B. Sources of evidence of a culture's conception of the educated man

Cultures are too various and their histories, memorials and other records occur in too varied a form to permit a universal format for the search for evidence concerning the educated man. Hence, what follows is only suggestive and will be applicable only in part to the record of any one culture.

Further, it should be borne in mind that the idea of uniformity suggested by the phrase "a culture" is very likely to be a romantic

simplification. A given culture is likely to be woven of several competing original views. Further, as time passes, there is development, change or addition of novel elements. Hence, one may need to report several views of the educated man or to select one among several as the major prevailing or increasingly dominant mode.

Ideals

1. National or group aspirations [concerning the collective self-image, or that of] other nations or groups:
   Whether conquest or co-existence. If the former, its conception of the conquered: whether enslaved, uncultured, colonized, exploited. If the latter, how peaceful relations are maintained: by trade isolation, by cultural exchange, by cultural assimilation.
   Each of these intentions – enslavement, exploitation, cultural exchange, etc., implies certain qualities necessary in leaders and representatives of the culture and these constitute one contribution to the image of the educated man.

2. Group aspiration re itself:
   - 2.1 Whether of economic austerity, simplicity, well-being or luxury.
   - 2.2 Whether class-structured or homogeneous. If class-structured, what distinguishable leadership and "followership" rules are implied.
   - 2.3 Whether conceived as a political entity or a looser aggregate of clans, tribes, families or individuals. On this choice will rest the culture's emphasis on social and cohesive virtues versus individual virtues and achievements.
   - 2.4 What relative emphases on
     Life of the group: love, friendship, parenthood, cronies, neighborliness. As this factor is emphasized, so also are the interpersonal virtues together with the

skills and values necessary to maintain smoothness of relations: distributive and retributive justice, sharing of goods, cooperation, readiness for consensus.

Life of the individual: the celebration of maximum development of individuality; whether the bent is social, active, intellectual, spiritual, etc.

Life of activity: farming, husbandry, crafts, industry, trade.

Life of service: to each other or to strangers; glorification of the physician, the minister, the father, the friend.

Life of taste: the aesthetic; glorification of the production and appreciation of the fine arts. (Not to be confused with [that kind of] art which functions primarily to celebrate national achievement, e.g., monuments, public buildings, epics.)

Life of mind: scholarship, learning, enquiry.

Life of the 'spirit': rites, contemplation, ecstasy, "other-worldliness", preparation for death or an afterlife.

Life of the body: hedonics; food, drink, play, athletics, games, spectacles, sex, other forms of amusing or being amused.

3. Heroes
    3.1 Whether uniform or varied: If varied, what variety, e.g., warriors, athletes, judges, prophets, priests, martyrs, artists, scholars, the specific virtues which define a heroic judge, artist, warrior, etc. The degree of heroism attributed to each variety.

There also may be a marked absence of heroes, their place being taken by the notion of commonly-achieved ideals such as the good father, the good son, the good citizen, good king. These yield evidence which overlaps category 2.

4. Ideals formulated as exhortations, warning, advice: the content of these orations, preaching, and so on which have been preserved and honored.

Reals

5. The form of government:
   Whether loose or rigid control. The distribution of rights, powers and responsibilities. The source of power of governors: whether hereditary, elected, anointed, etc. Each of the above possibilities implies its own list of civic virtues which would constitute one major responsibility of the educational means and institutions.

6. The family:
   Its ramifications (whether two or more generations, whether lineal or expansive), its role in the society, the duties and relations which hold among its members. Each of these again call for certain capacities, habits, attitudes, etc.

7. Circumstances and economics:
   urban, rural, nomadic, austere, luxurious, free, persecuted, subjugated, enslaved, inimical or friendly climate, geographic isolation or conjunction with other cultures or nations.

8. The common life:
   category 2, except in fact, instead of an ideal.

9. The extant literature and art:
   9.1 Its genres and subject: i.e., whether primarily scientific, religious, ethical-political, etc. (see A1 and A2).

9.2 Its degree of sophistication and advancement.
9.3 Specific items of content: e.g., pictures and narratives of individual lives, of group life, etc.

When we answer such questions as these (and, of course, a more complete set of questions will emerge as we pursue the investigation) then I believe we will discover the image of the ideal or educated Jew. This would enable us to take the remaining steps which constitute the whole of a defensible theory of education. We will create appropriate new means and methodologies of Jewish education and possibly new educational institutions.

It is unnecessary to despair at what appears to be, at first blush, an overwhelming task. Educators have created new means and new educational institutions when they were faced with the problem of developing a given image of an educated man. For example, a new organization of subject matter; new means of instruction that taps the creativity of the child; a new organization of objective elements in the educational situation. All of these were created in little less than two decades between the promulgation of Dewey's theory and the full flowering of the progressive school.

A democratic society that assumes it can develop creative, growing people must invent the means to achieve this end. And so, a means was developed that created a new profession – group work. As it is well known, this profession has found expression not only in informal group setting, but in education, religion, business and therapy.

I believe that investigation of the Jewish tradition with a view toward discovering the educational philosophy implicit in it might provide us with some startling discoveries. What does the notion of *shimush talmidey chachamim* mean? Obviously the *talmid chacham* was not only to be observed to recognize and emulate his behavior. The intellect and the character trait seemed to be inseparably bound up in this notion. What is implied is a synthesis of the intellectual and affective in man that if emulated would virtually transform the emulator?

Something like this is emerging from certain modern sources of psychiatric theory: a view which reorganizes the traditional structures of the 19th century and recent personality theories. It may well be that an adequate development of the Jewish traditions and nascent developments in current psychiatric theory would converge to develop a new bond between ethics and psychology to replace the current state of things in which psychology has all but assimilated morals.

The inner life of man is a central consideration in Judaism. How this inner life of man is conceived and what means are implied to make contact with this might offer some very important insights. The relation of *kavana* to *ma'aseh*, of intent to action, implies a notion of responsibility that appears to be very intriguing.

A Prolegomenon frees the author from the responsibility of presenting a full-blown statement. By the very approach to educational philosophy that has been presented, no one individual could hope to present the finished product. The task of developing an educational philosophy is an interdisciplinary endeavor requiring text scholars who are acquainted with the problems of philosophy and education, educators and philosophers rooted in text who are sensitive to and respect the materials of the tradition.

This is a task that must be faced for the future of Jewish life, not only in this country but throughout the world. It requires that we define very precisely what it is that we so want to preserve.

Toward a General Theory of Jewish Education

In order to deal effectively with the problems of Jewish education,[1] it is first necessary to locate the particular areas of dissatisfaction. Very often discussions of Jewish educational shortcomings are merely discussions of solutions which are difficult to justify because they have not been related to any specific problems. For instance, we are told that what Jewish education needs most for the alleviation of its ills are large sums of money. Now it is true that Jewish education is woefully underfinanced and that any significant program of improvement would probably require more funds than are currently available, but funding, crucial as this is, should not, I believe, precede decisions concerning ideas or programs. We are also told — and this, too, is indisputable — that Jewish education cannot succeed unless the child attends classes for more than the usual three or six hours a week; but rarely do we consider what might be done with this additional time, and what the nature of any new program should be. Similarly, in the matter of teaching personnel, which some see as the "basic" problem of Jewish education, one can hardly deny that the quality of teaching leaves much to be desired, and that new and different personnel must be recruited; however, any changes that are to be initiated must depend on one's conception of Jewish education.

The above recounting hardly exhausts the list of complaints that have been offered to explain the sad state of Jewish education in the

1 In this chapter Jewish education refers essentially to formal educational programs.

United States. Be that as it may, they all fail to deal with the fundamental problem — the nature of the Jewish education we want to develop or preserve. I stress this point not merely to state the obvious, that means are somehow related to ends in education. Rather, I should like to emphasize that none of the solutions offered can possibly succeed if the nature of Jewish education has not been clarified. We cannot hope to attract talented young teachers — apart from the question of the profession's low status and salaries — unless Jewish education is presented as an honorable cause, worthy of professional devotion. We will not be able to develop new or even different curricula for Jewish schools unless the specialists — scholars, teachers, and educators — are inspired by authentic conceptions. We will not even convince the various funding agencies within the Jewish community to change their priorities and to allocate substantial sums for Jewish education unless we can argue convincingly that the education we want to develop has some chance of substantially affecting the lives of their constituencies.

In short, I maintain that the most urgent problem facing Jewish education today is its lack of purpose and, consequently, its blandness. Therefore, until we engage in serious deliberation aimed at rectifying this state of affairs, we cannot even hope to deal with all the other issues that demand solution. Let me state at once that deliberation alone regarding the ends and content of Jewish education and new conceptions of Jewish education will not solve the problems. Rather, deliberation is both a prior and necessary condition that will make it possible subsequently to tackle such questions as curricula, personnel, structure, and financing.

It is generally assumed that a base for this kind of deliberation already exists, that one has only to study current practice to uncover its implicit philosophy. Of course current practice must be carefully investigated, but it is my feeling that the investigation of most forms of Jewish education, except for the ultra-Orthodox, would reveal that their curricula and methods of teacher training bear little resemblance to what the leadership of the given movement, school, institution claims to be central in its conception of education.

It is necessary to cite several examples in order to clarify this point. Let us consider first the importance of character development, which all Jewish religious groups in the United States, I believe, regard as one of the main purposes of education. An investigation of the existing programs of Jewish schooling would reveal that character education does not play a significant role. If it can be demonstrated that Jewish education as it is presently constituted barely concerns itself with character education, then I am sure that most Jewish scholars, rabbis, and parents would agree that a serious revision of Jewish educational practice is called for.

Another area of consensus, shared by practically all trends of Jewish religious thought, is the centrality of *halakha* (taken philosophically and psychologically) in Jewish life. An aim of religious education should, therefore, be to find ways to commit the young to the concept of *halakha* and to teach them how to use *halakha* as a guide in their everyday lives. Youngsters, whether attending Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform religious schools, should thus be taught to develop the ability to apply *halakhic* principles to a variety of practical situations. The ability to recall the appropriate principle at the proper time, and to choose properly among different and sometimes conflicting principles, as well as the skill required to apply principles to complex practical situations, are vital if we are interested in developing Jews who want to live by *halakha*. It may be that traditional Jewish education, with its heavy investment of time and energy devoted to mastering the details and method of the Talmudic dialectic, had as its goal the development of precisely such talents. It is questionable whether under present conditions this method remains viable, but we have as yet found no substitute.

There seems to be a good deal of evidence that the State of Israel plays an important part in the lives of American Jews, yet the subject of Israel has been virtually ignored by the American Jewish religious schools. This is not the place to discuss in detail the various aspects of this particular question; indeed, it deserves a separate chapter. Suffice it to note here that Israel is an important issue for the philosophy of Jewish education, and that the study of Israel should be introduced

into the curricula of schools and teacher-training institutions. Israel is also a source of teacher personnel and should be utilized for the training of American Jewish educators.

Another subject which has received insufficient attention — as Professor Abraham J. Heschel has noted — is the teaching of Jewish philosophy and theology. Professor Heschel's plea to include these studies in the curriculum of the Jewish school remains unanswered, and his valuable suggestions for the teaching of prayer, while acclaimed in public, are ignored in practice. Finally, the Holocaust is barely mentioned in our classrooms. These are but a few examples of how the Jewish school neglects its responsibilities.

I cannot avoid complicating the discussion by indicating that the means and techniques that have been adopted by Jewish education are often imported indiscriminately from general education. Since the means of education are not neutral, it is quite possible that some of the means employed for Jewish education cancel out whatever there is in Jewish education that is related to "authentic" Judaism.[2] There is, therefore, an urgent need for a serious discussion of what kind of Jewish education would reflect the various conceptions of Judaism. Such a discussion would result in the development of competing philosophies of Jewish education, but this, in turn, would make it possible for creative educators to develop means appropriate to the basic ideas in each of these philosophies.

It may appear frivolous to suggest philosophical discussion when the "house is burning," but I believe that such deliberation is ultimately the quickest, most effective way to extinguish the fire and to rebuild.

Philosophical deliberation would affect educational decisions in several areas, the first of which is curriculum. The current curriculum of the Jewish school is, by and large, based on the models of its predecessors — the *cheder* and the *yeshiva* — but modified in the light

2 I have discussed this matter in detail in "A Prolegomenon to a Philosophy of Jewish Education," in *Kivunin Rabim — Kavana Achat* (Jerusalem: School of Education of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 145–154. This volume was published on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Professor Ernst Simon.

of the reduced instruction time in the present-day institutions. This is hardly a sound educational approach. What is possible and appropriate for a fifteen to twenty hour a week program is often impossible and inappropriate for a three to six hour a week program. Moreover, despite the limited time, the modern school attempts to teach subjects that were not deemed necessary in the *cheder* or the *yeshiva,* such as prayer, "synagogue skills," and simple Jewish observances, all of which were formerly handled within the domain of the family and the community. Nowadays, of course, the family and the community are no longer equipped for the task, and the school has been forced to assume the burden. Overburdened by more subjects than it can possibly handle, and lacking a guiding philosophy that would enable it to pick and choose among subjects competing for the limited time available, the Jewish school finds itself virtually paralyzed.

This lack of clarity, with all its disastrous results, is evident in almost any subject taught in the Jewish school. Let us examine two of these, Hebrew and Bible. Hebrew is taught in most afternoon and day schools and in many one-day-a-week schools. The time allocated to the study of Hebrew in the afternoon school is usually from one-third to one-half of the total available teaching time during the first three years. Results have been most disappointing, and consequently the study of Hebrew is usually a source of tension among parents, rabbis, and educators. When we examine the methods and materials of the various programs developed to teach Hebrew, we discover that almost all of them are geared to the mastery of modern Hebrew speech. The programs devote only token time to the problem of effecting a transition from modern Hebrew to the Hebrew of the Bible and prayer book. There has been even less concern for developing materials and preparing personnel to deal with this transition. Yet it is asserted that the purpose of Hebrew study is to prepare the child to participate in the synagogue service and to understand the prayers, the Bible, and other classic Jewish texts.[3] Some educators, of course, contend that

3 Professor Chaim Rabin, the distinguished linguist of the Hebrew University, has

the purpose is to develop spoken language skills. If so, it is difficult to understand how this goal is to be achieved within the limited time available. We have here a striking example of a major school subject whose purpose for inclusion in the curriculum is unclear; the result is a series of inappropriate and dated compromises.

Bible is taught in Jewish schools with almost no concern for the relevance of the subject to the life of the child.[4] By and large, the Bible is not even treated as a religious or ethical text. Often, Biblical verses, commentary, and *midrash* are used interchangeably, leading to confusion in the mind of the student. The teacher avoids dealing with questions that are of interest to the child, such as the divinity and historicity of the Bible. The teacher cannot help but avoid these issues [but] he has not been trained to handle them. There are no materials to guide him and there is no effort to provide him with in-service training.

Bible study, therefore, often leaves the child with the impression that religion deals only in legends. In many cases, it is not until the Hebrew school student reaches college and takes a course in religion that he learns, for the first time, that the Bible is great literature, that it deals with basic ethical issues, and that it expresses a significant world view different from that of other ancient Near Eastern societies. This condition will continue as long as there is no commitment to specific goals for Bible teaching. As soon as such a commitment is made, our educational agencies will be forced to prepare appropriate materials, and to train and retrain teachers so that they can handle or at least grapple with the desired goals.

There is a strong feeling that Jewish educational matters are being dealt with more successfully in the day school than in the afternoon

asserted that it is extremely difficult to teach spoken Hebrew to children in Jewish schools in the United States as a step toward a mastery of the Hebrew of the Bible and the prayer book.

4 An important exception is the work of the Melton Research Center, and certain materials prepared by the Reform Movement and by the American Council for Judaism.

schools. It may be too early to judge, but my impressions are that the day school has only enlarged and intensified the current program of Jewish education. In some cases this has made for "success"; that is, if there are more hours available for the teaching of Hebrew and Bible, the child will certainly "know" more. Also, full-time teachers are likely to be better teachers and remain longer than their part-time colleagues. However, such matters as character education, commitment, and Jewish involvement do not seem to receive novel or consistent treatment in the day school. There have been some attempts to integrate general and Jewish subjects, but there has been little thought given to the preparation of materials that could launch the day school on new paths.

I do not believe that curriculum revision in general is a theoretical undertaking. It is essentially a practical endeavor,[5] requiring an analysis of failures in the educational reality (student boredom, poorly trained teachers, parental dissatisfaction, lack of achievement), a decision on the nature of the problem, and subsequent creation of means to tackle the problem. However, for the Jewish school, a good deal of theoretical discussion will have to precede analysis of the reality, for the latter has been determined in many cases by implicit and explicit commitments that will continue to render Jewish education problematic unless the commitments are disclosed, and criticized. We will have to decide why we want to teach Hebrew, for that will determine what kind of Hebrew we teach and how we teach it. We will have to decide whether the Bible must be studied in the original Hebrew, and, if so, how to treat its religious and ethical ideas. We will have to decide whether the majority of children are to leave the Jewish school knowing nothing more about Judaism than the Bible, or whether their course of instruction shall

5 For a discussion of curriculum as a practical endeavor see Joseph J. Schwab, *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1970); and Seymour Fox, "A Practical Image of the Practical," in *Curriculum Theory Network* (Toronto, Ontario: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1973), pp. 60–77.

also include Talmud, medieval philosophy and literature, modern Hebrew literature, and modern Jewish theology.[6]

No doubt there will be much discussion as to just how many subjects the Jewish school can reasonably teach and what their content should include. But it is difficult to understand how we will be able to make reasonable or defensible decisions unless we arrive at some kind of consensus as to the basic ideas for the curriculum of the Jewish school.[7] This kind of deliberation will make it possible for us to discover, invent, and import (where appropriate) means that are likely to lead to the goals we have agreed upon. For example, if we identify large portions of Jewish education with character education, we will have to devise means of education, possibly even new educational institutions, to meet this challenge. We will also have to take into account the contribution of informal Jewish education — camping, youth movements, junior congregations, and so on.[8] A clarification of the goals and content of Jewish education will make it possible for us to assign different and complementary tasks to the school, the youth movement, the club, the junior congregation, and the camp. Vacation periods, holidays, and community service would be viewed as integral parts of the curriculum, and thus change the content and form of the formal curriculum. I have been encouraged to believe, by the work of the Melton Faculty Seminar — consisting of scholars in Bible history, Jewish and general philosophy, Talmud, Hebrew literature, Jewish and general education — that goals can be agreed upon which will yield content and curriculum materials that would revolutionize the Jewish school.

We will have to invest a good deal of money and energy in social-

6 These subjects are handled for the most part in the Jewish high school, which no more than 20 percent of Jewish children attend.

7 Even with consensus, alternative and competing curricula will be developed to attain the same goals.

8 Though the effectiveness of informal education, e.g., camping, has not been demonstrated "scientifically," there is good reason to assume that it is a very powerful tool for Jewish education. Camps such as Ramah, Massad, and Cejwin appear to have made a great impact.

science research to accompany our investigation of the goals and content of Jewish education. I do not pretend to know whether ample psychological and sociological research has been undertaken concerning the Jewish community. However, almost no information concerning the attitudes, reactions, and commitments of students in Jewish schools is available to the educator. We know even less about parents and the family as related to Jewish education. We do not know the answers to such questions as: What would happen if schools "succeeded"? Would parents then engage in subtle sabotage? What are the expectations of rabbis, teachers, and educational administrators as to the potential of Jewish education? Could young people be induced into the profession of Jewish education if it were viewed as the vehicle by which the Jewish community would be transformed into a subculture struggling to respond to traditional ethical and religious values in the complex world in which we live? How does community leadership feel and think, and how would it react if new, unusual, and expensive programs of Jewish education were presented?

Such problems, and many others, would have to be investigated if the educational reality is to be dealt with seriously, for there is little doubt that, having agreed upon goals and content for Jewish education and even having discovered promising means and methods, logistics and strategy will change means and ends as we are forced to decide about priorities.

Greater clarity as to the goals of Jewish education and sensible curricular suggestions would prepare us for the deliberation concerning personnel and the structure of the Jewish school. It is difficult to justify the current approach to the recruitment, training, and retraining of personnel. No significant recruitment program has been attempted. Teacher training has not been reexamined for years, and the number of students being trained is inadequate. The financing of teacher-training institutions is not treated seriously, and the faculty of these institutions must be supported, enlarged, and supplemented. As to retraining, it is all but nonexistent.

Though we probably ought to defer judgment on how to treat

the problem of personnel until we have a clearer notion of the kind of Jewish education we want to develop, there is one aspect of the question that appears to permit discussion even at this early stage of our thinking. It is an astonishing fact that there are practically no scholars or researchers in the field of Jewish education. Obviously, this is a very serious matter, for how can we hope to train proper personnel or look at Jewish education reflexively if there are no experts to undertake these tasks? As long as the leadership of Jewish education is administrative rather than scholarly by training and experience, the problem of personnel will remain insoluble. If Jewish education is discussed only in terms of time, money, and space, or embedded in slogans that ignore complexity and diversity, we can only repel the very people we need most to attract. We should, I believe, learn from experience in the field of Jewish studies at the university level, where a few outstanding scholars have attracted a substantial following and are able to compete successfully for the allegiance of bright and talented Jewish students. This may prove to be the key to many other matters.

It is my contention that the necessary discussion on the goals and curriculum of the Jewish school cannot be undertaken by the present leadership of Jewish education (though it should have a significant role in the deliberation).[9] For this we will need the expertise of scholars in the field of Judaica as well as social scientists, who must somehow be induced to devote their academic talent to the problems of Jewish education. This is by no means a radical suggestion. The pattern already exists in general education, where great benefits are being derived from the partnership of educators, subject-matter specialists, and social scientists. If we can recruit such people to the education faculties of teacher-training schools and rabbinical seminaries, and

9 This is not to be taken as a negative criticism of the present leadership of Jewish education or their predecessors. They were forced to devote their lives to the building of the institutions we are now looking at reflexively. It is doubtful whether they had any other options open to them.

if we can establish research institutes,[10] we will be well on our way toward the desired restructuring of Jewish education in this country. The challenge to effect needed changes in Jewish education should prove attractive to young Jewish students who are looking for ways to join scholarship with action and commitment. If Jewish education would involve itself in character training, and seek to emphasize the need for roots[11] as well as involvement in the contemporary society, it would undoubtedly attract many talented young people to its professional ranks.

At this stage of our thinking there is little to be gained from considering the many other problems of personnel. As I have emphasized, solutions will depend on answers to the prior questions of philosophy, curriculum, and available resources. However, it is important to note that we are currently in the grip of rigid and unimaginative procedures. We train one kind of teacher for all tasks, and training methods are basically the same in all teacher-training institutions. But can one teacher develop language skills as well as conduct an inquiry into the traditional texts? Should this same person also be expected to serve as the model of religious behavior to be emulated by the students? On the other hand, is it necessary to have all tasks in the Jewish school handled only by graduates of teachers' institutes? Cannot housewives, for instance, or college students, or even teenagers be trained to perform certain tasks? It may be that such people can do better at some tasks than the graduate teachers.

The structure of Jewish education — that is, the organization of the schools and the relationship of the schools to each other and to other community organizations — will certainly undergo changes as we begin to ponder the basic issues. We might even conclude that the school, or the school as currently conceived, is not the best place to obtain a Jewish education. At any rate, we must avoid premature

10 There are only two institutes in the United States devoted to research in Jewish education.

11 See Joseph J. Schwab, "The Religiously Oriented School in the United States: A Memorandum on Policy," *Conservative Judaism,* Spring 1964, pp. 1–14.

and merely administrative suggestions. One such suggestion that has been advanced periodically, and that undoubtedly will resurface, is to combine forces, to merge Conservative and Reform, and even perhaps Orthodox, schools. According to this view, denominationalism is the ogre of Jewish education. But combining confused, tired, and uninspired forces may not prove very useful. More of the same is not always better. Overarching structures or neutral organizational auspices may serve to ease the financial burden, but they cannot provide the requisite inspiration. The issue of the structure of Jewish education is serious and should, therefore, not be viewed in solely administrative terms. Nor would we be acting responsibly if we were to make our suggestions based on extrapolations from past and present experiences, for neither has yielded satisfying results.

In conclusion, we may say that Jewish education can have a significant impact on the future of Jewish life in the United States only if it is prepared to establish, through serious deliberation, philosophies of education to guide the creation of new programs and practices. These programs must be based on a sound analysis of both the reality and the potential of Jewish life. To undertake these tasks, a new kind of personnel will have to be recruited, from the ranks of Jewish scholarship and the social sciences, to assume positions of leadership in Jewish education. Their task will be to develop ideas that will inspire talented Jewish students, in turn, to consider a career in Jewish education. These new sources of energy must inevitably infuse new ideas into the curriculum, teacher training, and the structure of education itself. To accomplish all this will require large allocations of funds — but should the developments I have been advocating come about, the funding agencies will at last be afforded the opportunity to base their decisions on competing futures rather than merely on competing demands.

Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity: Prospects & Limitations

Seymour Fox and Israel Scheffler

The linkage of the concepts "continuity" and "education" in public discussions of Jewish education is a fairly new phenomenon, encountered in its full force in the deliberations of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America.[1] This group of community leaders, educators, scholars, rabbis and principals of philanthropic foundations, having studied the many problems facing Jewish education, decided that a massive philanthropic program would have to be undertaken to enable such education to contribute significantly to the continuity of the Jewish people.

In the deliberations of the Commission the question arose: Do we actually know that Jewish education leads to continuity? And if we do not know, can we in clear conscience galvanize the Jewish community and insist that Jewish education be placed at the top of the community agenda? If we must change our priorities and undertake to change the community climate, recruit community leaders to the cause of Jewish education, provide increased funding to enlarge the scope, raise the standards and improve the quality of Jewish education, don't we need

1 The Commission on Jewish Education in North America was convened in 1988 by the Mandel Associated Foundations, JCC Association and JESNA in collaboration with CJF, and chaired by Morton L. Mandel of Cleveland, Ohio. The report of the Commission, *A Time to Act* (University Press of America, 1991), was issued in November 1990. Throughout this paper education is conceived as including both formal and informal education.

to 'know' that a successful Jewish education will necessarily lead to continuity?

From one point of view, it might be supposed that the issue is trivial, since it is self-evident that education leads to continuity. From this point of view, there is a necessary connection between education and continuity, and the issue requires no further empirical study or deliberation. For if education is understood to encompass all the socializing influences that flow from one generation to the next, and if continuity implies a reflection of these socializing influences within the latter generation, certainly education involves continuity.

Ralph Barton Perry, in his book *Realms of Value*[2] speaks of education as involving inheritance, participation and contribution. Each generation provides a heritage to the next generation by guiding its initiation into the prevailing social process, thus embodying this process into its current life. In this way, each succeeding generation is enabled to contribute to the future in its turn as it grows to maturity. Inheritance, participation and contribution are inseparably intertwined, constituting the basis of a necessary connection between education and continuity — since contribution inevitably embodies the influence of the heritage acquired from the past.

Nor is the situation altered if we depart from the broad notion of education as socialization and restrict our attention to deliberate educational activity alone. Our earlier conclusion again follows: any intervention you undertake is going to reverberate into the future. It is going to affect the next generation in ways that will be seen to have some continuity with what went before. Indeed, even the most radical rejection of the past — for example, the Russian Revolution — is recognizably continuous with the past, reflecting the habits of mind and the culture which revolutionists received from their predecessors. Unless the content of continuity is further constrained or specified, there is indeed nothing you can do to avoid continuity. If the whole present

2 Ralph Barton Perry, *Realms of Value* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 411–414.

generation of Jews were to assimilate, continuity, in some form or other, would still be discernible. The very terms of the rebellion against or the disappearance of traditional forms would betray the influence of the past. Thus, with continuity guaranteed, we might suppose that we need no further investigation, reflection or action to assess, improve or reform our accepted educational practices. We need only to continue educating as we have in the past. This is a comforting formula indeed, that allows us to continue to do just as we have been doing, without further effort. This conclusion is, however, a *reductio ad absurdum.*

The contemporary Jewish concern is not with continuity in the abstract, but with continuity in a quite restricted sense. What is at stake for Jewish education is not just any form of continuity, but specifically the maintenance of Jewish loyalties as distinct from assimilation or rejection or rebellion. To be sure, assimilation is in a general way continuous, but such continuity is too weak to represent our concern. We are talking specifically about people who continue to think of themselves as Jews and who make serious efforts to raise their children as Jews in turn, retaining positive and vital connections with the Jewish heritage. The question of linking education with continuity in this special sense is no longer trivial but momentous. It is an open question whether any of the forms of deliberate education we devise will, in fact, prevent assimilation or overcome it. Can we hope for a positive answer to this question?

Can Jewish education lead to the positive continuity we have outlined, in a world where Jews are guaranteed full rights, and where their achievements and identities as Americans, as people engaged in business, science and politics are not always congruent with their status as committed and practicing Jews? Do we know how to develop and sustain an educational practice that will indeed promote continuity? Our heterogeneous society is, after all, permeated by competing social forces that counteract the development of Jewish identity or involvement. Our society produces what Lawrence Cremin[3] has

3 Lawrence A. Cremin, "Towards an Ecology of Education" in *Public Education* (New York, Basic Books, 1976), pp. 27–56.

termed an "ecology of education" that is inimical to Jewish education and that actively promotes assimilation into the larger society. It is this challenge that must be addressed.[4]

For the Jewish educational establishment to meet this challenge it must embark on a many-sided program of research and development:

1. To explore the causal relationships between education and positive continuity, and
2. To strive to develop the kinds of teaching and learning that might be reasonably expected to promote positive Jewish self-identification and Jewish creativity.

It is not at all clear that the community of educators has as yet decided to undertake this assignment. We are not aware of any continuous or systematic discussion of this issue. In fact, we believe that many educators are inclined to take the position that their function is to continue to teach the ideas and practices of the tradition without asking whether their teaching is likely to promote positive Jewish continuity. There is nothing in response to the issue of continuity comparable with the efforts with which we are familiar from personal experience, that have been invested in the teaching of Bible. When the Melton Research Center at the Jewish Theological Seminary[5] decided in the early 1960's to investigate how the Bible might be taught so as to speak to the hearts and minds of students, it invested enormous energy to deal with issues such as: What are the biblical ideas and themes with which the supplementary school student should grapple? How might

4 See Abraham J. Karp, *Haven and Home: A History of the Jews in America* (New York, Schocken, 1985), p. 360: "Whereas in the European community, assimilation had demanded an act of disassociation from one's own group — usually apostasy — in America one would become assimilated into the larger community unless he or she expressed, in word or deed, identification with the community into which he or she was born."

5 The Melton Research Center, *A Program for Jewish Education* (New York, 1963). This effort produced materials for teachers and students such as Nahum Sarna's *Understanding Genesis* (New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America and McGraw Hill, 1966) and Moshe Greenberg's *Understanding Exodus: Part I* (New York, Behrman House, 1969).

these ideas and themes be presented so as to foster internalization, commitment and appropriate action? Theory (of Bible, theology, philosophy, psychology and curriculum) was accordingly related to practice (classroom experimentation, teacher education, monitoring) and, as a result, an experimental pedagogy was developed.

It is not necessary to describe here the systematic efforts that have been invested for 50 years to develop the Ramah camps as an educational setting, capable of competing with the spiritual environment that our children inhabit. Such efforts are described in a volume edited by Sylvia Ettenberg and Geraldine Rosenfeld.[6] It is true that in neither the Melton Center example nor in the Ramah experience has there as yet been adequate evaluation of the real world effects on Jewish continuity. In this respect, much further work remains to be done. However, in both cases, the conscious effort was to bridge theory and practice — to devise, as a result of reflective deliberation, a sufficiently comprehensive approach to the teaching of Jewish materials in the actual environment of our children as would give grounds for further practical assessment, thus addressing the challenge of continuity in a serious way.

How shall we begin if we are to initiate a program of research and development for positive Jewish education in the contemporary world? There are many possibilities. We here suggest taking a lead from research on some of the educational reforms in the 1980s in the United States. Scholars and researchers, such as Marshall Smith, Sara Lightfoot and David Cohen[7] have argued that educational reform

6 *The Ramah Experience: Community and Commitment*, edited by Sylvia Ettenberg and Geraldine Rosenfeld (New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in cooperation with The National Ramah Commission, 1983).

7 Marshall S. Smith and Jennifer O'Day, "Systemic School Reform" in *Politics of Education Association Yearbook*, 1990, pp. 233–267; Sara Lightfoot, *The Good High School — Portraits of Character and Culture* (New York, Basic Books, 1983) pp. 316–323; David K. Cohen, Eleanor Farrar and Arthur G. Powell, *The Shopping Mall High School: Winners and Losers in the Educational Marketplace* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1985), pp. 305–308. See also Fred Newmann, "Beyond Common Sense in Educational Restructuring: The Issues of Content and Linkage," in

makes a significant difference in institutions where there is a clear educational vision, where educators are inspired by this vision and have translated this vision into goals that directly guide classroom practice. Here is a hypothesis that might well be taken as a promising start for research and development efforts in contemporary Jewish education.

Is it conceivable that we might think otherwise? Is not our history of education the history of ideas that have inspired visions of education that led to educational reform? The ideas about Jewish learning and scholarship of the Gaon of Vilna and the Brisker Rov (Rabbi of Brisk) led to the reform of the yeshivot of Lithuania and Poland. The centrality of the ethical teachings of the Musar movement led by Rabbi Israel Salanter[8] continue to affect education to this day. A challenging book has been written that describes the ideas of those who inspired the Zionist youth movements and educational system in the pre-State period and in the early history of the State of Israel: the ideas and the visions of Ahad Ha'am, Joseph Chaim Brenner, Berl Katznelson, Yitzhak Sadeh, Yigal Alon, Yair Stern and Vladimir Jabotinsky.[9] An analogous task is what the late Gerson Cohen, in his penetrating chapter on a paidaea for Jewish education, urged us to undertake for American Judaism.[10]

We suggest that a first step to be taken in a program to study the potential for an effective Jewish education in our time is to disclose the

Educational Researcher, Volume 22, Number 2, March 1993, pp. 4–13. In relation to Jewish education in supplementary schools, see Barry Holtz, *Best Practices Project: The Supplementary School* (New York, Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education 1993), p. 6.

8 See Immanuel Etkes, *Rabbi Israel Salanter and the 'Musar' Movement: Seeking the Torah of Truth* (Philadephia, Jewish Publication Society, 1993).

9 Rachel Elboim-Dror, *Hebrew Education in Eretz Israel* (Hebrew, 2 volumes: Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1986 and 1990).

10 Gerson D. Cohen, "From Scholarship to Paideia — A Case Study," in *From the Scholar to the Classroom: Translating Jewish Tradition into Curriculum*, edited by Seymour Fox and Geraldine Rosenfeld (New York, Melton Research Center at Jewish Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1977), pp. 31–58.

vision, or more correctly the visions, of Jewish education that might address the prospective life situations, thought worlds and spiritual environments of our people.

In fact the raw materials for such a study are bountiful. Buber, Rosenzweig, Hirsch, Kook, Soloveitchik, Heschel, Kaplan and Baeck have developed ideas that can challenge the creative educator to invent new strategies, new methods and possibly even new institutions for Jewish education.[11]

Theology, philosophy and the ideas of the great periods of Jewish history have been illuminated by the meticulous work of numerous scholars.

To the more cautious amongst us who will point to the gap between the ideas appropriate for general philosophy and theology and the elements of a philosophy of Jewish education — between research in the history of ideas and a paidaea that can inspire educational practice — we want to report on a contemporary example of work in progress intended to close this gap. The Mandel Foundation in Jerusalem has undertaken a project that will present alternative visions of an ideal Jewish education.[12] The participants include creative educators and social scientists who are working with scholars of Jewish studies, philosophy and education to apply their ideas to educational practice. Professor Moshe Greenberg, one of the participants, has written a moving essay entitled *Hayinu Ke'Cholmim* ("We Were Like Those Who Dream: A Profile of an Effective Judaic Education"). A summary of this rich essay cannot be undertaken here. However, let

11 See among others: Michael Rosenak, "Tasks of Contemporary Jewish Theology in the Construction of Religious Educational Theory in the Diaspora," Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to the Hebrew University, 1975; Oded Schremer, "Martin Buber's Concept of Personality: Implications for Education," Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976.

12 See forthcoming publication, *Visions of Learning: Jewish Education in Theory and Practice,* edited by Seymour Fox, Israel Scheffler and Daniel Marom. [The final title became *Visions of Jewish Education* and it was published by Cambridge University Press in 2003 — the editor].

us mention some of his ideas that we believe can serve as the basis for fruitful educational experimentation.

Greenberg's conception of the educated Jew is based on a conception of human nature, or more specifically a personality theory, that views the person as a spiritual being. Greenberg assumes that human beings have a basic need to understand what is of ultimate significance in the world. Material success, as rewarding as it may be, is never sufficient.

Furthermore, Greenberg affirms that the Jewish classical texts, the Bible, the Talmud, Midrash and the Commentaries, point to a transcendent realm of ultimate significance. For Greenberg, the Commentaries are particularly crucial, for it is here that each generation has contributed to the never-ending search for an understanding of ultimate value. *Parshanut* (interpretation) is a process, a standing invitation to all Jews to master the text, expand its meaning and thereby extend the impact of the tradition. The Hebrew language and close textual analysis are indispensable for Greenberg's conception of the educated Jew. It is difficult to conceive of a sophisticated understanding of the tradition except in the original Hebrew.

We now quote from Greenberg's essay a passage in which he states four aims of a successful Jewish education, from his perspective:

חינוך יהדותי ייבחן על פי הצלחתו להנחיל בתוצרו ארבע תכונות:

א. חיבת לימוד התורה (ספרי היסוד וכל שבמתכונתם) וחיבת מעשה המצווה "שבין אדם למקום".

ב. קבלת התורה כמורה דרך בתחום שבין אדם לחברו, עם ההכרה שקביעותיה המוסריות הן פרי פעולה פרשנית בלתי נפסקת.

ג. הנהגת אורח־חיים היוצר קהילה.

ד. זיקה לכלל ישראל בכל ארצות פזוריהם.

The criterion of effectiveness for Judaic Education is its ability to instill in its product four properties:

1. The love of learning Torah (that is, the basic books and all that is involved in their framework) and the love of performing the

Mitzvot (the Commandments) applying "between humans and God."
2. Acceptance of the Torah as the guide to the relations between humans, recognizing that its moral determinations are the fruit of everlasting interpretive activity.
3. The cultivation of a way of life conducive to the creation of a community.
4. Affiliation with the entire Jewish people.

To strive to promote these four qualities, to build an educational program based on these principles, will challenge our creativity and ingenuity. Let us consider some of the challenges that flow from Greenberg's aims, as listed above. Because learning and the acceptance of the Torah are not only intellectual, not only spiritual, but must be lived and require a community — it is doubtful that such an education can be undertaken only in schools or in formal settings. It most likely needs to be undertaken in enclaves which offer a subculture where the students can experience and learn what it means to act on ideas and where their search for meaning can be responded to. This idea suggests efforts to expand day schools so that they include informal education in youth groups, in trips to Israel and in summer camps.

In such settings, we could hope to undertake education for Jewish citizenship and American citizenship, as well as the continuous dialogue between them. Such an education would count heavily on early childhood experiences in an environment in which Hebrew would be mastered and curiosity nurtured. For without mastery of the Hebrew language and an increasingly sophisticated curiosity, the encounter with the text would be dull and lifeless. As the student matures, Greenberg would challenge us to develop a curriculum that would help the student develop love of learning and commitment to the tradition.

Such a curriculum would attempt to foster skills of reading and analysis that would help the student choose behavior consistent with the principles of the tradition. Some of the skills and assignments for the student to master would be:

1. Decoding: leading to the mastery of the language.
2. Memorization: leading to *bekiyut* (erudition).
3. Understanding: knowing the assumptions and principles of the author, the redactor or the scholar.
4. Comparison: comparing and contrasting of principles.
5. Analysis of case studies: requiring the student to analyze real or hypothetical situations according to principles disclosed by the textual analysis.
6. Experimentation: applying competing principles within the tradition and confronting the consequences.
7. Behavior: learning that authentic Jewish education places reading, analysis and behavior on one continuum.[13]

Students who master such skills might be able to join in the process of *parshanut* (interpretation). They certainly would understand and appreciate it.

Greenberg's paper is a rich source for educational ideas that can be translated into practice within educational enclaves such as those we have described.

With a vision, with goals in hand, the educator can strive to create means consistent with the goals and visions. The means would have to be monitored and evaluated and good practices (methods that have impact) would have to be sorted and separated from those that do not "work." Means and methods, curriculum and pedagogy, as they are implemented, as they succeed and fail, would serve as a challenge, as a basis for modifying the visions that form these goals. The constraints of empirical feasibility and the learning that in fact occur as a result of implementation offer legitimate challenges to the refinement and modification of theory.[14]

To strive to find an effective causal relationship between Jewish

13 Seymour Fox, "Ramah: A Setting for Jewish Education," in Ettenberg and Rosenfeld, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

14 For a discussion of the notion of a "means-ends continuum in educational planning," see Israel Scheffler, *Four Pragmatists: A Critical Introduction to*

education and continuity will require a massive investment in existing institutions and the establishment of sites where thinking, research, experimentation and evaluation can be undertaken. Experimentation in educational settings will challenge and offer insights for theory, and educational theory in turn will inspire creativity and invention. It is a massive undertaking, but it is appropriate for the huge challenge. A new era will have to be ushered in for Jewish education if education is to make the required difference, to change the trendlines. Ambitious yes, but not unrealistic.

Mort Mandel, who convened and sponsored the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, was asked one month before the first meeting of the Commission to describe what would have to be done to realize the aims of the Commission. This is how he responded:[15]

> What we need is a hardnosed search like a search for the cure of cancer. We know what we want in the search for the cure for cancer: we want to eliminate cancer. We want to reduce the incidence of cancer. And we have been working hard at it. There are now all sorts of cancers that we've learned how to cure. The difference today from over 50 years ago is startling. There is no single, simple cure for cancer. All cancers are not the same; they are all different. But the search for the cure for cancer has changed our world. People are cured or there is remission.
>
> I think the search for how to produce the Jewish *mensch* will never end. We will make gains; our inventory of small victories will be like building a beach with little grains of sand. We are not going to build a beach by suddenly deciding today and having it tomorrow. We know we're not going to cure cancer that way; we're

Peirce, James, Mead and Dewey (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 227–239.

15 The quotation is taken from the protocols of an interview conducted by Annette Hochstein, Vice-President of the Mandel Foundation's Division for Jewish Education and Continuity, with Morton L. Mandel, June 27, 1988.

> not going to cure heart attacks that way. I think it's going to be very complex. So I want the search to go on by outstanding researchers, practitioners and clinicians.
>
> If we can get people of a high enough quality studying, debating and experimenting in various universities, research institutes, yeshivot, schools and organizations, then the net result, over say a hundred years, will be something very different from what we have now. We have outstanding people seeking the cure for cancer, working in multiple centers all over the world – there must be many many centers, each specializing in elements that are important if we are to discover a cure for cancer. We need to do the same thing for Jewish continuity.

It is too early to describe the prospects or limitations. To consider prospects, we need to think, investigate and, above all to plan the steps that are required to undertake the assignment. To speak of limitations, we have to experiment and modify plans and the visions that guide these plans. This is the time to build an infrastructure that will make possible the sort of thinking that is required. When the 30 professors of Jewish education in North America are increased to 200, when the number of graduates who specialize in education from institutions of higher Jewish learning are increased from 200 to 1,000, when successful institutions are transformed into model, experimental centers, then we will be able to judge what can happen when the necessary investment is made.

The skeptic will ask: What guarantees do we have that the Jewish community will enable such an ambitious undertaking and what guarantees do we have that if the undertaking is implemented, it will in fact succeed? To this skeptic we say: There are no prior guarantees in any important department of life. But the very demand for such guarantees is a formula for inaction and consequent failure. We need to dare to hope and we need the courage to act on the probabilities alone.

Part Two:

The Deliberative Process: Pluralism and Consensus

A Practical Image of "the Practical"

Schwab has been warning us for years of the dangers present when we translate theory into educational practice. His "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology" was a plea to consider the complexities involved in the translation of social, psychiatric, and group theories into education. In "*Eros and Education*," he examined discussion as a method to be used in a curriculum for a liberal education, arguing for its powerful affective use even as he pointed to the dangers of its universal and indiscriminate application. In "Problems, Topics and Issues," he protested against a facile use of the concept "structure of the disciplines" as the guide to decisions concerning subject matter for the curriculum. Ironically, it is in "*The Practical: A Language for Curriculum*," where Schwab criticized curriculum for its dependence on theory, that he searches for and suggests a role for theory in the solution of practical educational problems. It is through what he calls the *eclectic* mode of operation that theory can find a proper place.

The *eclectic* mode, as Schwab views it in "*The Practical,*" facilitates the use of theory in two ways: first, by disclosing how a given theory sets limits on the subject matter, and second, by indicating the partial view that the given theory takes of this limited subject matter. Once the limitations of a theory have been disclosed, we are aware of the dangers of making unwarranted claims in the name of the theory and, at the same time, we may benefit from the contribution that the theory can make. This contribution is a protection against "bandwagons" we have suffered from in education. Had the proponents of the disciplines approach to curriculum seen at an early stage the theoretical commitments involved

in their conceptions, commitments implied in such terms as structure, discipline, and inquiry, we might have invested our energy somewhat differently in the various "new" curricula that were developed. This contribution also helps us to avoid the difficulties we encounter when we relate such terms as "the structure of the disciplines" to such practical problems (which may or may not have theoretical counterparts) as the way students learn and teachers teach in the classroom and how school systems accept and interpret innovations. If we adopted the *eclectic* mode of operation, sophisticated analyses of the concept "structure of the disciplines," such as those of Jane Martin (1970) and Joseph Lukinsky (1970), would not need to appear after we had already developed curricula and expended vast amounts of money and energy on exploring something called "structure."

However, no matter what yield we obtain from our theoretical investigations and how rich and valid are our eclectic combinations, the result will be incomplete without the activity of deliberation. Deliberation concerns itself with decisions and actions and is the *means* by which we develop and construct the curriculum. Deliberation begins with a concrete practical situation that disturbs us, such as distortion of subject matter, failure to achieve, boredom on the part of students or teachers, failure in the execution of tasks in the society. Deliberation's goal is the development of specific materials and of strategies for their introduction into specific schools after they have been experimented with and refined in the educational reality.

The concrete practical situation is an amorphous one. We must devote early efforts in any deliberation to discovering and locating the problem we wish to attack. As Schwab has put it, "Practical problems do not present themselves wearing their labels around their necks. Problem situations, to use Dewey's old term for it, present themselves to consciousness but the character of the problem, its formulation, does not. The character of the problem depends on the discerning eye of the beholder." This characteristic of the *practical* — the ambiguity of the problem — will require that those involved in the deliberation obtain intimate knowledge of the situation under discussion. If those

participating in the deliberation do not have this information in hand, they are likely to make irrelevant contributions or so to structure the reality that it yields only the data that match their previous theoretical commitments. In these early stages it is important to recognize that the location of the problem may shift several times, sometimes even after we have begun to look for solutions to it. This occurs because we often discover that our deliberations have failed to recognize the extent to which the problem first formulated was in turn dependent on the solution of an earlier or parallel unrecognized problem.

It has been our experience that early closure on the nature of the problem and early concentration on objectives limit the contribution of staff members developing a curriculum, especially the subject-matter specialists among them. Further, it often leads to a consensus that does not do justice to the difficulty that is being struggled with. Myron Atkin has put our feelings very well:

> "When one talks with the initiators of such projects, particularly at the beginning of their efforts, one finds that they do not begin by talking about the manner in which they are dissatisfied with existing curricula in their respective subject fields, and they want to build something new. If pressed, they might indicate that existing programs stress concepts considered trivial by those who practice the discipline. They might also say that the curriculum poorly reflected styles and intellectual inquiry in the various fields. Press them further, they might say they want to build a new program that more accurately displays the 'essence' of history or physics, or economics, or whatever. Or a program that better transmits the comprehension of the elaborate and elegant interconnections among the various concepts within a discipline.
>
> If they are asked at an early stage just how they want pupils to behave differently they are likely to look quite blank. Academicians in the various cognitive fields do not speak the language of short-term or long-term behavioral change as do many psychologists. In fact, if a hard-driving behaviorist attempts to force the issue

> and succeeds, one finds that the disciplinarian may come up with a list of behavioral goals that look like a caricature of the subject fields in question. (Witness the AAAS, Elementary School Science Program directed towards teaching 'process.')
>
> Further, any articulation of behavioral objectives by the curriculum developer inevitably tends to limit the range of his exploration. He becomes committed to designing programs that achieve these goals. Thus, if specific objectives and behavioral terms are identified early, there tend to be limiting elements built into the new curriculum. The innovator is less alert to potentially productive tangents."

Because our deliberations must end in products, books, study guides, program materials, audiovisual materials as well as the strategies by which these products are to be used, and because these products and strategies are developed and refined in the educational reality, we sometimes discover after we have decided upon the problem, and agreed upon a solution, that the means at our disposal require us to change our plan. Problems in teacher training and retraining, shortages of appropriate manpower for the preparation of curricular materials, economic and political realities, sometimes put such constraints upon means that we arrive at a point where we must reconsider our ends. Indeed our experience has suggested that when the curriculum is prepared through deliberation, objectives arise only in one of the final stages of the discussion. Objectives can be considered to be the memorials to the deliberation.

The composition and working style of the staff that will prepare the curriculum is another important aspect of the *practical*. The staff should consist of people whose collective competences and experience are rich enough to contend with the complexity to be encountered in deliberation. They must be able to develop into a group that can arrive at a consensus, prepare materials, try them out, develop a plan for their adoption, devise a system of teacher training and retraining, and agree upon what is an acceptable evaluation program (obviously not necessarily in this order). We have generally found it necessary

to include the following: representatives of the subject-matter area most closely related to the problem situation under deliberation, psychologists, educators (usually teachers) with experience in dealing with and a feeling for individual learners and their learning problems, a philosopher, an expert in evaluation, and the leader of the deliberation (the "curriculum specialist").

Each of these members poses a problem to the long program of deliberation. For example, in our experience subject-matter specialists are often unable to disclose the principles and terms that determine their conception of the area they work in and are sometimes not able to communicate the strengths and weaknesses of positions other than their own. Educators, even those who are confident and creative in the classroom, are often awed and thus paralyzed, by the subject-matter specialist. Psychologists detached from the classroom reality soon find that they have little to contribute.

Likewise, assuming a good choice of participants, it is important to remember that the very idea of an eclectic approach requires that no one theory or school of thought concerning subject matter or psychology or the reality of the classroom dominates and thus blinds us to alternatives. Parallel subcommittees or seminars, where competing conceptions of the subject matter, the student, and the teacher can be dealt with, or the temporary enlargement of the curricular staff for a specific series of discussions are among the possible ways of guaranteeing this aspect of the validity of the deliberation.

In order to illustrate how deliberation works in practice, let me discuss the role of the leader of the deliberation, the curriculum specialist. His first task is to maintain shifting emphases among subject matter, student, teacher, politics, and the limitations of money and time. He must decide when the introduction of further complexity will wreck the deliberation, and when the continuation of a line of argument will numb one or more members of the staff. He must decide when simplification will involve distortion and when simplification will advance the deliberation. He suggests when it is appropriate to suspend group deliberation in favor of research or individual study,

he recommends the appointment of sub-committees, and he delegates powers to them. He is not the only one who does all these tasks — any member of the group may undertake them — but it is the curriculum specialist who is responsible for seeing they get done and it is often he who does them.

However, he is able to undertake any of this only to the extent that he is able to articulate (in frequent summaries) the commitments that the group has made, and the reasons for these commitments. He does this in at least two ways: first, through his role as chairman of the deliberation; second, through the preparation of protocols. Given to all participants at key points during the deliberation, usually between meetings, the protocol is an analysis and summary of the transcript of the deliberation, the "architectonic" of the argument. It presents the participants with an opportunity to reflect on the direction the deliberation has taken, to reconsider hastily made decisions, to question and check the style of the curriculum specialist, and to suggest shortcuts.

Obviously, the protocol is an important document for the evaluation expert and executors of curriculum plans. We turn to it constantly as we experiment with the curricular materials. A short selection from a protocol will suggest its character. I have chosen one that concerns a problem in the teaching of botany to middle-class children in the eighth grade. Protocols of this kind are used by us at the School of Education of the Hebrew University as a teaching guide in our graduate program of curriculum and instruction and are therefore printed with a running commentary that discloses the strategy of the curriculum specialist. We have found this a useful way to help prepare people who will participate in or lead deliberations.

In the deliberations covered by this protocol the participants were a highly qualified teacher who had played an important role in preparing the material under discussion, a scientist with special interest in the philosophy of science and science education, a psychologist concerned with problems of retraining, and a curriculum specialist.

At a later stage a sociologist and a supervisor in the Ministry of Education joined the deliberations.

A Selection from a Protocol

The curriculum specialist opened by briefly describing the situation under deliberation: that an experimental edition of a volume for the student had been written, that the volume had been used under experimental conditions in a number of places, that the teachers had been prepared in a specific way. Then the curriculum specialist turned to the teacher and said: "I believe you are prepared to begin the discussion."

Teacher: Despite the effort involved in preparing material based on an ecological approach to the teaching of botany and despite the importance of this issue in the world and in Israel, we understand that the students find the material boring and the teachers are unable to overcome this boredom. This boredom was confirmed both by classroom observations and student responses obtained as part of an ongoing evaluation program. This was especially disconcerting since the previous unit, which was devoted entirely to one animal — the St. Peters Fish — and was also based on an ecological approach, was responded to enthusiastically.

Subject-matter specialist (interrupts): I am not surprised, given the popular conception of science in Israel as well as the urbanization of Israeli life. Furthermore, if I compare

Commentary: The curriculum specialist decides to permit this line of thought to develop and does not present alternative lines of attack which might focus attention on

our folklore to Indian folklore, for example, I realize the difficulties we must encounter in trying to "sell" botany. There are practically no children's stories about plant life, while we have many delightful stories about animals. The teachers themselves feel more comfortable in dealing with animal life and the human body. Furthermore, our western conception of science (especially if we emphasize an ecological approach), which views matter as a continuum from inanimate things to the human being, tends to minimize the significance of plant life, as it is rather far away from man on the continuum.

If, for example, we were to teach other conceptions of science besides our western conception, such as some of those still prevalent in India, plant life would assume a much more significant role and the children might respond differently.

particular students, the teaching method, etc. He knows that this will have to be dealt with at some later point. This decision is based on several considerations:

1. the enthusiasm, richness and uniqueness of the response by the subject-matter specialist.
2. it is a possible explanation for the difficulty.

Teacher: But hasn't the western approach to science proved useful?

The teacher is obviously, overwhelmed by the "unexpected" response of the subject-matter specialist. The curriculum specialist knows that the teacher will have to be "supported" if she is to continue to participate meaningfully.

Scientist: I don't know whether it has or hasn't, but I do believe that if we present other scientific world views we could help our young people break out of their belief that there is one way of looking at science, and that in itself would be important.

Curriculum specialist: Do I understand you to suggest that we teach a kind of sociology of science or comparative scientific frames of reference?

Scientist: Yes.

Curriculum specialist: And that you would see this as both making it possible for subjects like botany to get their fair chance as well as to open up other educational possibilities, namely that the child could see the implications and results of working with another set of assumptions?

The curriculum specialist does not ask the obvious question of why this would require a comparative or sociological approach. He wants to permit further development of the idea and its various ramifications by the subject-matter specialist. He is probing to see whether we are beginning to develop some guiding line of thought, or "objective." We will notice how this objective will be modulated and changed several times during the deliberation.

Scientist: Yes. I have been concerned for some time now that the students I meet at the Hebrew University derive a certain kind of security

The line of thought, the "potential objective" is now being modulated to include a characterological dimension.

from knowing the "right" way of doing things, from having the right answers. I would hope that we could find a way for people to derive their security not from right or true answers but from other sources, such as interpersonal relationships. On the other hand I would hope that they could enjoy the pursuit of knowledge and science undertaken from different, uneasy, and sometimes conflicting points of view.

Curriculum specialist: You are now suggesting some problems that go beyond the challenge we face with this course, or for that matter far beyond the teaching of science.

Scientist: I know.

Curriculum specialist (turns to psychologist): Well, how do you feel about all of this, especially the idea of education developing a student who is able to live with intellectual insecurity, a good deal of change and openness, and yet derive his security from other sources, such as the interpersonal?

By turning to the psychologist at this point the curriculum specialist indicates that the subject-matter specialist has introduced psychological assumptions in the name of subject matter.

Psychologist: Well, I don't know if psychology would have anything

significant to say about the possibility of combining intellectual insecurity and personal security, especially at a young age, but I am more concerned about the general drift of our conversation. With all these lofty goals of comparative science, freedom from the limitations of current scientific doctrine, where in all of this is botany? Is there something in botany itself that we have to teach because we think it is important?

Curriculum specialist: I should like to avoid one possible misconception. I know all of us believe that there are certain facts, information, ideas in botany that these young people must know – especially since it is the last course many of them may ever have in biology. Now I don't believe it would be useful to elaborate on what these facts and ideas are. We did elaborate them before the volume under discussion was prepared and we do have the protocol of those deliberations and although we may decide to return to that topic at a later date, I believe we ought to eliminate the misunderstanding. So may I simply ask – am I correct on this matter?

The curriculum specialist is apprehensive about the possible digression and so closes off the discussion rather abruptly. It may, though, turn out that this matter will have to be reconsidered.

All in the room: Yes.

Psychologist: Well, I believe that botany is simply under a severe handicap that cannot be beaten for at least two reasons. First, children at a very young age are attracted to things that move, and very few plants do, and second, it is much easier to identify with animals than plants.

Curriculum specialist does not point to the fact that the psychologist is presenting an alternative and possibly conflicting view of the problems under discussion. This point may have to be clarified at some point in the deliberation.

Scientist: Well, that is just what I am trying to beat.

Scientist is unaware that an alternative, possibly conflicting, point of view is being presented, but assimilates the point of view of the psychologist.

Psychologist: Well, what if we tried to get the student to identify with the scientist as a man struggling with a new idea or experiment, such as Mendel?

Psychologist has possibly introduced a different objective.

Scientist: Such as by introducing statistical method in biology?

The scientist seems to have adopted this new and alternative objective.

Psychologist: Yes.

Curriculum specialist: Are you then suggesting using examples from the history of science to deal with our problem?

Curriculum specialist accepts reformulation of why botany is "boring," does not indicate that it is different from the subject-matter specialist's approach, and tries to join both points of view with the suggestion of history of science, which he knows is one of the favorite methods of the scientist.

Scientist: That would be wonderful, I have been arguing all along that we must try and do a good deal of our science teaching through the proper use of history of science.

Teacher: We had a wonderful experience when we used a film about Freud in one of our classes.

Psychologist: Yes. What happens is that they not only see the problem differently but they identify with a living person — not someone who wakes up one morning with an ingenious insight, but someone who struggles, fails, errs, is stubborn, is arrogant, is courageous, is tenacious, and has to work very hard.

The "objective" is developing form and content.

Curriculum specialist: Do you think it would be too much to ask two of you (scientist and teacher) to prepare for our next meeting one or two examples of material for the teacher and student, where the student might identify with a scientist struggling with a problem, so that we might see how feasible the idea is?

Scientist: We are, I take it, free to choose most any content in botany.

Curriculum specialist: Yes, though it would be most fortunate for us if you could choose one that is used in the book or that was considered in the deliberations that preceded the preparation of the book. *(Turns to teacher.)* I think it would be a good

idea if you spoke to the biology supervisor in the ministry and reported on these developments, indicating that we would be pleased if he joined us at one of our early discussions on this matter.

The most rewarding aspect of our work has been to witness the commitment that develops among members of the staff as they participate in deliberation. Disappointed as they are at first by the discovery that each of them is limited by training and experience, difficult as it is to reformulate the problem several times and to discard solutions that involve a heavy investment, perplexing as it is to watch objectives pop up, disappear and reappear, the staff members are soon enticed by the process itself. As one distinguished scholar said recently, "This is Universitas. Models and rationalized procedures have limited value for this kind of work."

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The Role of the School Principal in the Curriculum Deliberation[1]

Recently, new emphasis has been placed on the school principal's important role as educational figure. Findings of studies conducted by Edmonds, Stoo, Venezky and others, all strengthen the assumption that when a principal is also a pedagogical leader, his leadership can contribute greatly to improving the educational atmosphere of a school and raise its scholastic achievement.[2] In this spirit, we propose a new role for the principal: to become a permanent member of the central curriculum planning group, and to take active part in preparing curricula.

Our position becomes clearer when we connect it to the works of Sarason, Goodlad, Usdal, and Gress who all brought to our attention the importance of the principal's role in introducing changes in the school via the curriculum. These researchers pointed to the risks of failure involved when the principal is kept out of the loop of curriculum changes. Their studies clearly show that when the school principal is

1 From a chapter in my planned book, *The Arts of Curriculum Development* [the book was not published in the end, although many insights that went into its preparation can be found in the article "The Art of Translation" that is included in this collection — the editor].

2 See the following: Edmonds, R.; "Affective Schools for the Urban Poor," Educational Leadership, October 1979, 37, 15–24; Stoo L.S.: "Reading Program Administration: Does it Make a Difference?," *Administrator's Notebook*, 1975, 27 (3), 1–4; Venezky, R.L. and Winfield. L.F.: "Schools that Succeed Beyond Expectation in Teaching Reading," (technical report no. 1), *University of Delaware Studies on Education*, August 1979.

not enthused about the new curriculum, or is even negative about it, this can seal the fate of the new changes.[3] However, we are not referring to the principal's role as mere client, but instead to the role of a full-fledged panel member in the curriculum-planning center (country-wide, or regional) that initiates, develops and implements the curriculum.

Feasibility and ease of implementation are some of the important considerations involved in curriculum planning. It is foolhardy to install a program that initially seems reasonable only to later reveal that its actualization is contingent upon the allotment of an excessive number of study-hours, at the expense of other obligatory scholastic demands. Similarly, new curricula may demand an inordinate amount of time and effort on the part of teachers and administrative workers — time and effort they may be unable, or unwilling, to invest. Also, there is no justification for producing a curriculum that requires the implementation of new pedagogic methods only to discover, after the fact, that we still have no idea how to train the teachers in using the new method. Finally, curriculum planning is also affected by several societal agents that constitute pressure groups on the school. These include: parents' groups, religious organizations, the legislative arm of the government and more. We should never reach a state wherein the needs and demands of these groups will be postponed and taken into consideration only after the conclusion of the planning stage.

In order to prevent misunderstanding, we wish to emphasize the distinction between concern over implementation as part of the planning process, and the actual implementation of the curriculum after its development. If we view implementation as a key factor in the planning process itself, then it is advisable that the school principal participate and assume an important role in this process. As the

3 See: Seymour B. Sarason: *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, 2nd edition (Alan and Bacon Inc. Boston, 1982), pp. 139–185; Goodlad, J.L.: "The Schools and Education," *Saturday Review* (April 1969); Usdal, M.D.: "The School Administrator: Modern Renaissance Man," *The Record* (Teachers College, Columbia LXIX (1968): 641–648).

educational leader of the school, the principal is well acquainted with the way things work and is more qualified than anyone else to predict the probable impact of curricular innovations on the school in general, or on the study program of a given year. He can provide us with insights regarding the likely effects of the new curriculum on the entire teaching staff: the teachers who will play an active part in it, as well as those who will not be involved. He can advise and recommend preparation of the kind of study material that will stimulate the relevant teachers to adapt the material to the special needs of specific grades in a particular school. The principal maintains close contact with the school's educational and organizational environment, thus he can function as an authority regarding society's role in the considerations involved in curriculum planning.[4]

The Role of the Principal in Developing Comprehensive Curricula and in Planning Study-units

People who are involved in curriculum planning tend to view their mission from a narrow perspective. Usually, their task is to prepare a curriculum of instruction for a specific subject or group of subjects, such as a curriculum for teaching biology in the third grade, Hebrew language in the sixth grade or an introductory course in the natural sciences. Those who adopt a broader perspective feel that their task encompasses the teaching of an entire subject or an entire topic in all stages of schooling, sometimes even from kindergarten through the end of high school. Usually, a subject is considered to be mastered gradually according to principles like "from the simple to the complex." Unfortunately, the broader educational context is often

4 We agree with the following opinions of Ralph Tyler and Joseph Schwab: that curriculum-planning requires the participation and cooperation of the representatives of several necessary basic components of the educational situation as such (Schwab calls them "commonplaces"). Both agree that one of these commonplaces has to do with society's needs and interests.

neglected this way — since the third grade pupil studying mathematics is, simultaneously, studying other subjects as well. Mathematics is only one segment of the third-grade curriculum.[5]

We wish to clarify this issue by distinguishing between two perspectives on the curriculum: the vertical and horizontal points of view. From the vertical standpoint, the curriculum is simply a program of instruction for a subject or group of subjects on a specific grade level (such as mathematics or introduction to the sciences for the third grade). It implies a multi-year program for the teaching of a subject or group of subjects from kindergarten until the end of high school. By contrast, the horizontal perspective regards the specific grade as an overall, complete entity in which each subject is viewed in light of its connections to other subjects studied in the same class, and possible effects of the learning experience in its entirety are also taken into consideration. This perspective focuses our attention on the school curriculum as a whole and seeks to uncover the concealed opportunities and problems bound up in every individual year of study. This is true with regard to its role in the curriculum of the entire school, as well as in terms of its influence on the educational experience of the pupil.

These two aspects of curriculum planning are both important; it is desirable that a certain amount of positive, productive tension be generated between them. Neglecting the vertical aspect can lead to distortion of the disciplines that constitute the subject matter. Neglect

5 We do not discuss here other important issues regarding curriculum planning, such as the connection between formal and informal education or the influence of agents such as the media on what goes on in the school. These issues, which we hope to address in a forthcoming book on curriculum development (see note 1), are likely to strengthen even further the emphasis we place on the overall curriculum. See the following for a broad discussion of this topic: Lawrence A. Cremin: "Changes in the Ecology of Education — The School and Other Educators," paper presented at the symposium, "The Future of Formal Education: The Role of Institutional Schooling in Industrial Society," University of Stockholm, September 11–12, 1979; John I. Goodlad: *The Dynamics of Educational Change* (McGraw Hill, 1975).

of the horizontal aspect can neutralize the advantages inherent in the connections between the various subjects, as well as those accruing from the connections between the various grades. We have seen how the principal can assist the curriculum planner in re-conceptualizing and revitalizing the horizontal aspects of the curriculum. Below we will examine several aspects of this perspective and point to possible contributions of the principal toward achieving these objectives — in the framework of the curriculum planning group.

The horizontal approach turns our attention to the broader impact of the new study unit that has now been added to the curriculum. It helps us uncover possible problems that we cannot see when we focus on the narrow, vertical perspective of the curriculum. For example: a new unit in mathematics may expose the pupil to new modes of thinking and give him a whole new perspective on mathematics. However, if the teaching methods in other subjects are not modified appropriately, then the pupil may come to the erroneous conclusion that while mathematics and natural science are logical, serious and important subjects — history and literature are less coherent, more intuitive and therefore less important subjects.

A new study unit or comprehensive vertical program for a specific subject such as history, Bible or physics, may demand that the teacher and pupil be proficient in knowledge, information and ways of learning already acquired in another subject. A new history curriculum may be based on analysis of historical sources on the assumption that the teacher and pupil are already experienced in source analysis. Joseph Schwab was the one to bring this issue to our attention, when he noted that many existing curricula are dependent on "access disciplines" which the teacher and pupil are supposed to have mastered. For example: a pupil may have to be familiar with a foreign language in order to analyze historical and philosophical sources, or know mathematics in order to understand modern biology or chemistry.[6]

6 Schwab notes that most curricula rely on the assumption that teachers and pupils are proficient in other, additional subjects. See: Schwab, J.J.: "The Practical:

Occasionally, those responsible for instituting a new curriculum are not sufficiently sensitive to additional changes that are taking place in the school at the very same time. A seventh-grade pupil may find himself collapsing under the weight of the new history curriculum because another two new curricula have just been introduced — and each of them requires a different approach. The teacher is also limited with regard to how many new curricula he can cope with simultaneously. This refers not only to the time that the teacher must invest in learning the new material and the new teaching methods associated with it, but also to the teachers' limited ability to change their whole orientation to the subject matter and its transmission.

The horizontal view, with its more comprehensive perspective, may help us avoid repetition and duplication in the curriculum. And indeed, repetition and duplication create problems even when they sometimes seem fictitious. For example: when a pupil discovers that the new Bible curriculum again opens with an analysis of the Book of Genesis, his response may be, "What, the same material all over again?" We should prepare ourselves for such a response in advance, lest we waste our efforts in vain. If the new curriculum is full of repetitions of material that has been studied beforehand, we should revise it. If the pupil is likely to think that the new teaching method for Genesis is nothing more than "going over the same material again," we should prepare the teacher for just such a response.

On the other hand, when we examine the curriculum for the school year as is, or as one section in a sequence extending from grade to grade, it is logical that we will find opportunities for integrating various subjects. There is a rich and extensive literature on the integration of the various disciplines and topics studied in school. Due to space limitations, we can only mention this issue here without going into detail. The integration of diverse disciplines or

Translation into Curriculum," in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education*. Edited by Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, University of Chicago, 1978, pp. 377–378.

subjects can give the pupil a wider perspective and reveal previously hidden connections between ideas or between content-areas. Similarly, integration of studies can help the student understand the reasons behind the delimitation of the subjects as well as the problems that such delimitations may involve.[7]

Up to now we have discussed certain predictable outcomes of curriculum planning. However, we must not ignore "unexpected results" or what John Dewey called "collateral learning." In his words: "Perhaps the greatest of all pedagogical fallacies is the notion that a person learns only the particular thing he is studying at the time. Collateral learning, in the way of formation of enduring attitudes, of likes and dislikes, may be and often is much more important than the spelling lesson or lesson in geography or history that is learned. For these attitudes are fundamentally what count in the future. The most important attitude that can be formed is that of desire to go on learning. If impetus in this direction is weakened instead of being intensified, something much more than mere lack of preparation takes place."[8] Careful and systematic supervision of the curriculum of an entire school will serve to focus our attention on possible negative side-effects of a new study program. What did we emphasize and what did we ignore? What message are we conveying to the pupils, teachers and parents by our emphases, incentives and omissions?[9] The horizontal perspective turns our attention to unforeseeable results of the curriculum.[10]

7 See Schwab's discussion on the organization of disciplines in the article: "Problems, Topics and Issues" in *Education and the Structure of Knowledge*, ed. Stanley Elam (Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 4–47.

8 John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (West Lafayette, Indiana, Kappa Delta Pi, 1939), p. 49.

9 In content-analyses of curricula, and in ethnographic studies in the classroom that were conducted in recent years, special attention was devoted to the emphases and omissions that we make when we focus only on sections of the curriculum.

10 Schwab turns to curriculum developers with a special request: that in the course of the planning and assessment processes they should take into account a curriculum's possible and unforeseen results. See: Schwab, J.J.: "Testing and the Curriculum," in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education*, pp. 275–286. (See note 6.).

A properly trained principal within a curriculum planning group can represent everything connected to what we have called the horizontal perspective. Since he is responsible for the entire school, he is able to direct the group's attention to the unique contribution of each and every study unit to the comprehensive curriculum in terms of its formulated goals, or its anticipated results, but most importantly in terms of its unforeseen results. Since he is closely familiar with the individual unit under discussion, as well as with the subject as a whole, he can point out opportunities for the integration of disparate fields of study. This can be beneficial. He can also warn against duplications and repetitions, keep track of the simultaneous time-demands and efforts that will be required of the pupils and teachers, and raise this issue to the planning group. Thus he may prudently demand that a certain program be postponed to a later, more appropriate time period.

The Principal as Representative of the Teachers in the Planning Group when Introducing a New Curriculum

The introduction of a new curriculum into a school tends to upset the existing order. It may impact on the overall program, change priorities in the fields of both education and administration, and impose new demands on the pupils. Most of all, it may cause upheaval in the teachers' lives.[11]

Generally, a new curriculum involves the introduction of new perspectives on the subject matter, and on the way it should be taught. For his part, the teacher must make an effort in order to acquire these new perspectives and practices. This effort takes a lot of time and requires much patience. It is not easy for a teacher, especially an experienced teacher, to abandon familiar, safe routines and adopt innovative approaches whose results are not at all assured.

The introduction of a new curriculum also affects the teachers

11 Sarason (see note 3), pp. 11–14.

who have no active part in it. The teachers then tend to divide into two groups: the supporters and the naysayers. The stands they adopt do not necessarily stem from educational or logical considerations. The teachers taking part in a project usually receive commensurate attention and encouragement – therefore they will tend to side with the changes. Teachers who have no part in it may feel neglected and sense that they don't count. One can understand how these teachers feel frustrated and anxious, when they see great efforts and expense invested in a program that they have no real, direct contact with.

The principal who is a member of the planning group can offer suggestions that can reduce resistance and dissatisfaction that is often generated during the introduction of new curricula. He can direct our attention to problems such as these already at the planning stage, before the curriculum has been put into use, by sensitizing the planning group members to the additional tasks we impose on the teacher in the classroom. He can initiate a discussion that will lead to the founding of a support mechanism available to the teacher when the new curriculum is implemented. For example, a teacher's burden can be alleviated by reducing his teaching hours; he can also be referred to appropriate professional teachers' training accompanied by personal guidance.

The Role of the Principal in Adapting and Specifying the Curriculum

Every curriculum needs to be modified and adapted to the special needs of the school or class involved. The advantages inherent in a national or regional program may be lost if we do not adapt it to local needs. When we skip this important stage, we can occasionally encounter criticism that negates the efforts and resources that were invested in the centralized curriculum. Radical critics sometimes insist that every school or every teacher prepare his own curriculum.

This idea, however, quickly encounters the usual difficulties attendant on such demands, namely the lack of appropriate experts, a lack of time and money, and other difficulties that are usually not faced by a regional or national planning panel. In any event, teachers and pupils will all suffer from the effects of a pendulum swinging back and forth between the central program and the local one. Thus, in order to increase the advantages that can be gained from the knowledge, authority and expertise found in a central planning unit, each school must take upon itself the modification of the program for its own needs.[12]

Planning groups that are interested in these kinds of local modifications should prepare curricula concerning which changes can readily be made. Similarly, they should also organize the study material in such a way that it will invite the teacher to re-shape, re-write, and even exclude certain sections when needed. In this way, the teachers of the local school will not feel as if they are machines, programmed by others, but instead active participants in the new curriculum. Thus, the principal who understands his teachers and is experienced in introducing innovations can help the planning group to write curricula that are more balanced; the kind that strike an appropriate balance between supervision and support.[13]

12 Many attempts have been made to galvanize the teacher into helping to adapt the curriculum. Connelly, for example, proposes that the curriculum remain unfinished to require the teacher to complete it and adapt it to his class.

13 Recently, Schwab proposed that every school have a consultant for curriculum issues, one who can guide the teachers in modifying and adapting the program. In our experience, the local principal may assume this role in certain cases, thus strengthening the power of his educational leadership. Schools that will systematically engage in the modification process can serve as an important source of feedback for central planning agents.

The School Principal and Society[14]

The concerns and requirements of the society in which we live must find expression in the curriculum. These concerns and requirements pose challenges as well as opportunities to the curriculum developer, and they also serve as constraints on his/her work. Some examples of these constraints can be: the pupil's family, parents' groups, the Teachers' Union and other professional organizations, religious groups and governmental institutions. All these may support or renounce certain values, concepts and programs, and sometimes even sabotage them. These partisan associations can be viewed as groups that represent various "cultures" within society;[15] for this reason the curriculum developers must carry out some kind of negotiation process with these "cultures." We have found that it is indeed wise to involve representatives of these groups in considerations connected to the curriculum. The relevant experts in the planning group in this connection are the political science researcher, the sociologist, the curriculum-content expert and the school principal. The political scientist and sociologist can elucidate and explain the inclinations and needs of these sub-groups operating in society. The school principal and curriculum expert can describe the problems and options that are likely to emerge in reality, since they conduct daily negotiations with and between representatives of the various groups. The expert has an overview of the entire process, and the principal will do well to elucidate and explain how the new curriculum will impact all the societal sectors that have some connection to the school. He collaborates with the parent groups, with public activists, the school council and as well as supervisors in the Ministry of Education. The principal is able to instruct us how to receive assistance from agents and

14 In my planned book (see note 1), we hope to devote a few chapters to the place of society in curriculum development. Schwab, Tyler, Sarason and Stenhouse deal with this issue. See especially: Schwab, J.J.: "Education and the State: Learning Community — The Great Ideas Today," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago 1976); Tyler, R. W.: *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, University of Chicago (See note 3), Sarason, 1969.

15 Sarason (see note 3), pp. 62–82.

institutions that have some connection to the new curriculum. He can also warn us of predictable difficulties and recommend steps to be taken in advance, in order to avert them. If curriculum planning cannot be seen as separate from its implementation, then the principal has a crucial role as a liaison between the curriculum and the surrounding society.[16]

Preparing the Principal for his Role in the Curriculum Planning Group[17]

The development of a good curriculum necessitates attaining consensus among experts who come from different fields, are proficient in different skills, and speak different languages. This mission is weighty and complex. The list of experts may include: scholars from the respective subject matter fields, teachers, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, evaluation experts, curriculum experts, and the school principal. But all these experts were never trained to participate in a curriculum-planning forum; this requires new proficiencies that they must learn. In short, they

16 In his article "The Practical: Translation into Curriculum" (see note 6), Schwab describes, "Five bodies of experience ... subject matter ... learners ... the milieus ... teachers ... curriculum making ... which must be represented in the groups which undertake the task of curriculum revision" (pp. 502–503). Does Schwab intend on adding another "commonplace" to his theory? Will "curriculum making" become the fifth commonplace, represented by the curriculum-planning expert? In my planned book (see note 1), I also considered adding a fifth "element"; an "energizing factor" for the entire process, for planning and operating the curriculum, to be represented by two people: the curriculum-planning expert and the principal. The curriculum specialist would serve as an energizing factor for the entire planning process while the principal will assist him in finding an efficacious way for operating the entire new curriculum (as I have shown above). Nevertheless, we have not abandoned the option of limiting ourselves to the traditional four "commonplaces." In that case, the principal would serve as an additional representative of the society and the teacher. As representative of society, he would be the connecting link with those interest groups that have some connection to the school, and as a partner of the teachers, he can represent a wider field of vision.

17 In my planned book, we devoted several chapters to describe the training of each member of the curriculum-planning team.

must learn the nuts and bolts of curriculum planning and how to 'process' their ideas and proposals in light of the ideas and proposals of the other panel members. They must be cognizant of the constraints involved in introducing the new program: teacher turnover, many hours of teacher-training seminars, great financial investment, etc. Each member of the group must be aware of the multiple frames of reference of all the other group members, in order to facilitate the creation of a common language. But first and foremost, each and every member must know how his field of expertise can contribute to the group as a whole.[18]

The principal must learn that he has a key role as participant in the preliminary discussions regarding problems and obstacles likely to emerge when launching the new program in the classroom. He must know how to elucidate the needs of the different social groups to the planning group, and explain the advantages of the new program to the teachers, the administrative staff and the parents. It is incumbent upon him to assist the group members in preparing study material that will encourage adaptation and changes in every school according to its character, and every grade according to its needs. He must learn to assess the possible impact of the overall school curricular program (on the entire school or on one grade) – the horizontal perspective; or the impact of the aforementioned curriculum on one subject or a group of subjects – the vertical perspective. Thus he must become an expert on the relationship between the whole and its parts.

Thanks to his broad perspective, the principal can propose ways to reinforce the impact of the new curriculum, such as options for integrating concepts and subjects. He can draw attention to the predictable and non-predictable results that the new curriculum is likely to generate.

In this short article we can only briefly summarize what we

18 Schwab describes the price that is paid for a certain kind of arrogance – when members of the curriculum-planning team are not cognizant of their limitations and do not recognize their dependence on the contributions of their associates. See: Schwab, J.J., "The Practical: Translation into Curriculum" (see note 6).

have learned from our experience in training the principal for the functions described above. Since he must be familiar with the field, he must begin his studies with an introduction to "curriculum planning — contemporary theory and research." The principal must become familiar with the various current approaches in this field (Tyler, Schwab, Stenhouse, Bloom and others), and not limit himself only to a review of the literature. We use Schwab's method of "polyfocal conspectus" in order to teach the principal how to evaluate theories critically.[19] It is through this method that he learns to uncover the assumptions on which the various curriculum planning approaches are based, and the strong and weak points of each approach. He learns to become acquainted with the two basic structures of the subject matter, the substantive structure (important concepts and skills in a subject) and the syntactic structure concerned with validity and reliability (their pathways to proof and verification).[20] The principal must familiarize himself with the multiple frames of reference and concept-systems of each participant in the curriculum-planning process. He must also become sufficiently acquainted with various psychological and sociological approaches in order to properly understand, and assess, the proposals of the different psychologists and sociologists when they speak in the name of the child and society. It is incumbent on the principal to know that the subject matter specialist has various options and choices in proposing content for instruction. Thus, the principal must learn to pinpoint those options (within the alternatives) that are relevant to the program under discussion. Moreover, even though the principal knows quite a lot about teachers and pedagogy (due to his training and experience), we have found it to be beneficial that he become re-acquainted with instructional methods (both new and familiar methods) that are required for the various curriculums.

The "polyfocal conspectus" approach is a complex, demanding

19 See: Schwab, J.J.: "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic" in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education* (see note 3), pp. 322–365.

20 Schwab J.J. (see note 7).

form of learning. It demands that the learner (in this instance, the principal) internalize several principles and then apply them to numerous, diverse problems and issues. Towards this objective, we believe that the principal should be guided by tutors who support and direct him while he acquires these proficiencies.

From this stage and on, the principal can contribute his full share, in line with the other group members — the subject matter specialist, psychologist, sociologist, evaluation expert, and curriculum specialist. In short: We must involve the principal if we want to generate an educational curriculum worthy of its name.

The Vitality of Theory in Schwab's Conception of the Practical

A retrospective look at Schwab's work in the field of education over the past forty-five years[1] reminds us that Schwab began dealing with problems of curriculum development long before he wrote his four articles on "The Practical."

We have been rereading Schwab's works and have realized that it is difficult to apply the ideas of The Practical I-IV[2] unless we connect them to essays as diverse as: "Criteria for the Evaluation of Achievement Tests: From the Point of View of the Subject-Matter Specialist," "Eros and Education," "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology," "Enquiry and the Reading Process," "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry," "What Do Scientists Do?," "Problems, Topics,

1 In 1939, Schwab published "Suggestions for Teaching Selected Material From the Field of Genetics." Bureau of Educational Research in Science, Monograph 1. N.Y.: Columbia University, Teachers College, 1939.

2 We will refer to these articles as The Practical I–IV:
1) The Practical I —"The Practical: A Language for Curriculum." Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1970.
2) The Practical II —"The Practical: Arts of the Eclectic." *School Review* 79 (1971): 493–542.
3) The Practical III —"The Practical 3: Translation into Curriculum." *School Review* 81 (1973): 501–22.
4) The Practical IV —"The Practical 4: Something for Curriculum Professors to Do." *Curriculum Inquiry* 13:3 (1983): 239–265.

All our references to The Practical I-III will be taken from *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education*, University of Chicago Press, 1978, Chicago. We are grateful to Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof for their introduction to Schwab's works and for the complete bibliography (until 1976) that is to be found in that volume.

and Issues," "College Curriculum and Student Protest," "Education and the State: Learning Community"[3] and others.

Most of these essays seem to have been overlooked by his critics in recent years, and thus they have missed a most important source for gaining a comprehensive understanding of his theory of curriculum development. We are concerned that some of Schwab's most basic ideas are liable to be distorted if his works are not read in their broader context.[4] For example, from our experience with students, we have learned that they tend to read "Problems, Topics, and Issues" as an argument for subject matter being the leading commonplace in education. Only after they have read "Eros and Education" and "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education"[5] have they been able to understand Schwab's concern for the equality of all four commonplaces. Also, many of us know from our own experience that Schwab's admonition concerning Moscow telegraphing ideas,

3 "Criteria for the Evaluation of Achievement Tests: From the Point of View of the Subject-Matter Specialist." In *Proceedings of the Educational Testing Service Invitational Conference on Testing Problems*, 1950. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1950, pp. 82–94; "Eros and Education." *Journal of General Education* 8 (1954): 54–71; "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology." *Ethics* 68 (1957): 39–44; "Enquiry and the Reading Process." *Journal of General Education* 11 (1958): 72–82; "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry." In Joseph J. Schwab and Paul F. Brandwein, *The Teaching of Science*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960; "What Do Scientists Do?" *Behavioral Science* 5 (1960): 1–27; "Problems, Topics, and Issues." In *Education and the Structure of Knowledge*, ed. Stanley Elam. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1964, pp. 4–47; *College Curriculum and Student Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969; "Education and the State: Learning Community." *The Great Ideas Today*, 1976. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976, pp. 234–71.

4 In "The Practical as a Focus for Curriculum: Reflections on Schwab's View" in *Reasoning and Teaching* (Routledge and Kegan Paul. London, 1973), Israel Scheffler writes an appreciative though incisive criticism of Schwab's distinction between Theory and Practice. It is important that this discussion continue. I believe it would be enriched if it referred to Schwab's other essays as well as to The Practical I–IV. Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof in their penetrating introduction to *Science Curriculum and Liberal Education*, The University of Chicago Press, 1978, have made a similar point.

5 "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education." *School Review* 67 (1959): 139–59.

messages, and orders to the provinces,[6] can equally apply to a centralized agency, as well as to any local school. Yet, we are concerned that if The Practical IV is read as if it "can stand on its own" as Schwab states, it is liable to be read incorrectly as an attack on all efforts of centralized curriculum development.

Moreover, we have found some of the richest suggestions for the training of the various members of the curriculum group and of the curriculum chairman in unpublished memoranda, in essays and in protocols from meetings where Schwab acted as consultant.

In 1969, Schwab caused an uproar when he delivered his address at the A.E.R.A. convention on what was later published as "Curriculum, the Language of the Practical." His explanation of the moribund state of the field and his version of the distinction Practical-Theoretical have been debated ever since.

In this article, we would like to consider how Schwab's conception of theory, as it was developed in a wide range of essays and curricular projects, is vital for curriculum development and for the training of the members of the curriculum group.

From his earliest writings, Schwab has been searching for the appropriate role which theory can play in education.[7] He has been preoccupied with some possible implications for teaching and learning of various theories of knowledge,[8] particularly theory in the natural sciences.[9] He has enquired into alternative conceptions of liberal education and elaborated on the content and teaching method

6 "The Practical IV", p. 240.

7 A great deal of Schwab's work can be subsumed under the categories listed below: notes 8–16. We will only cite one or two references for each note.

8 "Problems, Topics, and Issues." In *Education and the Structure of Knowledge*, ed. Stanley Elam. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 4–47; "The Structure of the Disciplines: Meanings and Significances." In *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum*, ed. G. W. Ford and L. Pugno. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 1–30.

9 "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry." In Joseph J. Schwab and Paul F. Brandwein, *The Teaching of Science*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. "The Natural Sciences: The Three Year Program," In *The Idea and Practice of General Education: An Account of the College of the University of Chicago*, by Present and

appropriate to these conceptions.[10] He has explored psychology, particularly personality theory, in order to help us understand the student and the role that theory can play for teachers and teaching.[11] He has examined social theory to demonstrate the effect of the community on the school.[12] He has investigated the teaching process and the problems of the teacher.[13] He has even considered the highly practical field of administration from a theoretical standpoint,[14] and as early as 1950 focused on the tension between "validity" and "usefulness" in evaluation and testing.[15]

In each case Schwab has warned us that there is no easy application of the theories that relate to education. On the contrary, he has repeatedly cautioned that theory introduced from the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences can mislead. In "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology"[16] Schwab demonstrates how education can be distorted by indiscriminately importing conclusions from social, psychiatric, and group theories. His other writings indicate that

Former Members of the Faculty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 149–86.

10 "The Nature of Scientific Knowledge as Related to Liberal Education." *Journal of General Education* 3 (1949): 245–66; "Dialectical Means vs. Dogmatic Extremes in Relation to Liberal Education." *Harvard Educational Review* 21 (1951): 37–64.

11 *College Curriculum and Student Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969; *Eros and Education — The Problem of Discussion*. Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico, Faculty of General Studies, 1958.

12 "Learning Community." The Center Magazine 8, no. 3 (May–June 1975), pp. 30–44; "Education and the State: Learning Community." The Great Ideas Today, 1976. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976, pp. 234–71.

13 *Eros and Education — The Problem of Discussion*. Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico, Faculty of General Studies, 1958; "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education." *School Review* 67 (1959): 139–59.

14 "The Professorship of Administration: Theory, Art and Practice." In *The Professorship in Educational Administration*. Columbus, Ohio: University Council for Educational Administration, 1964, pp. 47–70.

15 "Criteria for the Evaluation of Achievement Tests: From the Point of View of the Subject-Matter Specialist." In *Proceedings of the Educational Testing Service Invitational Conference on Testing Problems*, 1950. Princeton, NJ.: Educational Testing Service, 1950, pp. 82–94.

16 "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology" *Ethics* 68 (1957): 39–44.

similar distortions arise when we import theoretical conclusions from the disciplines represented in subjects taught in the school, or from those behavioral sciences that illuminate our conception of the arts of teaching or of the milieu of the school. Theory must be "prepared" if it is to be used effectively for education and Schwab, as we will see, suggests the steps involved in this preparation.

When Schwab decided to focus on the sub-field of curriculum in the series of articles, The Practical I–IV, he created simultaneously an appropriate arena where he could elaborate on the contribution that theory can make to education as well as on the limitations of this contribution. Curriculum, which is a field where insights from diverse disciplines must be integrated, is in constant danger of overemphasizing or distorting the role of theory and theoretical methods, but it is also the ideal setting for investigating these matters. In these articles he presents his view on the nature of theory, on the nature of practice and on the possible relationship between the two. He does this by distinguishing theory from practice, by describing the method of the practical "arts of eclectic" and "arts of deliberation" and by introducing the term "commonplace." He elaborates his arguments on four commonplaces of education, their content and relationship. Finally, while suggesting methods for preparation and evaluation of curriculum and presenting his program for training of curriculum specialists, Schwab demonstrates various applications of theory to practice.

The Relationship of Theory to Practice

Schwab attributes many of the problems in the sub-field of curriculum to the "inveterate, unexamined and mistaken reliance on theory." This criticism is directed to theoreticians and practitioners who are insensitive to the complex relationships of theory to practice and consequently misuse theory. Theory by its very nature is limited in scope, and education, because it is multi-faceted, cannot be

encompassed by any one theory or even by a combination of theories. At present, the theories on which curriculum is based are found in fields as diverse as behavioral epistemology, behavioral ethics, sociology-anthropology, economics, political science, and psychology.[17] Schwab doubts that there is any remedy for this situation in the forseeable future.

The price that education has paid for not recognizing the limited scope of any one theory or combination of theories is the distortion of curriculum by the various "bandwagons" which are guided by a theory or combination of theories that perennially dominate education.[18]

Furthermore, because of its particular multi-faceted nature, education, as we have indicated, must borrow or import theories from other fields, which themselves are not governed by any one theory. Characterizing these fields are several theories competing for hegemony, each one dealing with its selections from the subject under consideration. This is especially true of the social and behavioral sciences which are marked by different "schools" each of which selects only that part of the whole with which it can deal.

Finally, one must remember that theory is abstract and that its application is complicated for the curriculum developers who have to deal with the unique student and teacher, the specific milieu and the particular subject matter.

Those who work in the sub-field of curriculum, and who have ignored these problems, have continued to invest more and more energy in "theoretical pursuits" while they have been searching for "global principles and comprehensive patterns." Schwab's suggested remedy is that energy should be diverted from these pursuits to three other modes: the practical, the quasi-practical and the eclectic.

Schwab distinguishes the practical from the theoretical in terms

17 The Practical II, pp. 329–30.

18 Schwab warns us continuously about this tendency in education. See for example, The Practical III, pp. 371–372. Also see "Theory into Practice (In Education)," S. Fox, *Philosophy for Education*, edited by Seymour Fox, The Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1983, Jerusalem, Israel.

of subject matter, outcome, origin of the problem, and method. The subject matter of the theoretical is something taken to be universal while the subject matter of the practical is concrete, particular, and likely to change. The end or outcome of the theoretical is knowledge, while the end of the practical is a decision which is "never true or trustworthy" because it is not durable and is difficult to evaluate.

Theoretical problems are states of mind which "...arise from areas of the subject matter marked out by what we already know as areas which we do not yet know."[19] Practical problems emanate from a breakdown or a deprivation, that is, a condition that we wish were otherwise. These problems can be solved by either changing the condition or by mitigating our desires. A particular and complicating feature of the practical is that practical problems are not easily identified.

The methods of the theoretical are controlled by a principle which "...determines the general shape of its problem, the kind of data to seek, and how to interpret these data to a conclusion."[20] On the other hand, the practical has no such principles, and the problem is not only difficult to locate but may shift several times as we search for a solution. Therefore, the method of the practical is deliberation, "...a complex, fluid, transactional discipline aimed at identification of the desirable and at either attainment of the desired or alteration of desires."[21]

Schwab draws a sharp distinction between theory and practice; he even calls it "radical." However, before he suggests how this division might be treated, he reminds us that we cannot work in the practical domain without the use of theory. For example, we do not approach problems without some preconception; we are guided consciously or unconsciously by theory and notice only what fits our preconceptions. Thus, we see the particulars of the practical problem through the lens of the theoretical.

19 The Practical I, p. 289.
20 Ibid, p. 289.
21 Ibid, p. 291.

This is also the case for the phrasing and framing of practical problems:

> ...practical problems do not present themselves wearing their labels around their necks. Problem situations, to use Dewey's old term for it, present themselves to consciousness, but the character of the problem, its formulation, does not. The character of the problem depends on the discerning eye of the beholder.[22]

Schwab recognizes two additional uses of theory even before it is prepared for practice. First, the knowledge that results from theoretical investigations has a use, though limited, for decision making. It provides "rightly or wrongly" a kind of "shorthand ... for some phases of the deliberation."[23] Second, theoretical distinctions can be applied to practical deliberations:

> For purposes of curricular deliberation, for example, we may bring the Baconian distinction of memory, reason, and imagination to bear to divide subject matter (and curriculum problems) into three corresponding classes: historical, scientific and literary.[24]

However, as we have indicated, these uses of theory are limited. The "vices of theory" (theory is restricted in scope, abstract in nature, and inherently incomplete) not only limit its application but invite serious distortion. Schwab makes one of his most significant contributions for solving this problem when he suggests the use of the "eclectic method" to prepare theory for practice.

Although he introduced the term "eclectic" in The Practical I, he had previously written "Enquiry and the Reading Process" (in

22 The Practical I, p. 316.
23 Ibid, pp. 295–296.
24 Ibid, p. 296. Schwab's works are rich with examples of this use of theory.

1958), where he demonstrated a method for textual analysis which he described later as the first step in the eclectic:

> The eclectic begins by identifying the terms and distinctions which constitute the skeleton (the structure) of the theory — not merely what the terms are but how they are related.[25]

He calls the method for textual analysis "rhetorical analysis" and describes it as critical reading of a theory in order to disclose its principles and premises, and to follow these principles as they determine the course of the enquiry. When Schwab taught his students the skills of rhetorical analysis he described the process as a search for the "architectonic," the intellectual skeleton of the text. The student was taught how to discover what an author does, and not merely how to repeat or summarize what he says. He elaborates on the uses of rhetorical analysis of theory when he describes the procedures of *polyfocal conspectus* for the training of educators. (see p. 79)

The next step in the eclectic after one has disclosed the terms and premises of a theory, requires that one reflect on the partial view of the subject that must result from the terms that any theory imposes on a subject. One will then be able to consider the implications of using the theory for practice.

This knowledge is indispensable, both for the group developing a curriculum as well as for the school staff who are considering its adoption or implementation.[26]

To help solve the problem of the incomplete nature of theory, Schwab introduces a tool: the term commonplace of a discipline, or simply commonplace, which is one of

> ...a set of factors ... which ... in effect represents the *whole* subject matter of the whole plurality of enquiries of which each member-

25 The Practical I, p. 297.

26 See S. Fox, *Philosophy for Education,* p. 95.

> theory reveals only one facade at best, and usually only one facade seen in one aspect.[27]

Schwab emphasizes the benefits that can be derived from the creation and use of commonplaces:

> This set of common elements then makes it possible to discriminate and relate the biases of each theory: what its terms illuminate, what light cast by others' terms it fails to shed, what aspect of the subject it brings to the foreground, and what it thrusts into the background.[28]

Commonplaces enable us to map a field and to compare different theories in one discipline to see how they treat a specific subject matter. Through this comparison, we can see which parts of the subject matter are included or excluded by any given theory.

With this knowledge in hand we can proceed to make eclectic combinations between theories within a discipline (e.g., between various schools of psychology or between various schools of sociology) or between related disciplines (psychology and sociology, history and geography, etc.), which will enrich our treatment of practical problems. Rival theories can be joined or at least supplement each other in the treatment of a practical problem. However, this cannot be done unless we "know" what is involved in the use or application of any one theory or combination of theories. This requires a rhetorical analysis, as it is described above, and is greatly enhanced by the

27 The Practical II, p. 339.

28 The Practical I, p. 298. It is important to distinguish Schwab's very careful use and definition of the term commonplace, from the way it has been introduced into the literature particularly into the field of curriculum. Schwab reminds us that commonplaces can only be discovered and developed by long and meticulous scholarly work. "I hasten to emphasize that comparison of enquiries aimed at disclosure of commonplaces, is a task of enquiry, not of instruction." (The Practical II, p. 340).

comparison and contrast made possible through the identification of the commonplaces of a field.

Enriched by the contribution of theory that is made possible by the use of the arts of eclectic, we can proceed to the more difficult and complex "arts of deliberation." Through the deliberation we formulate our problem, consider possible solutions, weigh consequences and test these solutions:

> It (deliberation) treats both ends and means and must treat them as mutually determining one another. It must try to identify, with respect to both, what facts may be relevant. It must try to ascertain the relevant facts in the concrete case. It must try to identify the desiderata in the case. It must generate alternative solutions. It must make every effort to trace the branching pathways of consequences which may flow from each alternative and affect desiderata. It must then weigh alternatives and their costs and consequences against one another, and choose not the *right* alternative, for there is no such thing, but the *best* one.[29]

Schwab reminds us that these two sets of arts (eclectic and deliberation) are not easily separated. This is so because the practical is guided by theory, yet it cannot be encompassed by it. On the other hand, the elements of the practical which we decide to treat, determine which aspects of theory we will use.

> Collectively, however, these arts are concerned with *bringing a principle to its case.* This is achieved not by bringing one to the other, but by mutual accommodation. The principle (theory) must be selected and adapted to the case. But the case becomes a case of (an instance of) this theory or another only as it is made to be so. We carve it from the situation in a fashion which makes it so: we select from facts of the situation what we shall treat as relevant

29 Ibid. pp. 318–319.

> facts of the forming case; then we divide the relevant facts into those we shall entertain as alterable and those we shall treat as fixed. The steps in this mutual accommodation are taken first from one side, then from the other. Hence, the arts of eclectic and arts of the practical commingle.[30]

To summarize, Schwab's insistence on the close connection between the arts of eclectic and the arts of deliberation reflects his conception of the relationship between theory and practice which is complex, ever hazardous, but vital for education.

The Commonplaces and Curriculum Deliberation

The concept commonplace, as Westbury has demonstrated,[31] is anchored in some of Schwab's most theoretical concerns about the nature of a subject matter. With the help of this concept he can map a field and be able to deal comprehensively with its problems. We would like to examine the way Schwab has used the commonplaces in the service of the deliberations in curriculum development, and how with the help of a "map" which includes the learner, the teacher, the milieu and subject matter, he introduces and manipulates the different theories which should be included in an eclectic.

Schwab began his study of the commonplaces long before he started to investigate the specific problems of curriculum development. In his early works he studied each of the commonplaces separately. Yet, he was constantly aware of their connectedness and interdependence, and he dealt with each of them as an element in a totality which is itself in a state of constant flux.

Our next section will deal with Schwab's investigation of each of the commonplaces and the terms of their relationships to each other.

30 The Practical II, pp. 331–332.

31 See Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, *op cit.*, Introduction, pp. 19, 20, 29.

Subject Matter

Schwab has written more extensively on subject matter than on any other commonplace. In his monographs "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry," "Science and Civil Discourse: The Uses of Diversity,"[32] "Problems, Topics, and Issues" (and in many others), he deals with theory of knowledge and with its implications for education, especially for the teaching of science. He argues against a narrow notion of subject matter and insists that we offer the student a variety of conceptions of a discipline. These articles abound with examples. In "Problems, Topics, and Issues" he also treats alternative conceptions of the organization of the disciplines, their content, and their method.

A particularly impressive example of Schwab's contribution to our understanding of subject matter is to be found in his papers on the structure of the disciplines.[33] This concept was imported into education from the theory of knowledge and for ten years it served as one of those bandwagons against which he continually cautions us. In these papers, he describes alternative conceptions of structure, and he indicates the dangers of distortions which inevitably occur when one adheres to a limited and rigid conception of a structure of a discipline, such as the one which guided the curriculum reforms of the fifties and sixties. Furthermore, he demonstrates how difficult it is for one to separate subject matter from the other commonplaces, especially when one attempts to deal with problems of the structure of knowledge without invading areas which rightfully belong to the learner, the teacher and the milieu. Schwab argues that it is not the role of curriculum to simplify or to parrot a favored or accepted conception of a discipline, but to reflect on what contribution the various conceptions within a discipline can make to the thinking, the feeling and the behavior of the student.

Thus, he establishes the basis for his distinction between subject

32 "Science and Civil Discourse: The Uses of Diversity." *Journal of General Education*, 9 (1956): 132–43.

33 See especially "Education and the Structure of the Disciplines," in Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, *op cit.*, pp. 229–272.

matter and subject-matter-for-education. In The Practical III, he elaborates on this when he distinguishes between scholarship as a "source" for curriculum development and scholarship as a "resource." Scholarship becomes a resource through the "experience" of the specialist who participates in the deliberation and not only through his expertise. These distinctions make room for combinations among alternative conceptions of a discipline and for connections between disciplines for curricular purposes.

Thus, we can read Schwab's work on this commonplace as a demonstration of how rich its possibilities can be for education, as well as a warning against the possible "corruption of education by subject matter."

The Learner

In his investigations of the learner, Schwab uses insights from contemporary scholarship in the social sciences, from psychology, sociology, and political science, and draws implications from different philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Dewey, and others). He will not separate thinking, feeling, and behaving in the student. In *College Curriculum and Student Protest,* he describes how the intellectual challenges embodied in the classics (in philosophy, literature, and history), as well as in the carefully planned laboratory experiment, can fulfill the deep emotional needs of the learner. In "*Eros and Education*", Schwab's penetrating analysis of discussion as a method for teaching demonstrates how a student can be moved by means of the intellectual elements in his study, by a teacher who is sensitive to individual differences among learners and to the way they participate, understand, and interact with their peers.

However, it is not only the college student whom Schwab investigates. "The Religiously Oriented School in the United States,"[34]

34 "The Religiously Oriented School in the United States: A Memorandum on Policy." *Conservative Judaism* 18 (1964): 1–14.

which is an analysis of the relationship of faith to enquiry, is also a carefully reasoned position concerning the different meanings that adult models, emotional experience, and the community can have for students in junior high and high school.

When Schwab is studying the commonplace subject matter in the essay "Problems, Topics, and Issues," he makes a point of clarifying how various conceptions of the organization of the disciplines imply different views of the learner. Thus, he distinguishes between Comte, Aristotle, Plato, and Dewey in terms of the student's capacity and potential for learning.

In "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology," Schwab argues that the conceptions of the learner, knowingly or unknowingly invade the other commonplaces, subject matter and milieu. Therefore, theories about the learner and learning must be carefully analyzed and prepared before they can be used for education.[35]

The Milieu

Schwab refers to the commonplace, milieu, in many of his works, but pays particular attention to it in *College Curriculum and Student Protest,* "The Learning Community,"[36] and "Education and the State: Learning Community." He describes how insights from sociology, economics, political science, law, and psychology must be combined in order to understand the various milieus which affect the student and the school. He claims that a great deal can be achieved through schooling if educators find ways to exploit the various milieus of

35 Many of Schwab's most exciting ideas concerning the learner are to be found in mimeographed memoranda that were used to guide the programs of summer camps and youth movements. There we find rich eclectic combinations that can include Plato's pleasure of the intellect, Freud's concept of aggression and Sullivan's interpersonal elements.

36 "Learning Community." *The Center Magazine* 8, no. 3 (May–June 1975), pp. 30–44.

the learner: the family, the class, the school, the teacher, and the administration. Their understanding of the power of the milieu on the life of the student will help them in establishing a learning community. In "The Religiously Oriented School in the United States," Schwab discusses the power of tradition and roots in the learning community. When he describes the role of the curriculum chairman, and when he introduces the principal and parents as members of the curriculum team, he demonstrates how important and complex the micro-milieu of the school is for the curriculum. (See The Practical IV).

The Teacher

Tyler, in his Rationale for curriculum development,[37] argues for three sources of information for the formulation of the objectives: the learner, society, and subject matter. The teacher, who is introduced into the process of curriculum development at a later stage, after the objectives have been formulated, then becomes a means for implementing the objectives.[38]

For Schwab, however, the teacher is the fourth commonplace of the field, and therefore must be a first-hand source of information for the curriculum deliberation along with the other commonplaces. In "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education," Schwab describes the infinitely complex role which the teacher plays in the classroom. He cannot possibly adopt a conception by which the teacher's role in the curriculum is defined as the transmitter of organized knowledge to his students.

37 Ralph Tyler refers to the commonplaces as elements. See Ralph Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, University of Chicago Press, 1949. Schwab pays tribute to Tyler's contribution to his thinking, see The Practical I, p. 320, footnote #6.

38 See Nehama Moshieff "Some Problems in the Use of Theory for Curricular Development; Piaget — A Case Study for Early Childhood Education." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1980.

In order to understand Schwab's concept of the role of the teacher and teaching, we should turn to his assumptions concerning human personality. He refuses to separate affect from intellect, learning from behavior, the individual from the group. In one of his major essays on teaching, "Eros and Education: a Discussion of One Aspect of Discussion," Schwab attacks what he calls "the isolationist" error:

> Differentiation of the intellective, active, and aesthetic has its place in philosophical analysis and as a heuristic ground for psychological research, but it is a dangerous doctrine for the liberal educator.... Education cannot, therefore, separate off the intellectual from feeling and action, whether in the interest of the one or the other.... Appetite, emotion, and reason, then, can be abstracted from one another for purposes of thought but not in action. If we are to act upon and with another human person, as in his education, these factors must be understood and employed in their interaction and interpenetration. The fact of their interpenetration is one of the starting points, one of the principles, for consideration of education whether in respect to ends or means.[39]

For Schwab, the teacher is dealing with the entire personality, whether he chooses to admit it or not. He can either harness Eros in the service of intellect or else emotions will minimize or even sabotage the intellectual aims of the teacher.

When Schwab analyzes the use of discussion for education, he describes the role of the teacher as adult model, as well as the relationship of teachers to students and students to their peers. His concept of the teacher as an "accessible model" recognizes the initial dependence of the student on the teacher. Yet he makes room for a maturation process in which a student frees himself from his emotional dependence on the teacher and begins to pursue knowledge as an "active, intelligent person."

39 In Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, *op cit.*, pp. 107–109.

Close textual analysis of original papers in the humanities, social sciences, mathematics and the natural sciences, is central to Schwab's conception of teaching. In his essay "Enquiry and the Reading Process," he demonstrates how the teacher can help the student participate in enquiry as he masters the skills of rhetorical analysis.

Much of Schwab's conception of the ideal teacher and teaching is to be found in his essay "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education." Using the concept of pragmatic intellectual space he constructs five levels of learning ranging in ascending importance from mastery of problematic situations to reflections on knowledge of discovery.

Finally, Schwab describes a teacher as a learner who must use "… the classroom as the occasion and the means to reflect upon education as a whole (ends as well as means), as the laboratory in which to translate reflections into actions and thus to test reflections, actions, and outcomes against many criteria..."[40]

The Relationships of the Commonplaces to Each Other

As mentioned earlier, Schwab's conception of the commonplaces requires that all of them should be fully and appropriately represented in the curricular deliberation. He warns us against the hegemony of any one commonplace and refuses to rank them in terms of importance. At first, he argues for a coordinate relationship among them. Later, he qualifies this conception of "coordinacy" and makes room for ranking when circumstances justify it. He says that "Defensible educational thought must take account of four commonplaces of *equal* rank …" However, "No one of them may be allowed to dominate the deliberation unless that domination is conscious and capable of *defense in terms of the circumstances.*"[41]

40 (Ibid., pp. 182–183) In Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, *op cit.*, pp. 182–183.

41 The Practical III, p. 371. Emphasis is mine.

Schwab reformulates his conception of coordinacy of the commonplaces in the "Practical IV." He realizes that formal equality is a theoretical idea describing an ideal situation, and that in reality we are constantly exposed to the pressures of everyday practical situations which force us to give preference to that commonplace in which "the problem" is anchored. However, he cautions us that preference for any one commonplace can only take place after we have carefully considered the different points of view of each of the commonplaces on the issue under consideration. Schwab says "...only by consideration of the present state of the curriculum, the present condition of students and surrounding circumstances, all in the light of all the commonplaces equally, that a decision to favor one or another is justified."[42]

The Curriculum Group[43, 44]

Schwab's assumptions about the relationships between the commonplaces are implicit in his insistence that a curriculum should be developed by a group and that this group should be directed by a curriculum specialist. No individual can possibly encompass the richness of all four commonplaces. Although he discusses a deliberation by an individual within himself, it is not the kind of deliberation that is appropriate for curriculum making. The eclectic method requires the active participation of the representatives of competing and complementary schools of thought. Therefore, Schwab argues for a main curriculum group consisting of representatives of five bodies of experience: the four commonplaces and the experience of

42 The Practical IV, p. 241.

43 Already in 1954, Schwab required that a curriculum be developed by a staff. See *Eros and Education*, p. 128. Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof.

44 In a forthcoming volume *The Arts of Curriculum Development*, we develop many of Schwab's insights related to curriculum development, the training of the curriculum specialist and of the other members of the curriculum group. [See p. 120, note 1.]

curriculum making which is represented by the curriculum chairman whose task is to initiate and guide the entire process. The group may consist of more or less than five members, i.e., one member may represent several commonplaces, or we may, at times, require several representatives for one commonplace. Other subgroups are formed as the need for them arises.[45]

It is not enough that the specialist is a physicist, a historian or a social scientist, he should be someone who cares about improving education. In the Practical I-III Schwab points out that the representatives of the commonplaces subject matter, learner, and milieu should be scholars or academics who are familiar with the classroom and with teaching.

In The Practical IV, however, Schwab changes the composition of the group. The scholar and the social scientist are no longer full-fledged members of the curriculum group but are relegated to the role of consultants. In their place, he substitutes teachers, principals, board members, etc. We are surprised by this move because of the priority that he previously gave to the specialists in the process of curriculum development. It is possible that Schwab is describing another kind of group in the Practical IV — possibly a group from a local school or a cluster of schools which is willing and able to institute or undertake curriculum revision or development. If so, another function of such a group would be the modification of a curriculum that is prepared by a central curriculum agency. In any case, one need not read The Practical IV as Schwab despairing of the usefulness of curriculum development by central curriculum agencies. His criticism of Moscow telegraphing messages to the provinces is a colorful way for him to remind us of what he always maintained — that no curriculum could possibly be prepared which did not require or could not benefit from the modification and revision that is appropriate for local conditions.[46]

45 See Seymour Fox, "A Practical Image of the Practical," *Curriculum Theory Network* No. 10 (Fall 1972).

46 For an interpretation of Schwab's conception of the relationship of centralized to local curriculum development, see S. Fox, "The Role of the Principal in the

The Representative of the Subject Matter in the Curriculum Group

One can read Schwab's early writings, particularly those on the teaching of science, as a preliminary attempt to describe the role of the subject matter specialist for curriculum development. Schwab was a young biologist when he began his study on the teaching of science. He started by investigating the theoretical assumptions embedded in the various natural sciences, in order to draw implications for their use in education. His various papers on the nature of subject matter, its diversity, richness and complexity, as previously mentioned are in a sense, a preamble to his distinction between subject matter and subject-matter-for-education and scholarship-as-a-source and scholarship-as-a-resource.

Schwab first made this distinction at a time when a very different model of the subject matter specialist was being promoted. The curriculum reforms of the fifties and sixties and Bruner's argument in *The Process of Education*[47] offered a unifocal conception of structure and raised the subject matter specialist almost to the role of sole arbiter of what was to be taught and how it was to be taught.

Schwab's approach, on the other hand implies a subject matter specialist whose characteristics, functions, and training are different from those described by Bruner and his colleagues. The subject matter specialist must not only be a person who is thoroughly acquainted with his discipline, but he must also be one who has mastered the philosophical assumptions that underlie the various approaches within his discipline. He must be able to articulate what is gained or lost by adopting one approach or method — a substantive or syntactical structure within a discipline.[48]

Curriculum Group," Hebrew, in *Between Education and Psychology*, Jerusalem, 1983. School of Education, Hebrew University, Magnes Press, pp. 179–189.

47 Bruner, Jerome S., *The Process of Education*, Vintage Books, N.Y. 1960.

48 See "Problems, Topics, and Issues," pp. 35–37. Schwab introduces the concept syntactical structure in place of "scientific method" which was being misused by educators.

For Schwab the subject matter specialist is a leading actor in the translation of subject matter for the curriculum, but not the only actor. He cannot carry out his function without the collaboration of the other members of the curriculum group. He must help them to understand how the different approaches within his discipline relate to the legitimate demands of the other commonplaces, i.e., he needs to be aware of the opportunities and difficulties that are encountered by different kinds of students and teachers as they are learning and teaching different approaches within a subject matter. This, in turn, will require that he be familiar with the ways by which his discipline relates to other disciplines that are taught in the school. In addition, he needs to be familiar with classroom practice so that his suggestions will be feasible and realistic. Familiarity with the classroom will help him make creative suggestions about the uses of his discipline.

Schwab does not specifically describe the training of the subject matter specialist. We understand that first and foremost he should have a thorough grounding in his discipline as well as philosophical training in order to be able to disclose the various substantive and syntactical structures of the discipline which he needs in order to experiment with eclectic combinations within his discipline and between disciplines. He needs to participate in deliberations with representatives of the other commonplaces in order to learn how to offer suggestions that respond to the requests of the psychologist, sociologist and teacher.

In The Practical IV, as we have mentioned, Schwab relegates the subject matter specialist to the role of consultant. He describes three kinds of subject matter specialists and doubts whether any one of them is suitable or available for work in a curriculum group. If Schwab's pessimism is justified, then a great deal of the richness of the curriculum deliberation will be lost, even for a local curriculum-planning group.

Finally, Schwab describes (in The Practical III), necessary but rarely found characteristics of the subject matter specialist, or, for that matter, any specialist who participates in a curriculum group. He calls

our attention to the great difficulty in establishing communication, understanding, and especially consensus among different specialists in any one group. Since everyone tends to assume that his convictions and conclusions are justifiable and should therefore be adopted, there is always danger that "...the arrogance of specialism, will wreck any attempt at responsible translation of scholarly materials into defensible curriculum. I know of no device of chairmanship or tactic of administration which can avert this danger without a measure of humility and shame among the participants."[49]

The Representative of the Learner in the Curriculum Group

The learner plays a special role in Schwab's thinking. He is "the beneficiary" of the curriculum operation. Schwab is concerned with the psychological and social development of the learner, with his social environment and with the climate of the school.

When he deals with the learner's representative in the curriculum group, he describes someone who has general knowledge of the age group as well as an "intimate knowledge of the children under consideration." This includes general knowledge of the development of the learner, information about his social relations, knowledge about what he already knows and what he will be ready to learn, where his interests, aspirations, and anxieties lie, as well as a familiarity with the uniqueness of the particular group that is being considered.

Until recently, it was clear from Schwab's writings that the expert on the learner is a psychologist and that he should be his main representative in the curriculum group. This psychologist should be someone who has the appropriate training, knowledge and experience with students and schools, and the qualifications and capacity that will enable him to participate in the deliberations. In the Practical

49 The Practical III, p. 381.

IV, Schwab transfers the role of the psychologist in the curriculum group to teachers, who, because of their long experience with the learners and their "familiarity" with their uniqueness, will be able to represent them, whereas the psychologist (and the sociologist) will assume the role of consultants to the group. However, we in our work in curriculum development, have not abandoned the idea of a psychologist serving as the representative of the learner.

Schwab makes a further suggestion. He recommends that students join the curriculum group as full members because they are best able to represent their own interests. To date, we have not come across a case where students from elementary and high schools participate as full members in a curriculum group. We are therefore, eager to hear about such participation and the contribution students can offer to the deliberations.

The Representatives of the Milieu in the Curriculum Group

The representatives of the milieu in the curriculum group are social scientists: psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, and economists. These people can be either academics or trained officials from ministries or departments of education. By inviting them (individually or in groups), Schwab creates an encounter which is quite unusual in the educational community. Experts in the study of policy-making and/or officials who are often responsible for decisions which affect the most sensitive issues in the school (e.g., the budget, political decisions, social policy, etc.) without having any direct contact with the school, join forces with the front line teachers, subject matter specialists, psychologists, parents, and principals in a common enterprise. Here educational policy meets suggestions for educational innovation. The constraints of feasibility and the decisions concerning priorities are joined and thus hardened positions soften, and change is introduced by common consent. We have found these

encounters invaluable in the process of introducing change in our educational system.

It is unfortunate that Schwab did not develop this topic more extensively, as he did with the other commonplaces. Sociologists and economists have dealt with these issues from their own point of view (e.g., the sociology of the school, studies on ethnic backgrounds of students, economics of education, etc.). However, from the point of view of curriculum development Schwab has left the area open to improvisation and thereby issues such as the selection and appointment of the representatives of the milieu and their participation in the deliberations, have often been treated casually.

In The Practical IV, we notice a tendency in the opposite direction in Schwab's thinking. He minimizes the role of the social scientist in the curriculum group, and he emphasizes the role of the principal and parents. The social scientist stops being a regular member of the group and assumes the role of a consultant. The principal and board members take over his former role. This change emphasizes the importance of the micro-milieu, i.e., the society closest to the school.

We have had some experience in working with principals in our curricular projects and can endorse the importance of Schwab's introduction of the principal into the group. We have been impressed by the knowledge and expertise that many principals have of the micro-milieu and by their sensitivity to the impact of the introduction of changes in the school on the staff members (on those who are directly involved in a curricular innovation as well as on those who feel "left out").

However, in doing this, Schwab appears to be avoiding the question that Tyler asks about the needs of the larger contemporary society as well as about the demands that are likely to be made on the student by society in the future.

For all these reasons and as a result of our own experience, we have not despaired of the social scientists' role in the curriculum group. We feel that their contribution as experts on the milieu (both the immediate environment and the larger society) is indispensable for the curricular deliberations and should therefore be maintained.

The Teacher as a Representative in the Curriculum Group

When Schwab first proposed the four commonplaces of education, he granted the teacher equal status with the other commonplaces. He protected that status by insisting on the coordinacy of the commonplaces. However, as we have indicated, his concept of coordinacy did not stand the test of "the practical."

In 1978 when we summarized our research on the implementation of the new curriculum in history in junior high schools in Israel, we were surprised to discover the extent to which teachers had misunderstood the intentions of the written curriculum, and how differently they were interpreting it.[50] What was being taught in most classrooms was radically different from what was expected of the teachers by the curriculum writers. In the process of writing curriculum, we noticed similar problems when we tested materials with teachers in classrooms.

It was through these and other related experiences in the implementation of curriculum (and in the training of curriculum writers) that we realized that the teacher was the first audience of the curriculum writer and possibly his most important one. That, from a certain point of view, he was the leading commonplace, or what Schwab later called "the fountainhead of the curricular decision." We realized that our first assignment should have been the preparation of a curriculum for the teacher who in most cases has to master new concepts of the subject matter and new methods of teaching, who has to be convinced and motivated to invest the time and the energy that is required in order to introduce the new curriculum.

Teachers, who are participating in the curriculum group should be trained like all the other participants if they are to make a substantial contribution to curriculum development. For example, in our work with staff training for a central curriculum agency, we developed programs where the representative-teachers learned to help the

50 *An Analysis of the Content and Use of a History Curriculum*. Lea Adar and Seymour Fox, Hebrew University School of Education, May 1978.

curriculum group identify the various types of classroom teachers for whom the curriculum was being written. They also learned how to articulate what was likely to occur with the intentions of the curriculum developers as these intentions were being translated into the classroom. The representative teacher had to learn enough of the language of the other members of the curriculum group in order to participate effectively in deliberation and not be over-powered by the status of the subject matter or social science specialist.

In The Practical IV Schwab increases the number of representative-teachers in the curriculum group. He describes the characteristics of these teachers: some should be ingenious at solving problems of what and how to teach, some should be representatives of the group which will actually teach the new curriculum, and some should represent an area remote from the curriculum which is being prepared.

Here, Schwab also transfers the role of expert for the commonplace "learner," to the "teacher" in lieu of the limited contribution that he believes can be made at present by the psychologist. He points out that although the contributions of social scientists are useful, they are by and large limited to generalizations which cannot offer much direct guidance to curriculum making. The teacher, on the other hand, because he is intimately involved with the child in his everyday life, is likely to have achieved expertise in this area as well. This image of the teacher is very different from the one that Schwab described in the Practical I-III: the teacher who is plagued by feelings of inferiority and insecurity in the presence of specialists.

The Curriculum Chairman

The curriculum chairman[51] is responsible for leading the process of curriculum development from its inception to its completion. This

51 Schwab uses the terms curriculum specialist and curriculum chairman interchangeably.

includes leading the deliberation as well as guiding the "tryouts" that lead to the concrete embodiments in the curriculum. Schwab reminds us that the curriculum development process has to result in "...materials for students, guides for teachers, and patterns of teaching and learning which are appropriate."[52]

In leading the deliberation, the curriculum specialist helps the curriculum group to formulate the problem, to construct alternative solutions and to test these solutions. Throughout this process he must guarantee each of the four commonplaces its full hearing and its equal status. He must maintain maximum communication between the representatives of the commonplaces, helping each member of the team express the principles which guide his contribution, i.e., the substantive and syntactical structures implicit in the suggestions, as well as the assumptions about teaching that are implicit in the teachers' contributions. The curriculum chairman carries out his function in meetings of the main group as well as of the different sub-groups, helping each representative to make his fullest contribution while recognizing his own biases and stereotypes.

Furthermore, Schwab's commitment to supporting diversity and openness is included in the functions of the curriculum chairman. He considers the possibility of two chairmen, or at least one additional person who would monitor the chairman's behavior as the group moves from the translation of theory to practice and from the formulation of the problem to a curriculum.[53] In our work, we have found that properly trained philosophers who are concerned and familiar with classroom practice can serve effectively in this function.

Among his many duties, the curriculum chairman must make sure that all members of the curriculum team are familiar with the realities of the classroom and that they maintain contact with these realities. He does this by arranging visits to typical classrooms, as well as to schools where relevant experimental programs are in progress. The

52 The Practical III, p. 369.
53 The Practical III, p. 371.

chairman must also make sure that the group discovers what takes place in the teacher's room, in the playground, in the street and in the homes of children. In addition, it is the chairman's task to search out and distribute the appropriate current articles in professional journals. Schwab also suggests that the chairman draw on the history of education so that the curriculum team does not "reinvent the wheel," i.e., that people should not repeat unknowingly unsuccessful ideas and programs or mistakes made in the past.[54] This is necessary because education, in its practical sense, suffers from lack of tradition.

The deliberation which supports a fair and full hearing for all of the commonplaces is a particularly complicated task:

> The role of the curriculum specialist here is one which derives from a most marked and peculiar characteristic of the deliberative process: it must compare *incommensurables*. The task is not merely a technical one of forecasting consequences and costs. It is not adequately stated as merely determining *the* value or good of the forecast consequences. For 'the' value is in fact a number of different values; a valued contribution to the maturity of the child; a valued effect on the present state of mind of the child; a valued effect on the community. These different values are the incommensurables which must be weighed against one another. There are no weighting factors which can be supplied to the deliberative group by which to simplify this process.
>
> The special obligation of the curriculum-specialist chairman is to ensure that the group hunt out, recognize and juxtapose the different considerations which are pertinent.[55]

The curriculum specialist leads the group as it tests sections of the

54 See Schwab's suggested use of the works of historians such as Cremin and Tyack, The Practical IV, p. 260.

55 The Practical III, p. 382.

curriculum and evaluates their effectiveness in the classroom, thereby guiding the group to consensus, i.e., a decision among and between these incommensurables so that a curriculum can be developed.

In The Practical IV, Schwab describes the training the curriculum specialist must receive to undertake these assignments. Theory plays an important role in his mastery of the arts of the practical: arts of eclectic and deliberation. In other words, he must learn enough about the theoretical frames of reference (substantive and syntactical structures) of the participants (the representative of the commonplaces), to be able to lead the deliberation.

Schwab's suggestion for the teaching of the eclectic through polyfocal conspectus has been used effectively by us for this purpose. Through polyfocal conspectus, the educator is taught rhetorical analysis of related but different theories, how to compare and contrast these theories and how to simulate their application to practice.[56]

The chairman needs to master the various languages of the participants to help them arrive at a consensus. This step requires sufficient knowledge of the behavioral sciences as well as of those disciplines which are the resources for the subject matter of the curriculum. Several of these behavioral sciences are concerned with the tasks of planning, communication, as well as understanding the needs, whims, and weaknesses of each of the participants in a deliberation.

Describing the training of the curriculum specialist, Schwab returns to his early preoccupation with liberal education. He actually suggests a "liberal education" for the curriculum chairman:

> What our curriculum Chairman needs, in addition, is sound knowledge of what the field investigates, what kind of questions it asks of its subject in the course of enquiry, and what restrictions it places on the acceptability of answers. In brief, he needs to know about the problems, principles and methods of the field. He also

56 See The Practical II, pp. 342–363.

> needs to know something of the history of changes in these matters, since the behavioral sciences are notorious for the plurality of their principles and the frequency with which they change.
>
> Our Chairman will need a similarly liberal nodding acquaintance with some of the academic fields from which school curricula are drawn. He will need this acquaintance in order to recognize some of the various corruptions and selections which are made of these fields as they pass from their own communities of enquiry through the hands of textbook writers and curriculum makers into the versions which represent them in the schools; this to alert him to the ubiquity of such modifications, and to help him to judge their usefulness and cost when they touch his school.[57]

Finally, the curriculum specialist needs to undergo a period of apprenticeship. Schwab suggests that this training period culminate in a doctoral dissertation which is a synthesis of the theoretical elements of his experience as an apprentice.

Curriculum Development: The Problem Versus Objectives

Although Schwab criticizes those who have developed models, global-principles, and taxonomies for curriculum development, he also suggests alternative methods for the preparation and evaluation of curriculum. He calls for a new kind of empirical research which should inform us of what we are actually doing or not doing in the classroom before we respond to the "call for change." This research should help us ascertain what changes we can afford to carry out, how feasible they are and what "the price" will be.

Schwab also calls for new testing procedures which will have significant consequences for the preparation of the curriculum and

57 The Practical IV, p. 260. Here Schwab is suggesting an O.I.I. or O.M.P. for curriculum specialists. See Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, *op cit.*, p. 27.

for its evaluation. He argues for the development of tests which will measure side effects as well as the intended changes:

> ...since the distinction between these two is always in the eye of the intender and side effects may be as great in magnitude and as baneful or healthful for students as the intended effects.[58]

One particularly important difference between Schwab's approach to curriculum development and that of the approaches which he criticizes is the centrality of objectives in their conception of curriculum. Schwab cannot accept an approach which uses objectives as the sole principle for curriculum development.[59] He argues that objectives could be one of several alternative approaches which are no less effective and which can supplement each other. He writes:

> The question arises from the dogma that curriculum should be devised, controlled, and evaluated in the light of "objectives" taken as the leading principles. Consideration of the practical character of curriculum and instruction convinces me that this dogma is unsound. There are principles, alternative to objectives, which generate defensible curriculums. There are coprinciples, for use with objectives, which guard against some of the errors and excesses which arise from dependence on objectives as sole leading principles.[60]

Schwab argues further that objectives are not likely to include or to encompass the unintended consequences of the curriculum. These

58 The Practical I, p. 314.

59 Schwab has not yet presented us with a comprehensive treatment of objectives which he promised to develop in The Practical II, p. 363, and which we are very much in need of. We believe that he will bring together issues such as the complementary relationship between proximate and ultimate goals which he treats in *College Curriculum and Student Protest*. In this paper, we have gathered various, though limited formulations on objectives from his different works.

60 The Practical II, p. 363.

consequences, though very important and unavoidable, may be either harmful or useful. As early as 1950, he used Dewey's concept of "collateral learning" and tried to convince curriculum developers and evaluators to consider the "...unknown and unanticipated consequences... which any effective curriculum inevitably must produce upon its students."[61]

He also maintains that objectives tend to trivialize important issues. Curriculum developers who introduce endless strings of objectives and create taxonomies, separate what should be held together: "... they anatomize, not only subject matter, but teachers' thoughts about it, the pattern of instruction used to convey it, the organization of textbooks, and the analysis and construction of tests."[62]

Although he agrees that objectives have a contribution to make to curriculum development, Schwab criticizes their widely accepted linear conception of curriculum development, where the formulation is followed first by the selection and organization of learning experiences and then by evaluation. For Schwab, these are not discreet steps; they must affect one another. Objectives cannot be chosen without knowing whether we are able to generate learning experiences which are likely to lead to them. Furthermore, we sometimes develop learning experiences only to discover that the average teachers cannot or will not use them in the classroom. Therefore, the concern for "feasibility" which is cardinal in Schwab's concept of the practical, makes it highly unlikely that one could proceed in deliberation from objectives to learning experiences in a linear fashion:

> Therefore reflection on curriculum must take account of what teachers are ready to teach or ready to learn to teach; what materials are available or can be devised; what effects actually ensue from materials and methods chosen, not merely how well they yield

61 "Criteria for Evaluation of Achievement Tests," cited from Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof, p. 277.

62 The Practical IV, p. 240.

> intended purposes but what else ensues. But none of these can be identified except as some ends or objectives are tentatively selected and pursued. Hence, curriculum reflection must take place in a back and forth manner between ends and means. A linear movement from ends to means is absurd.[63]

In contrast to an approach to curriculum development that begins with the search for objectives, Schwab's deliberation begins with the search for "the problem." As we have indicated, one characteristic of the practical is that the problem is not given but must be located and/or discovered. This has led us in our work in curriculum development, to make a distinction between what may *appear* to be the problem, namely symptoms, and what the curriculum group, through deliberations, ultimately agrees upon to the "the problem" that the curriculum will have to respond to.

Failure on achievement tests, student boredom, teacher unrest, criticism by parents or academics for example, may all be symptoms that can instigate the call for curriculum revision. Any one of them can lead us to the formulation of a problem other than how to revise or develop a new curriculum. After careful deliberation, we may decide that our problem is how to improve instruction or motivate teachers to utilize the existing curriculum more effectively. Therefore our solution might be teacher re-education and not a new curriculum project. We may even decide tentatively that our problem is the curriculum, but we may not know how to improve on the existing one; or the improvement may involve the investment of time and money that is not available; or the project for curriculum improvement may be feasible for experimental classes, but not for large numbers of teachers and students.

The process of the formulation of the problem involves the examination of the various symptoms and the generation of alternative responses or treatments of these symptoms. Each of these responses,

63 The Practical IV, pp. 240–241.

which are potential solutions to the problem that is being formulated, must be examined in terms of the consequences that are likely to ensue from their adoption. Often, there are several possible and available solutions to the problem and even more consequences that result from these alternative solutions. They must all be considered, rehearsed and evaluated. We learned that what we were involved in was a full-scale simulation.

After several years of experience, we "formally" adopted this approach and suggested that those exploring a possible need for curriculum revision simulate the steps that might be followed from the response to the symptom up to and including the formulation of the problem. We decided to call this "Simulation I" to distinguish it from "Simulation II" which requires us to rehearse the steps from the formulation of the problem, through the development of the curriculum including its implementation in the classroom. This simulation takes us through the stages of writing, testing, teacher education and full-scale implementation. Each of these simulations forces us to consider carefully, the different aspects of the feasibility of the curriculum projects such as the motivation of teachers, principals, and supervisors; the support of the school board; the cost in time and money which will be required; and the disruption of the various aspects of the school program.

"Simulation I" has often revealed that we are not as yet prepared to undertake the curriculum project that we are considering. "Simulation II" has helped us develop specifications and timetables that are realistic. These simulations are much more than a convenient check-list or rehearsal of possibilities. Their importance lies mainly in their role as tools for the curriculum team's considerations of theoretical and practical alternatives in the light of the "real" costs.

Schwab's principles for curriculum development have led us to make a further distinction between curriculum and curriculum research. There are many ideas, suggestions and programs that are not ripe for translation into curriculum; they seem to be more appropriate as ideas, suggestions, and programs for curricular research. Before

they can be used for curriculum, it is necessary to do further research in order to determine whether they are feasible and appropriate for a "full-blown" curriculum. Unfortunately, we must report that our simulations have taught us that most ideas which are suggested for curriculum development are often appropriate topics for curriculum research only.

Curriculum

One can view a great deal of Schwab's work as an effort on his part to discover and to locate the appropriate boundaries for the area of curriculum, and as an attempt to rehabilitate the field within these boundaries.

In retrospect, we are not surprised that he never proposed a definition of curriculum. Only recently, in The Practical IV, after many years of reflection on the nature of curriculum development and with his rich experience,[64] does he formulate a comprehensive conception of the field. He says:

> Curriculum is what is successfully conveyed to differing degrees to different students, by committed teachers using appropriate materials and actions, of legitimated bodies of knowledge, skill, taste, and propensity to act and react, which are chosen for instruction after serious reflection and communal decision by representatives of those involved in the teaching of a specified group of students who are known to the decision makers.[65]

Here, Schwab conceptualizes his ideas on curriculum as a practical

64 His experience in curriculum development includes projects at The College of The University of Chicago, The B.S.C.S., The Melton Research Center at The Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and The School of Education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and others.

65 The Practical IV, p. 240.

field. He deftly evades and overcomes the numerous pitfalls which have been the downfall of those who have developed curriculum along the very lines Schwab has so strongly criticized.

For Schwab, curriculum is that which is implemented successfully in the classroom and consequently, curriculum planning must recognize the range of possible teachers and students. The teacher must be committed to the endeavor and be able to use the materials and methods which are promoted by the curriculum. The particular content, the skills, the tastes and the behaviors which are promoted by the curriculum must be considered carefully. Therefore, the curriculum must involve serious deliberation by a group. Teachers must play a central role and the group that makes the decision must be thoroughly familiar with the students who are to benefit from that curriculum.

Postscript

Schwab's prolific writings are filled with ideas that will challenge his colleagues and students for many years to come. For example, Schwab's concept of policy has rich potential for administration and for the study of the politics of education. Particularly tantalizing is the concept of "practical educational principles" and the double-edged, complex relationship of policy to deliberation. The quasi-practical, described briefly in The Practical I and then never mentioned again, is of crucial importance for dealing with the diversity which must be maintained in the process of curriculum development.

We would like to introduce one topic which should be especially intriguing for teachers and educators. We believe that there is in his work a firm basis for a didactic theory. We would like to stimulate a discussion on some of his insights and suggestions on teaching in the classroom which he has been developing ever since he began his study of the field of education.

Schwab developed his understanding of teaching by enquiry through many years of experience as a teacher at the University of

Chicago and through his long experience with teacher education. He also guided the preparation of curricula, which encouraged teaching by enquiry. This concept should not be confused with the enquiry which was in vogue in the new curricula of the fifties and sixties. It is neither the mastery of scientific method nor the imitation of the scientist working in the laboratory. Schwab's suggestions for teaching by enquiry are based on the interrelationship between the understanding of a subject matter, the way the student can understand it, and the way the teacher can learn to introduce the subject matter and the method in the classroom. Based on a personality theory which will not separate intellectual, affective, and interpersonal elements, he develops a concept of enquiry which is most powerful because it can be "fired" by Eros. He challenges the teacher to help the student join "the pleasures of the emotions" with "the pleasures of the intellect."[66] Although intellectual pleasure has its own source of energy, it can be maximized if it can work in harmony with the energy of the emotions.

Schwab's description of classroom discussion is an invitation to teachers to contribute to this didactic theory by reporting on how sensitivity to facial expression, posture, seating arrangement, and even silence, reflect the "internal elements" of the student. Schwab demonstrates for the teacher how students learn through enquiry and how it can be taught. When we gather his countless examples and descriptions (some brief and some comprehensive) of how to teach and learn by enquiry, we can discern at least three kinds of enquiry that Schwab developed: enquiry, narrative of enquiry, and pre-enquiry. Enquiry requires the active participation of the student and the teacher in their recovery of the meaning of an original textual source or a laboratory experiment. He deals with these didactic problems in his different works, particularly in "The Teaching of Reading by Enquiry,"

66 Those of us who had the privilege to read Freud, Aristotle and Plato under Schwab's guidance, can remember how "pleasure" is discovered as one of the commonplaces of personality theory. See *Freud and Education* by S. Fox, Charles C. Thomas, 1975, U.S. pp. 26–28.

where he offers his suggestions for the teaching of rhetorical analysis, and in The Practical II when he suggests the teaching of polyfocal conspectus. Didactic ideas can be found all over his works on the teaching of science, particularly in the essay on "The Teaching of Science as Inquiry."

Schwab is practical about the practical. He knows that not all teachers and not all students can teach and learn through this kind of enquiry for long periods of time. He offers us the method of the narrative of enquiry as one way of responding to the legitimate demands for coverage of material and acquisition of information, and to the limited capacity of some students and teachers to partake in genuine enquiry.[67]

As a further concession to constraints of time and energy with which teachers are constantly faced, he develops the idea of a pre-enquiry which is consistent with, but yet distinct from enquiry itself. It helps the student consider those questions which will later make it possible for him to participate in both enquiry and the narrative of enquiry.[68]

Schwab's conception of enquiry is based on more than a text, reading, a personality theory. It requires an environment — a learning community. This idea, developed in *College Curriculum and Student Protest* and in "Education and the State: Learning Community," makes it possible for him to stretch our aspirations for the achievement of the goals of a curriculum of a school or of a university. He does not agree to a separation of formal from informal education, of curricular activities from extra-curricular activities. His work in the development of the curriculum and teaching methods of the Ramah Summer Camps and youth movements (Leadership Training Fellowship) as they were related to school and family are sources for his didactic theory.[69]

67 "The Teaching of Science as Enquiry," pp. 87–95.

68 He developed the concept of pre-enquiry for the *Teacher's Guide for the Teaching of the Bible Through Enquiry* at The Melton Research Center in New York City.

69 Some of Schwab's exciting ideas are to be found in mimeographed memoranda that were prepared to guide the programs of summer camps and youth movements.

This concept of education and of curriculum makes it possible for Schwab to confront those who claim "that reading a book cannot change a person." In *College Curriculum and Student Protest,* Schwab argues that a school guided by a curriculum which unites a learning community with a teacher who is an accessible model *can* change people through reading books.

The didactic theory that is to be developed out of Schwab's writings will tap one additional source and that is Schwab himself, the teacher. Those of us who were privileged to study with him and to work with him possess some of the richest sources for the didactic theory.

There we find rich eclectic combinations that include Plato's Pleasure of the Intellect, Freud's concept of aggression, and Sullivan's interpersonal elements. A particularly interesting technique that was developed at The Melton Research Center by Dr. Burton Cohen and Professor Schwab is to be found in the exercises in ethical reasoning, in "Practical Logic: Problems of Ethical Decision," Burton Cohen and Joseph J. Schwab, *The American Behavioral Scientist* 8 (1960: pp. 23–27).

Part Three:

Focus on the Eclectic: Readying Theory for Practice

Theory into Practice (in Education)

The educational policymaker immersed in crisis situations is sensitive and open to the idea or program that appears to respond to his latest crisis. If the ideas or programs emanate from academic circles they are especially attractive. They offer the policymaker a kind of respectability that may also serve as a protective shield to permit the necessary investment in time and money for research and experimentation. It is superfluous to list the many ideas and programs that have been enthusiastically adopted by the educational decision-maker and then offered to his constituency as *the* solution to the current dilemma. The educational "band-wagons" that have resulted are well known. They are often based on the findings of one of the disciplines in the social sciences or humanities and usually on one school of thought in that particular discipline.

Many of the curriculum reforms of the 1950s were based on Bruner's concept of structure of knowledge as the only principle for the selection of subject matter. Structure, itself, was to be taught in a particular manner, the method of discovery or inquiry. One interpretation of Piaget was adopted to justify the early and universal introduction of this approach to the subjects taught in the elementary school. There were even suggestions of a particular way — called spiraling, to organize and sequence the structures that were to be taught by inquiry.[1]

1 For a critical analysis of the use of the concept structure for the curriculum see Joseph S. Lukinsky, "Structure in Educational Theory," *Educational Philosophy*

Compensatory education was the name given to many different programs that were initiated to meet the crisis in the education of the disadvantaged child. In the beginning each of the programs was based upon a particular conception of learning theory, or child development, or socialization. When these programs failed to yield their intended results, elements were added so as to attain greater breadth or depth. For example, programs that were aimed at narrow cognitive results began to recognize that the family or the peer group could make a contribution to cognitive development. But again in most cases only one conception of the role of the family or the peer group was considered to supplement the original program and its guiding principles.

The educational researcher himself has often indiscriminately adopted methods from psychology and sociology for the purpose of educational evaluation. Psychological, sociological, and economic models are offered as the way to measure achievement, effectiveness and efficiency.

The disillusionment in each of the educational band-wagons and the credibility gap that resulted for education is well known. What is not so well known is that much of this disappointment could have been avoided if serious deliberation had preceded the adoption of ideas and the implementation of programs.

Structure of knowledge is an issue that has long been debated by the philosophers. There is not one conception of structure that is universally acceptable.[2] The various conceptions of structure should have been examined, their strengths and weaknesses disclosed before "all of the eggs" were put into that educational basket. The decision to have all children learn by the methods of inquiry and the suggestion that these methods could be used for long periods of the school

and Theory, pp. 15–31, Cou, 1970; and Jane R. Martin, "The Disciplines and the Curriculum," in Jane R. Martin, ed., *Readings in Philosophy of Education:A Study of Curriculum*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1970.

2 Joseph J. Schwab, "Problems, Topics, and Issues," in Stanley Elam, ed., *Education and the Structure of Knowledge*, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1964, pp. 4–47.

day should have been debated before curricula were prepared and implemented. Even more serious was the unexamined assumption that the teachers in our schools could be expected to teach the structures of the various disciplines by the methods of inquiry. In many cases they had never heard of these concepts or had distorted notions of them. Deliberation on these matters could have and should have preceded field testing, let alone the programs of dissemination and implementation.

There is an extensive literature arguing for the importance of the family as an educational force. The impact of the peer group on the education of the child has been stressed theoretically and demonstrated empirically. The concept of socialization has enriched educational thinking for the past few decades. Yet these ideas were kept separate and programs of compensatory education were adopted without the critical response that the proponents of these ideas would have contributed. At a later stage when gross omissions were admitted by the proponents of particular programs, additions were tacked on without concern for coherence or compatibility.

Despite some exceptions, educational research for the past twenty or thirty years has been dominated by input-output models, by an experimental design appropriate to the laboratory conditions of psychology, or by the highly theoretical constraints of sociology and economics. Recently it has been recognized that these models do not contribute a great deal to the explanation of educational results. The input-output model does not tell us very much about what actually happens to the input when teachers undertake new programs in the classroom. The model does not explain why success or failure occurs, and therefore does not help the policymaker decide among alternative plans or even help him diagnose the difficulty he is encountering. Proposed educational research of this type must face the problems of design and methodology before research is undertaken. Facing up to the realities and practicalities of the classroom and teaching may cause great difficulty for those who must develop and invent an experimental design, but it cannot be avoided.

The point that I am trying to make is that ideas such as structure, inquiry, cognitive development, and socialization could make an important contribution to educational theory and practice.[3] However, before this can happen, it is essential that we recognize the complexities involved in translating these ideas from their original habitat of philosophy, psychology or sociology into education. The translation of these ideas and their juxtaposition and adjustment to ideas from a variety of disciplines that must be considered in education has been generally avoided by educational theoreticians and practitioners.

It is not difficult to understand the hesitancy to confront the problems involved in translating into education ideas that were developed in the humanities and the social sciences. At least two serious problems must be met. The first involves the complications introduced by the multi-disciplinary nature of the field of education, and the second the complexities involved in the application of the fruits of scholarship developed in theoretical disciplines to education, which in large measure is a practical field.

The Multidisciplinary Nature of the Field of Education

An educational problem requires a concurrent consideration of issues concerning students, their teachers, the societies they live in, and the subject matters they are to be taught. At present each of these matters is treated in one or more of the academic disciplines. No discipline treats all of them together. Education cannot omit a consideration of any one of them. The frames of reference of the scholars and researchers in the humanities, the natural and the social sciences, are often not coherent with each other nor are they easily joined for the purpose of

3 It is interesting that an idea such as structure, that was adopted in many cases by curriculum developers in the late fifties and early sixties, is barely mentioned in the literature of the early eighties. One of the serious effects of the uncritical acceptance of an idea imported into education is the ease with which it is rejected when the program upon which it is based "fails."

a common attack on a problem. Yet educational theory and practice must find a way to join these issues. If they do not, the most serious kind of distortion will result.

The deliberations, decisions and products of the curriculum reforms of the fifties and sixties would have been entirely different had we supplemented the efforts of scholars in the natural sciences with a sophisticated concern for the teachers and the varieties of students that were to be found in our schools. The absence of representatives of diverse schools of psychology and sociology permitted facile solutions which had to fail (despite an initial enthusiasm) when introduced into the classroom. It was not obligatory that programs in compensatory education should first concentrate on the student (or more precisely one aspect of the student, his cognitive development), then consider his milieu and then later be further supplemented by retraining the teacher. Each of these matters (as well as others such as the affective development of the child) were indispensable and could have been treated concurrently from the very outset.[4]

The problem is even further complicated by the nature of research and scholarship within the disciplines. Freud's treatment of personality or of child development is quite different from Sullivan's or Frankenstein's. Parsons, Eisenstadt, and Coleman conceive of the various milieus that students and teachers belong to in different terms. These theoretical controversies have their practical counterpart; that is, the diversity of ideas in psychology and sociology offer competing and sometimes contradictory advice to the educator.

These are the problems that philosophers of education must address themselves to if they are to help avoid the disappointments resulting from the adoption of educational slogans. Before considering how to complement or supplement the various schools of thought within psychology or sociology they must disclose by careful philosophical

4 I purposely avoid treating in this paper the practical difficulties involved in undertaking such an attack on a problem when we face "emergency" situations. Even then these matters must and can be treated.

analysis the principles and methods of each of the theories that are important for education. The educator adopts the conclusions of a personality theory or a theory of cognitive development without dependable information on what he is adopting and undertaking. The use of Jean Piaget's work is a case in point. Piaget's theory serves as the basis for a great many of the programs of early childhood education. "The significance of his contribution has literally had the effect of a bombshell in educational and psychological circles during very recent times. Hardly a major curriculum development has failed to draw upon his ideas... It is his work, more than any other, that promises to form the basis for an eventually workable theory of instruction..."[5] Yet several of Piaget's basic ideas play little or no role in the very programs that claim to be Piagetian. The problems involved in the use of Piaget for education seem to have been greatly minimized or even ignored. As David Elkind has pointed out, "Of particular note is the fact that Piaget nowhere points to the practical implications of his work. Indeed he seems to feel that a solid foundation of *genetic research and theory* [6] is necessary before useful practical implications can be drawn. If one looks carefully through Piaget's writing one seldom, if ever, finds an attempt to deal with the concrete problems of pedagogy of the child. This is an important point. Some educators have engaged in certain teaching practices in the name of Piaget. What should always be made clear in such cases is that it is the educator's interpretation of Piaget which is being utilized and not Piaget's own ideas about educational practices. If Piaget had such, he seldom voiced them."[7]

There is reason to suspect that if Piaget's genetic and epistemological ideas (which are so important for his theory) had been considered

5 J.L. Frost, "The Rediscovery of Piaget," in J.L. Frost, ed., *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered: Readings*, University of Texas at Austin, Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1968, p. 129.

6 Italics Mine.

7 David Elkind in his introduction to Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, Random House, New York, 1967.

seriously by educators, the resulting programs would have differed significantly from the present programs.[8]

When we have disclosed the principles and terms of those theories that are useful for our educational decisions, then we will be in a position to consider the next problem — the eclectic combinations that are required to supplement schools of thought within a discipline and schools of thought between disciplines.

Education as a Practical Field

The uniqueness of each educational situation is such that it escapes the net of any theory. Even if a comprehensive theory of human nature existed it could not be directly applied to the problems of the teacher in the classroom.[9]

The practical nature of education makes it necessary to agree upon the problem we are trying to solve before we apply the insights of theory to its solution. Often an apparent consensus is reached and theoretical insights are applied and only then is it discovered that the wrong problem has been treated. As Schwab has put it, "Practical problems do not present themselves wearing their labels around their necks. Problem situations, to use Dewey's old term for it, present themselves to consciousness, but the character of the problem, its

8 For a careful and thoughtful analysis of this problem see "Some Problems in the Use of Theory for Curriculum Development; Piaget — A Case Study for Early Childhood Education," Nehama Moshieff, unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1980.

9 Ernest Hilgard has indicated that learning theory must be radically adjusted if it is to make a contribution to the practice of education. See Ernest S. Hilgard, "A Perspective on the Relationship between Learning Theory and Educational Practice," in *Theories of Learning and Instruction*, The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, National Society for the Study of Education, Chicago, 1964.

formulation, does not. The character of the problem depends on the discerning eye of the beholder."[10]

After identification of the problem a decision must be made as to which theories can contribute to the solution and what combinations can be made among theories so that the richest possible defensible eclectic can be created. Application of the eclectic combination of theories to the peculiarities of an educational problem will require a constant dialogue between theoretician and practitioner. The practitioner will have to insist that the theory include as much as possible of the richness of the practical situation and the theoretician must guarantee that theory is not distorted and does not promise what it cannot deliver. [11]

Philosophers of education could make a significant contribution to educational practice if they undertook these difficult assignments. First, they will have to identify those theories in the various disciplines that should be carefully analyzed as to their possible contribution to our view of the student, the teacher, the subject matter, and the milieus that affect education. They will then have to demonstrate how the various theories in a discipline can complement and supplement each other. Having disclosed the principles and terms of the theories that have a bearing on education, they will be able to undertake the appropriate eclectic combinations. Then, together with practitioners of education, the application of theory to practice can begin.

10 Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical A Language for Curriculum," in N.E.A. Center for the Study of Instruction (PUB): Schools for the 70's Auxiliary Series, Washington D.C., 1970. Also see Joseph J. Schwab, in "The Practical Arts of Eclectic," *School Review*, 79 (1971), 493–542.

11 Schwab had distinguished and expounded three steps in the process of preparing theories for their use in education. (1) Eclectic A, where theories within a discipline are adjusted to each other. (2) Eclectic B, where theories from different disciplines are used to complement each other. (3) Practical deliberation where theories from several disciplines are brought to bear on particular educational situation.

1) Ibid.
2) The Practical: Arts of Eclectic, *School Review* 79 (1971), 493–542.
3) The Practical 3: Translation into Curriculum, *School Review* (1973), 501–522.

The undertaking is a long and arduous one but it could help to develop a tradition of education instead of the series of pendulum swings that we have all lived through — from traditional education to progressive education to the mastery of the structures of the disciplines to the affective curriculum.

Such an undertaking will present to the policymaker both a richer and a more realistic picture of the alternatives that he can choose from.

A Selection from the Introduction to *Freud and Education*

In this volume we undertake the first step in the translation from theory in a discipline to theory in education — the disclosure of the architectonic of a theory. We have selected Sigmund Freud's theory of personality for analysis. Freud has made one of the significant contributions to personality theory in this century. His theory has been the basis for supporting or rejecting various practices in education. It is therefore important to disclose the terms and principles Freud imposed upon his subject matter in developing his theory. After we have uncovered his theoretical framework we will be in a position to consider the uses of his personality theory for education. This we do in our final section. The actual application of Freud to *practical* educational situations will require complex deliberation in a group competent to consider the realistic alternatives and resources available to a given school, student body, teaching staff and community.[1]

Lest we mislead the reader, it is important to specify the material under analysis, for there are several different bodies of material commonly referred to as Freudian theory, but only one of these is the subject of our inquiry.

The community of psychoanalysts is so closely knit, both to

1 Seymour Fox, A practical image of the practical. *Curriculum Theory Network, 10,* Fall 1972; Schwab, Joseph J. The practical 3: translation into curriculum. *School Review*, August 1973, 501–522.

one another and in their loyalty to Freud, that their *cumulative* contributions are often referred to as Freudian theory. This Freudian theory is not the subject of our investigation. Some of it exists as part of the orally communicated wisdom of the profession. A very large part of it has been diversely formulated by many different analysts. The diversity of formulation and the oral traditional form of some of it pose such formidable barriers to analysis that we have not dared to undertake one. This is most regrettable, for it is probably this Freudian theory that contains the best tested and most beneficial material associated with Freud. Its importance, unfortunately, is not matched by its accessibility to analysis.

Neither are we interested in analyzing the stages in the development of Freud's theory. Such an analysis would be concerned with the evolution of a theory or with the adventure of inquiry of which it is the expression. Although we have scrutinized all of Freud's written work, his early theoretical works, containing ideas later disavowed or reformulated, were examined not for their historical interest but rather for the light they throw on the mature theory.[2]

There is a third Freudian theory with which we are not concerned. This consists of the therapeutic techniques and insight developed by Freud and other psychoanalysts, some of it a part of the oral tradition of psychoanalysis and communicated principally through didactic and control analyses. We name this *therapeutic Freud*. It is our tentative conclusion that much of this therapeutic insight stands or falls in its own right; its soundness or unsoundness is independent of the theory. As in the case of Freud's early theoretical works, we have examined the *therapeutic Freud*, but again with a view to better understanding

2 For example, *Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses* (1898), S.E., Vol. Ill, in which he merely suggests the existence of a sexual aetiology for neurosis; Instincts and their vicissitudes, in *Papers on Metapsychology*, S.E., XIV, where he proposes ego instincts and sexual instincts as the source of conflict in mental life, concepts later reformulated, in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1921), S.E., XVIII, to life and death instincts; and in *The Ego and the Id* (1923), S.E., XIX, where he discards his earlier division of the psyche into Conscious and Unconscious in favor of a tri-partite psyche: id, ego and super-ego.

the theory from which some of these techniques and insights are derived.

There is a fourth Freud as well. Here we do not have a group of papers and books, but rather many indications throughout his works of how Freud might have developed or reformulated his theory had he lived longer. For Freud, unlike many scientists, did not think he had discovered *the* theory or *the whole* theory of human personality. Though this Freud is not the focus of our attention, we will indicate at certain points how we believe Freud might have reformulated some of his ideas. What this Freud would have been, we will never know.

The fifth Freud is the subject of our analysis. It is essentially the content of those works whose clear intent is to provide us with a description of the parts of the human personality, their organization and their operation as expressed in the behavior, the testimony and the *inner life* of the human individual.

We are, then, concerned with a very small part of what is often called, *Freud*. Within this part we shall be principally concerned to disclose the terms, the distinctions and the first principles[3] by means of which Freud determines what facts to look for in his inquiries, and what meanings to assign to them.... This is to say that we are not concerned with the adequacy of his data, nor with the soundness of his conclusions, except as the latter follow from the soundness and coherence of his terms, distinctions and first principles.

On occasion we shall contrast Freudian terms, distinctions or principles with those of others. These contrasts are intended to show that there are viable alternatives to those of Freud. It does not follow from the fact that there are viable alternatives that Freud's choices were either the best or the worst of these alternatives. Consequently, our contrasts should not be taken as either invidious or complimentary. There is one exception to the last statement: we treat the conception of education extrapolated from Freud's personality theory as, in some

3 By first principles, we mean those notions capable of statement and propositions which are treated by Freud as *basic concepts*.

sense, a test of the theory and see through this test a theory which is inadequate in many respects as a view of *normal* man.

Each of our theses will be defended by passages drawn from several of Freud's works.[4] We have analyzed all of his theoretical works and have included as Appendices four examples of these analyses, in the form of Protocols: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, The Ego and the Id* and *Civilization and Its Discontents.*[5]

The volume has been organized in three parts: Part I, "The Frame of Analysis," describes how we shall attack the problem; Part II, "The Structure and the Content of Freud's Theory," discloses the architectonic of Freud's theory; and Part III, "Freud's Personality Theory and Education," presents a translation of Freud's theory of personality for education.

4 All citations are from *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (hereafter referred to as S.E.), James Strachey (Tran. and Ed.) in collab. with Anna Freud. 24 vols. London, Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953–1974.

5 The protocols are designed to demonstrate how Freud's architectonic may be disclosed through textual analysis. Of necessity, these analyses are presented in note form and are intended for reading in parallel with these four works of Freud.

Chapter 8: The Relationship of the Commonplaces to Each Other

We have located all[1] of the commonplaces in Freud: the biological — id, the rational — ego, the social — super-ego, pleasure — a diminution of need, and energy — libido. In this chapter we will show how Freud relates the commonplaces to each other and through this relationship we will examine Freud's treatment of affect.

Because of his biological emphasis and his beginning-orientation (the importance of that which is early, the emphasis on the generic and the supra-generic), Freud grants the id a central and all powerful position. All of the other organs of the psyche are derivatives. That is because of his embryogenesis (epi-genesis), the ego and the super-ego develop from the id and bear the stigma of this development throughout life.[2] The id is basic and inflexible and the ego and super-ego are dependent on it for energy and pleasure.

However, it would be a mistake to suppose that because of the all powerful role of the biological commonplace, all parts or commonplaces relate to each other in an accommodating or

1 1 But see page 28, note 13, and pages 164–165, note 28. [Fox writes here of the commonplaces of personality theory, not the commonplaces of education — the editor].

2 We have mentioned an alternative with regard to embryogenesis (pp. 70–71) — preformationism: all the parts can be present at birth, formed but feeble. Freud himself may be suggesting such a possibility. See *Analysis, Terminable and Interminable,* S.E., XXIII, 240–241.

harmonious way dictated by the id. On the contrary, the manner in which Freud relates the commonplaces to each other reflects his decision to impose an equilibrium of conflict upon the diversity he believed to be inherent to life.[3]

Because of his biological emphasis, Freud saw the organism locked in a never-ending conflict with its environment.[4] But as his beginning-orientation would lead us to suspect, he uses the principle of conflict to characterize much earlier events, even to explain the origin of life.[5] Freud speculates on the origin of the life instinct and suggests that a force disturbed the inanimate and so created the life instinct.[6]

The first conflict is to be found, then, between the organic and the inorganic, between life and death.[7] Conflict as such, arises because Freud's beginning-orientation now requires the notion of a constant retrogressive pull to the original condition, death, or the inorganic. This expression of beginning-orientation is then extended to apply to the relation between the life instinct and all that comes after it. Thus all the instincts are conservative. In brief, the basic clay from

3 We have here without question an instance of Freud's use of the principle of the whole, as determiner of the character assigned to parts. See Chapter Two, pp. 22–23. Does this subordination of all other aspects of human existence to that of conflict represent the earliest application of his conflict principle, or does it represent, perhaps, the origin of this principle for him? We shall never know.

4 See Chapter Six, pp. 110–112. See *The Ego and the Id,* S.E., XIX, 38, where he attributes an ego to animals, and *Civilization and Its Discontents,* S.E., XXI, 123, where he explains the apparent lack of a cultural struggle in animal life. Freud's "hydrostatics" (dynamics and economics) of libido follows as a consequence of his conflict principle. That is, having adopted conflict as a principle, he introduces the idea of an economics of available libido. This is so, for in the contrary view, the postulate of an indefinitely large quantity of libido would remove a fundamental source of conflict.

5 See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* S.E., XVIII, 37–39.

6 Conflict there means the tension that arises when life is being evoked out of inanimate matter, i.e. the tension within the substance between the inanimate and the animate.

7 Freud defines the life instinct as the guarantee that the organism shall die according to its pattern and not according to some other or novel pattern. See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Ibid.,* p. 39 and *The Protocol: Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* chap. v, pars. 7, 8, 9, pp. 186–187.

which things develop exerts its influence as a counter-force, a polarity, to development. With this view, a Lamarckist evolutionary theory is consistent. For how else can development or new tensions be introduced than by a force, a momentous occasion that bombards or traumatizes and thus upsets the existing equilibrium of conflict? But the new forces are never granted equal status with what is prior and therefore regression (victory of the more ancient force) ever threatens the organism. As the forces of the life instinct increase, the demands made by it upon the organism must be met. If there were no opposition, if the movement required for the life instinct were free to express itself, there would be no pleasure or displeasure, only satisfaction. Thus Freud states:

> What, then, do these instincts want? Satisfaction — that is, the establishment of situations in which the bodily needs can be extinguished. A lowering of the tension of need is felt by our organ of consciousness as pleasurable; an increase of it is soon felt as unpleasure. From these oscillations arises the series of feelings of pleasure-unpleasure, in accordance with which the whole mental apparatus regulates its activity. [8]

However, even the organism itself is viewed as having layers, a mental anatomy, through which a need must travel.[9] Therefore there is blockage, both inside the organism (competing and contradictory needs) and between the organism and the environment. Pleasure-unpleasure for Freud represents the conflict between the pure needs of the id (i.e. instinct) and its environment (internal and external). [10]

The character of the conflict which relates all of the commonplaces to one another is most easily seen through an examination of Freud's

8 *Lay Analysis,* S.E., XX, 200.

9 See the discussion of thought processes in *The Ego and the Id*, S.E. XIX, 19–27.

10 In the light of the above, it is not surprising that Freud struggled to keep his instincts limited but dualistic. See his debate with Jung in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, S.E., XVIII, 52–53.

treatment of affect. For the affects, such as pleasure-unpleasure, represent this conflict. Freud defines affect as the expression of the conflict or tension between derivatives of an instinct (love and hate) as well as between the parts of the psyche.[11] Thus, love arises for Freud as libido that is not expressed in its pure form, but alloyed with sublimation, such as tenderness and idealization.[12] If the directly sexual were "regularly and uninhibitedly" expressed, then there would be no love.

> It is interesting to see that it is precisely those sexual impulsions that are inhibited in their aims which achieve such lasting ties between people. But this can easily be understood from the fact that they are not capable of complete satisfaction, while sexual impulsions which are uninhibited in their aims suffer an extraordinary reduction through the discharge of energy every time the sexual aim is attained.[13]

Similarly, with hate, if aggression were not checked we would have no

11 Freud claims that the affects are the results of early traumas, thus lending support to our interpretation of affects as expressions of conflict, i.e. that new tensions are introduced as a result of traumas: "Affective states have become incorporated in the mind as precipitates of primaeval traumatic experiences, and when a similar situation occurs they are revived like mnemic symbols." *(Anxiety,* S.E., XX, 93.) Similarly the ego (consciousness) is developed as a result of the "bombardment" of the external world (see *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, p. 38), and the super-ego is the result of a childhood trauma. Apart from the point made here that affects express conflicts, it is doubtful whether a justifiable explanation can be given of what affects are to Freud. Freud's statements about affect are nearly always provisional. He remarks, for example, "So little is known about the psychology of emotional processes that the tentative remarks I am about to make on the subject may claim a very lenient judgement." (*Anxiety*, p. 169.) Throughout his volume Freud uses affect and emotion as synonyms. The affects most frequently mentioned by Freud are love, hate, dread, disgust, mourning, melancholia, guilt, pain, fear and helplessness.

12 See the discussion in G*roup Psychology,* S.E., XVIII, 142–143.

13 Ibid. p. 115.

hate.[14] Anxiety is explained as the tension of the ego versus the id or as the tension of the ego versus the super-ego,[15] which is the signal for external danger.[16] Guilt is explained as the tension of the super-ego versus the ego, more correctly, of the ego ideal versus the ego.[17]

This discussion of conflict points to the kind of relationship that Freud establishes among the commonplaces. It is one of check and balance, one in which the parts are in constant tension with each other with only rare moments of equilibrium.[18] The ego tries to mediate for the id and super-ego and inevitably must conflict with them. The super-ego by its very nature conflicts with the id and the ego.

Amidst these conflicts, the rank order of the parts emerges. The id is at the top of the hierarchy for it is closest to the beginning and contains the instincts. The super-ego is second, for it is a result of instinctual restraint. The ego is at the bottom for it is servant to the other two.

As we have indicated in Chapter Two, other hierarchies could be

14 This provides a further reason to question Freud's insistence on late super-ego development. For do we not have a nascent super-ego in the notion of love and hate (the derivatives of instinct) that implies restraint of instinct?

15 If the anxiety represents the ego versus the super-ego, Freud considers this social anxiety.

16 It is not surprising in the light of the above, that Freud had difficulty relating such concepts as pleasure, anxiety and libido. See *Anxiety,* S.E., XX, especially the addenda, pp. 157–172.

17 Thus the possibilities for neurosis are almost limitless. Any one of the forces in a conflict that gains sufficient strength so as to create an imbalance represents the potential for neurosis.

There is a considerable literature that discusses Freud's interchangeable use of the super-ego and ego-ideal. It appears in the light of the above (namely the possibility of a "social anxiety," i.e. super-ego versus ego) that the ego ideal is a qualification within the super-ego and that guilt is a tension, between the ego ideal and the ego, A conjecture: in anxiety the force of the "subject matter," i.e. the undifferentiated immediately experienced in human life, asserts itself and insists on an ego energy that is not derivative. Similarly, conflict (tension) is a basic component of the other affects, e.g. mourning (see *Mourning and Melancholia*, S.E., XIV, 237–258), and pain *(Anxiety,* S.E., XX, 170–172.)

18 It may be that even sensation would be viewed by Freud as a conflict (tension). See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* S.E., XVIII, 63–64.

used to interpret the data of existence. In Plato, the rational has the first rank, an instinctual affect for the "right" (spirit) has second rank and the biological the third. There is no social part. Further, there is a pleasure and an energy appropriate to each part. Harry Stack Sullivan ranks the social commonplace at the top, the rational second and the biological third. He assigns to the social commonplace a basic affect — anxiety.[19]

Freud's topography reflects his rank order of parts. The id is to be found in the deepest layer of the mental anatomy, the super-ego in the next layer and the ego at the periphery. For Freud, we remember, what is deeper is earlier!

Because of Freud's imposition of an equilibrium of conflict on the diversity required for living, and also because of the supremacy he grants to beginnings, there is little room in Freud for change and development. The basically conservative nature of the instincts, the check and balance system that he introduces in the relationship between the parts of the psyche, his determinism and the passivity that he assigns to the ego all but eliminate the possibility of change. It is therefore not surprising that Freud viewed therapy as the righting of imbalance in the conflict between the ego and id. In this effort one ego alone cannot prevail. Ego is a late-comer, and the instincts are early and primary. Therefore, the therapist adds the weight of his ego to the patient's weak ego and then we have a conflict of equals. "Thus psycho-analytic treatment acts as a second education of the adult, as a corrective to his education as a child.[20] And the following: "As is well known, the analytic situation consists in our allying ourselves with

19 The relationship among the commonplaces in Freud is almost the opposite, if not the opposite, of the Platonic conception of the "ideal" relationship between the parts, i.e. harmony.

Schwab and I have been working out the consequences of a coordinate relationship among the commonplaces. Should this prove feasible, it would offer rich possibilities for educational research. Schwab alludes to this effort in, Schwab, Joseph J.: On the corruption of education by psychology. *School Review,* 66:171–172, 1958.

20 *Psycho-Analysis,* S.E., XX, 268.

the ego of the person under treatment, in order to subdue portions of his id which are uncontrolled — that is to say to include them in the synthesis of his ego."[21] In describing neurosis, Freud tells us, "For that reason the conflict cannot be brought to an issue; the disputants can no more come to grips than, in the familiar simile, a polar bear and a whale. A true decision can only be reached when they both meet on the same ground. To make this possible is, I think, the sole task of our therapy."[22] The development from "normal" (tyranny of the id) to "healthy" (controlled by the ego) requires the outside help of the therapist. Thus the therapeutic relationship stands as an exception to the secondary role of the social in Freud. For only in therapy can the social commonplace attain mastery over the biological commonplace.

21 *Analysis, Terminable and Interminable,* S.E., XXIII, 235.

22 *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, S.E., XVI, 433. See also *Preface to Aichhorn's Wayward Youth*, S.E., XIX, 273–275.

Chapter 9: Freud's Personality Theory and Education

In this chapter, we offer one possible translation of Freud's theory for education. Freud himself did not address the problems of educational theory and practice, but he believed that the insights of psychoanalysis could greatly benefit education.

> None of the applications of psycho-analysis has excited so much interest and aroused so many hopes, and none, consequently, has attracted so many capable workers, as its use in the theory and practice of education. It is easy to understand why; for children have become the main subject of psycho-analytic research and have thus replaced in importance the neurotics on whom its studies began. Analysis has shown how the child lives on, almost unchanged, in the sick man as well as in the dreamer and the artist; it has thrown light on the motive forces and trends which set its characteristic stamp upon the childish nature; and it has traced the stages through which a child grows to maturity. No wonder, therefore, if an expectation has arisen that psycho-analytic concern with children will benefit the work of education, whose aim it is to guide and assist children on their forward path and to shield them from going astray.[1]

1 Preface to Aichhorn's *Wayward Youth* (hereafter referred to as *Wayward Youth*), S.E., XIX, 273. See also *Psycho-Analysis and Faith*, where Freud, in his letters to Pfister, encourages Pfister's translation of psycho-analytic theory for educational purposes. (Freud, Sigmund and Pfister, Oskar: *Psycho-Analysis and Faith*, [Meng,

However, Freud saw therapy as a kind of second education for neurotics, not to be confused with the process of education.

> The second lesson has a somewhat conservative ring. It is to the effect that the work of education is something *sui generis:* it is not to be confused with psycho-analytic influence and cannot be replaced by it. Psycho-analysis can be called in by education as an auxiliary means of dealing with a child; but it is not a suitable substitute for education. Not only is such a substitution impossible on practical grounds but it is also to be disrecommended for theoretical reasons. The relation between education and psycho-analytic treatment will probably before long be the subject of a detailed investigation.[2] Here I will only give a few hints. One should not be misled by the statement — incidentally a perfectly true one — that the psycho-analysis of an adult neurotic is equivalent to an after-education. A child, even a wayward and delinquent child, is still not a neurotic; and after-education is something quite different from the education of the immature. The possibility of analytic influence rests on quite definite preconditions which can be summed up under the term 'analytic situation'; it requires the development of certain psychical structures and a particular attitude to the analyst. Where these are lacking — as in the case of children, of juvenile delinquents, and, as a rule, of impulsive criminals — something other than analysis must be employed, though something which will be at one with analysis in its *purpose*.[3]

It is unfortunate that Freud's admonition was generally disregarded

Henrich, and Freud, Ernst L. (Eds.); Mosbacher, Eric (Tran.).] New York, Basic, 1963).

2 We do not know what work Freud refers to unless it is the introduction to Pfister's *Psychoanalytic Method.*

3 *Wayward Youth,* S.E., XIX, 274. The problem of mistaking education and therapy for analogous processes becomes especially poignant with respect to the teacher's roles in the classroom. See pp. 164–165, n. 28.

and conclusions appropriate to the therapeutic situation were indiscriminately applied to education. Freud was clearly sensitive to the complexity of applying the insights and conclusions of psychoanalysis to the field of education.

Since Freud did not undertake such a translation, we must derive, as best we can, a conception of education consistent with Freud's frame of reference and especially with his view of the developing child, of the relation of society and knowledge to the individual and of the nature of the teacher. The teacher, is, of all of these, the most polyvalent and will appear as (a) the significant adult (surrogate parent or supplement to parents); (b) the representative of society; (c) the representative of society as seen by the child; (d) the source of knowledge.[4]

The Child (Student)

We have decided to divide the topic into three parts: (1) the child as he enters the school; (2) the child's life in the school; (3) the child as affected by education: the aims of education.[5]

The Child as He Enters the School

Freud's beginning-orientation, his biological emphasis, his view of life as continuous conflict and his Lamarckist evolutionary stance, all conspire to emphasize the importance of the period of early

4 In this chapter, education is narrowly conceived as that body of experiences taking place in the "milieu" of formal schooling. By this we mean experiences (a) initiated in and by the school and (b) initiated by parents acting to educate. We do not include the natural education which occurs as parents and children normally interact.

5 Of necessity we treat the first two parts of the topic sketchily. There is already a large literature devoted to what the child knows as he enters school and to his life in school, including works by such masters as August Aichhorn, Bruno Bettelheim and Fritz Redl. We shall refer to their work without presenting their conclusions. For although some of their conclusions agree with ours, they follow from very different interpretations of Freud.

childhood. The early experiences of the child, the organizational pattern that he develops for his libido, the ego strength that he possesses constitutionally,[6] the manner in which the ego responds to the traumata of life, the resolution of the Oedipal conflict, the pattern of relationships[7] and the specific equilibrium of conflict that he develops out of conflicts among the emerging psychical organs — all of these present problems for education, some surmountable and some insurmountable.

The child entering the school will already have established much of his instinctual pattern,[8] and thus have available larger or smaller quantities of ego energy. It is this ego energy which is required for education. The ego will have developed through the experiences (traumata) encountered in its contact with the external world. Therefore, the ego, too, will already have developed a characteristic, though not entirely fixed, pattern of responses. The style of inhibition, the repressions and sublimations are also well established at this period of life.

In the light of Freud's determinism, both racial and individual,[9] and his beginning-orientation, it is clear that the child entering school has, from this standpoint, a character that is in large measure already formed.

The Child's Life in the School

A theory and practice of education that bases itself on Freud's conception of the child must plan for as much instinctual gratification

6 Freud must face the ineluctable fact of individual differences. He does so by assuming genetic differences in potential ego strength and strength of instincts. Super-ego, of course, enters into *genetic* variability only insofar as it derives from the ego. In addition, super-ego exhibits differences in the "Lamarckian heredity" of different social histories. Over and above these genetic differences there are, of course, individual differences due to differing social environments.

7 This is not, of course, the Sullivanian "pattern" of relationship.

8 This should lead educators to place special emphasis on nursery and early childhood education.

9 Freud discusses the importance of the contribution of the racial super-ego in terms of the responses of different races to such matters as psycho-analysis, etc. See *Analysis, Terminable and Interminable*, S.E., XXIII, 240–241.

as is possible and appropriate for the child at each specific age.[10] We refer not only to the expression of Eros and its derivatives, but also to the expression of the Death Instinct and especially its derivative, aggression. The further sublimations required by the new experience of education, e.g. new group membership, long periods of concentration, the anxiety that is evoked by the competition involved in learning, will only intensify the strength of the death instinct, i.e. aggression. The extremes of discipline — permissiveness and the blockage of instinctual expression — are not strategies consistent with Freud's view. The concept of necessary conflict among the parts of the psyche requires that the ego and super-ego be developed and assume their appropriate roles in mental life. Consequently, an over-permissive school environment would be detrimental to the child's proper growth.

> *Education* can be described without more ado as an incitement to the conquest of the pleasure principle, and to its replacement by the reality principle; it seeks, that is, to lend its help to the developmental process which affects the ego. To this end it makes use of an offer of love as a reward from the educators; and it therefore fails if a spoilt child thinks that it possesses that love in any case and cannot lose it whatever happens.[11]

And the following:

> Thus education has to find its way between the Scylla of non-interference and the Charybdis of frustration. Unless this problem is entirely insoluble, an optimum must be discovered which will

10 In the last analysis, formal education for a Freudian can be at most only a rehearsal for the dramas which will have the [most] profound and enduring educational effects. The two profound dramas are (1) the vicissitudes of living; (2) a psycho-analysis which is didactic in the highest sense. Nevertheless, the overture or rehearsal can, either by being appropriate or inappropriate, lay a good or bad foundation for the educational profit to be derived from the vicissitudes of living and (for the elect who deserve it) the vicissitudes of a didactic analysis.

11 *Mental Functioning,* S.E., XII, 224.

> enable education to achieve the most and damage the least. It will therefore be a matter of deciding how much to forbid, at what times and by what means.[12]

As to blockage of instinctual expression, we have cited in Chapter Six Freud's view of the relationship between neurosis and a strict super-ego. From this view we infer that the school must not contribute further to the development of an over-strict super-ego. However, as we shall indicate, there is another kind of super-ego education which *is* to be undertaken by the school. If the school permits reasonable gratification of the instincts then it will support the mediating effort of the ego (between id and super-ego) and help protect the ego from the danger of regression.

Means for the Gratification of the Instincts

In planning effectively for reasonable expression of instincts, the following must be involved:

A. The Physical Environment of the School

The works of Bruno Bettelheim and Fritz Redl are replete with examples of classrooms and work space with designated areas for free activity and for controlled activity. Similarly, the time schedule must be planned to make room for proper transitions between highly structured and less structured activity. In both cases the limits or rules must be clearly presented to the child.[13]

B. The Teacher as an Object of Aggression and Love

The teacher is an object of identification, for he serves as leader and as

12 *New Introductory Lectures*, S.E., XXII, 149.

13 See Bettelheim, Bruno: *Love Is Not Enough*. Glencoe, Free Press, 1950, Chapter V; and Redl, Fritz, and Wineman, David: *The Aggressive Child*. Glencoe, Free Press, 1957.

parent-surrogate. This identification may either be positive through love, or negative through aggression. The school must ensure that the child has sufficient opportunities for positive identifications that are appropriate to his stage of development, i.e. age. Because of the fairly similar sequence of libidinal stages that children undergo, one criterion for teacher selection and assignment of children to a teacher would be the kind of identification with the teacher that is desirable at a specific age or grade level. The personality of the teacher must be one that permits and encourages the investment of the child's libidinal energy at every stage of development — pre-latency or post-latency, and the onset of puberty or post-puberty, to mention only the grosser developmental distinctions. By offering the child opportunities for negative identification, we mean that some teachers should be the object for the expression of hostility. It may be that the school should "institutionalize" negative identification by making such teachers the school disciplinarians.

C. Group Loyalties and Aggressions

The relationships of the children to each other and to peer leaders involve erotic ties.[14] The educator must be sensitive to the kind of leader (oppressive, seductive, etc.) that emerges in the group. If the peer leader intensifies conflict or inhibits the development of some or all of the members of the group, the teacher will have to pit his authority against that of the peer leader. However, if the leader serves a positive function by reducing conflict in the group and in the individual, the teacher must support the peer leader and exploit the peer leader's roll in the group.

Any functioning group will have to express aggression. The teacher must channel this expression of aggression constructively. Physical work, athletics, competitive sports (which combine the

14 In Freud's theory of group relations, "excesses" such as clannishness would be considered necessary in the school. See *Protocol: Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. Chapter v, par. 10, pp. 198–199. See also Chapter vi, pp. 199–201.

physical and the "dislike" of the outsider), arts and crafts and, on a more sophisticated level, dramatics and dance are among the means available for this purpose. Competitiveness among groups in the school, though desirable in itself, can undermine the feeling for the school as a whole. We shall discuss later a possibility for developing a feeling for the school as an over-arching group encompassing the various smaller groups.

D. Control and Non-Control of Individual Relations

The teacher must guide the relationships between individuals, encouraging and supporting varieties of "homosexual" and "heterosexual" relationships among children. There may be types of relationships that the teacher should help arrange so that the child develops an ability to relate to diverse persons, situations and groups. Thus the teacher might arrange partnerships among members of the same sex or of opposite sexes, or teams for class projects, and alternate these with individual work. There may even be a proper sequencing of experiences, e.g. a proper order and development (less complex to more complex) implicit in the diversity of relationships that children should be exposed to in the school.

The Ego

One of the educational objectives of the school is to lend strength to the ego in its development but there is as well another important role that the school (educator) plays in respect to the ego: the educator must diagnose the child's ego strength. This information is especially important in understanding the child's social adjustment, e.g. the child as a result of an ego weakness may be provoking his peers when in essence he is attempting to make contact. In this case the school can demonstrate to the child that his actions are inappropriate by offering other models, by adult intervention and interpretation. Similarly the teacher must be able to diagnose and distinguish between those learning difficulties that are due to instinctual interference as contrasted to those due to ego malfunction. If the cause of difficulty

is in ego malfunction, the school should provide remedial exercises to correct the situation. The child's ego must be taught to recognize the dangers of the physical reality of the school (rehearsal for recognition of the realities of successive outer worlds). In the same way he must be given training to deal with the social reality, the peer group and school society as a whole. The school should introduce exercise in practical problem solving, e.g. ethical decision making, based upon and aimed toward greater hedonistic expression. The ego should be guided in its relations to parents, adults and strangers. In planning such exercises, the educator must never lose sight of the essential limits placed on the strength and capacity of the ego, i.e. Freud's limitation on the ego's potential for control over the organism. The educator must be concerned with supporting the ego during periods of stress, e.g. disappointment, personal or social, and stressful transition periods such as the onset of puberty.

The Super-Ego

As in the case of the ego, the educator should attempt to ascertain the content and strength of the super-ego in each child. Pending more extensive modifications of the super-ego which the school will undertake as one of its educational objectives, there is one duty it has with respect to the child's life in the school. The domination of a harsh super-ego is to be ameliorated somewhat by the very careful exposure to personality models that differ from those of parents but whose differences are not perceived by the child as offering sharp contrasts.

Energy

Although energy of the ego will later be required for the work of education the first investment of ego energy must be in the function of mediation between id and super-ego. The school must be sure that it does not add to the conflict between the parts of the psyche, that it permits instinctual gratification, and does reduce the "normal" anxieties aroused by schooling (competition, support of proper group feeling). Stated another way, the school should arrange for a reasonable

expression of instinct and offer "effective" sublimations immediately accessible to the child, so as to make possible the maximum investment of energy in education.

Pleasure

By introducing activities that make possible appropriate sublimations, the school can help the child find ways of attaining new pleasures in different forms. The discovery of new pleasures will in turn maximize the efficiency of the psychological apparatus and thus grant additional possibilities for education. There might also be room for some direct expression of instinct, such as in physical work.

The Child as Affected by Education: The Aims of Education

We have argued that Freud assigned importance to genetic differences of constitution (strength of instinct, potential ego strength, the inheritance of the super-ego) as well as to the impact of the environment upon the life of the child. It should follow that there would be significant differences among individuals in their potential for education.

> One instance of the innate and ineradicable inequality of men is their tendency to fall into the two classes of leaders and followers. The latter constitute the vast majority; they stand in need of an authority which will make decisions for them and to which they for the most part offer an unqualified submission. This suggests that more care should be taken than hitherto to educate an upper stratum of men with independent minds, not open to intimidation and eager in the pursuit of truth, whose business it would be to give direction to the dependent masses. It goes without saying that the encroachments made by the executive power of the State and the prohibition laid by the Church upon freedom of thought are far from propitious for the production of a class of this kind.

> The ideal condition of things would of course be a community of men who had subordinated their instinctual life to the dictatorship of reason. Nothing else could unite men so completely and so tenaciously, even if there were no emotional ties between them. But in all probability that is a Utopian expectation.[15]

This distinction between the masses and the elite is maintained in the following:

> We know that in the mass of mankind there is a powerful need for an authority who can be admired, before whom one bows down, by whom one is ruled and perhaps even ill-treated. We have learnt from the psychology of individual men what the origin is of this need of the masses. It is a longing for the father felt by everyone from his childhood onwards, for the same father whom the hero of legend boasts he has overcome.[16]

15 *Why War.* S.E., XXII, 212–213. Ernest Jones, in his life of Freud, reports on a meeting of psychoanalysts in which Freud agreed with a suggestion that psychoanalysis should develop its own elite:

Freud had for some time been occupied with the idea of bringing together analysts in a closer bond, and he had charged Ferenczi with the task of making the necessary proposals at the forthcoming Congress. After the scientific program Ferenczi addressed the meeting on the future organization of analysts and their work. There was at once a storm of protest. In his speech he had made some very derogatory remarks about the quality of Viennese analysts and suggested that the center of the future administration could only be Zurich, with Jung as President. Moreover, Ferenczi with all his personal charm, had a decidedly dictatorial side to him, and some of the proposals went far beyond what is customary in scientific circles. Before the Congress he had already informed Freud that 'the psychoanalytical outlook does not lead to democratic equalizing: there should be an elite rather on the lines of Plato's rule of philosophers.' In his reply Freud said he had already had the same idea. *(The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud.* 3 vols. New York, Basic, 1953–1957, Vol. II, 69.)

Freud's discussion of the role of early childhood in the development of intellectual curiosity would bear on the question of the early selection of those who could serve as leaders and whose reason might control instinct. See *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood,* S.E., XI, 77–81.

16 *Moses and Monotheism,* S.E., XXIII, 109.

If the classification of children according to their potential for education appears to follow from the passages cited, then we should go on to attempt a description, consistent with Freud's theory, of what some common and differing aims of education might be for the elite and for the masses.[17]

The Ego

Common to the Masses and the Elite

Education would be concerned primarily with developing the ego of the child so that he could gain greater mastery over his physical and social environment. Through the subject matter of education the child should master those facts (information) and skills that would help him avoid dangers and minimize anxiety. For threats of this kind delay, interfere with or retard the development of the ego. Education should also contribute, however, to the student's ability to attain pleasures more directly and systematically since this would make more energy available to the ego for intellectual activities. It should also contribute to the development of "habits," meaning hobbies, that offer constructive sublimations.

Education must then teach the child to recognize the social realities, to recognize "real" authority figures, and social anxieties which are legitimate, because they are realistic. In this way, unnecessary conflict between ego and super-ego will be eliminated.

Finally, the school should help the child attain a proper perspective regarding the limitations of his ego, i.e. his abilities and aspirations. Consequently it is important to train the child for a work-responsibility (vocational training) that he can assume as an adult, in order that he may discover his competencies and in order to provide him with a socially recognized role for these competencies.

17 Only two sections follow — on the ego and super-ego — for we know no way to affect the id except via the ego and super-ego.

The Elite

The passages quoted tend to give the impression that "elite" means potential political leadership. Freud corrects this emphasis when he discusses science, art and work. He means by "the elite" the men of "independent mind" who contribute to art, the sciences, social and political policy and belief.

Because of the important role that members of the elite are to assume in society, they should undergo psychoanalytic therapy. If they are to attain mastery over the environment, or lead the society they must develop an exceptionally dependable and strong ego. The only way to "ensure" such an ego, that will not regress under stress, is to fortify it through therapy.[18]

The school should prepare these "gifted" children for a life of leadership in the professions, the arts, and politics.[19] They should be taught how to assume and maintain leadership and experience its rewards.[20]

However, even members of an elite (especially in the light of their having undergone psychoanalytic therapy) must be made to feel and understand the limits of their ego strength. For though Freud recognizes the importance of the artistic life and the role of work, especially of scientific work,[21] he nevertheless maintains that the power of the ego remains limited.[22]

18 Chapter Eight, p. 148. Freud did not claim that for leaders or geniuses psychoanalysis is a prerequisite for leadership, but rather that successful psycho-analytic therapy is the only "available assurance" that the characteristics of leadership or creativity will endure. See *Leonardo da Vinci,* especially Chapter VI, S.E., XI, 130–137.

19 Freud suggests how we might help children decide what profession they are most suited for. See pp. 171–173.

20 Training in the behavioral sciences will prepare them to assume leadership, see p. 171. And they will desire leadership as a result of the natural inclination to rule. See pp. 162–163.

21 "It is science which comes nearest to succeeding in this conquest; science, however, also offers intellectual pleasure during its work and promises practical gain at the end." (*Mental Functioning,* S.E., XII, 223–224.)

22 See Chapter 5, as well as Freud's treatment of this problem in *Analysis Terminable and Interminable*, S.E., XXIII.

The Super-Ego

The Masses

Education attempts, limited as its impact would be upon the implacable super-ego, to reduce the strictness and harshness of the super-ego. Simultaneously, it would inculcate habits of obedience, via identification, to the proper ego-ideals.[23]

The Elite

As a result of therapy the members of the elite will have had the harshness of their super-ego reduced. Furthermore, since the ego will have attained greater strength through therapy and greater versatility through education, these elite individuals will have learned how to live in the society without necessarily adopting its values, nor having to make energy-wasting gestures of rebellion or offense.[24]

As a result of the proper education guilt feelings will also have been reduced in frequency and intensity, for the teachers will have taken heed of Freud's admonition:

> That the education of young people at the present day conceals from them the part which sexuality will play in their lives is not the only reproach which we are obliged to make against it. Its other sin is that it does not prepare them for the aggressiveness of which they are destined to become the objects. In sending the young into life with such a false psychological orientation, education is behaving as though one were to equip people starting on a Polar expedition with summer clothing and maps of the Italian Lakes. In this it becomes evident that a certain misuse is being made of ethical demands. The strictness of those demands would not do

23 Freud does not tell us how this obedience is developed. Plato on the other hand introduces a psychic organ, "spirit," which would ensure (given the proper education) that the masses would follow the elite.

24 In his Introduction to Pfister's *The Psychoanalytic Method*, S.E., XII, 330–331, Freud appeals for education that responds to the child's constitution and is not directed by the values of the teacher.

> so much harm if education were to say: 'This is how men ought to be, in order to be happy and to make others happy; but you have to reckon on their not being like that.' Instead of this the young are made to believe that everyone else fulfils those ethical demands — that is, that everyone else is virtuous. It is on this that the demand is based that the young, too, shall become virtuous.[25]

They will learn how to exercise the charm which enlists followers and they will be willing to assume leadership. This is possible, for men identify with their parents' super-ego (and not with their parents)[26] and thus the elite will want to rule.

Pleasure and Energy

Here educators can treat the masses and the elite alike. The aim of education is to maximize both pleasure and energy insofar as the two are commensurate with one another. Immediate, instinctual pleasure will be maximized for the elite by their relative freedom from the domineering super-ego. For the masses, greater pleasure accrues from *permitted* instinctual acts. For both, however, a large proportion of the increase of pleasure must arise from the greater variety of sublimations they can undertake since energy would be depleted by too much immediate instinctual satisfaction. Indeed, for the elite, sublimated pleasures must exceed the directly instinctual by a wide margin, otherwise they would not possess the energy required for their leadership roles.

The Teacher

As indicated previously, the teacher is polyvalent. He is simultaneously significant adult, representative of society, representative of society as

25 *Civilization and Its Discontents*, S.E., XXI, 134, n. 1.
26 See p. 118.

seen by the child, and source of knowledge. Each of these aspects is treated separately below.

The Teacher as Significant Adult

The teacher must understand two children: the child he confronts in the classroom and the vestigial child within himself. To help him understand his pupils, Freud explicitly suggests psycho-analysis:

> ... every such person [educator] should receive a psycho-analytic training, since without it children, the object of his endeavours, must remain an inaccessible problem to him. A training of this kind is best carried out if such a person himself undergoes analysis and experiences it on himself: theoretical instruction in analysis fails to penetrate deep enough and carries no conviction.[27]

Of course this analysis will also render accessible the vestigial child in himself.

Effective response to the child will not only require that the teacher be sensitized to children and their biological nature, but that he be aware of his inhibitional system and possess a fair degree of control over his own instinctual expressions.

In describing the corresponding relation in therapy — the analyst-patient relationship — Freud stresses the need for psychoanalysts to have achieved a "healthy" life style.

> ... whereas the special conditions of analytic work do actually cause the analyst's own defects to interfere with his making a correct assessment of the state of things in his patient and reacting to them in a useful way. It is therefore reasonable to expect of an analyst, as a part of his qualifications, a considerable degree of mental normality and correctness. In addition, he must possess some kind

27 Preface to Aichhorn's *Wayward Youth,* S.E., XIX, 274. See also *New Introductory Lectures,* S.E., XXII, 149–150.

> of superiority, so that in certain analytic situations he can act as a model for his patient and in others as a teacher.[28]

Even more than the analyst, the teacher serves as an overt model, for super-ego development: "In the same way, the super-ego, in the course of an individual's development, receives contributions from later successors and substitutes of his parents, such as teachers and models in public life of admired social ideals."[29] Therefore, the teacher both in his own person and as mid-wife to the heroes of the society (past and present) continues the work of the parents. The child may identify with him and thus the teacher's values would be introjected as additions to those already in the super-ego.

The Teacher as Representative of Society

As the representative of society the teacher can shrewdly minimize its harmful effects. The environment of the school and the classroom are under the control of the teacher and therefore the oppressive environment of the society (at large, the family, or peer group) can be mitigated by experience that allows the safe expression of aggression and constructive sublimation of Eros.

28 *Analysis Terminable and Interminable,* S.E. XXIII, 248. The therapist-teacher analogy will prove a mistaken one. On the one hand, the teacher is a likely object for the investment of the child's libido. There are probably many ways in which a version of transference does take place or could take place, creating a problematic situation when education involves the changing of attitudes and values. The concept of identification — first to people and through people to ideas — emerges as the key concept for this issue. On closer look, there is little likeness between the therapeutic and educational situations, even in this respect. For transference in therapy must occur in a one-to-one relation, within the context and style of the therapeutic encounter. The teacher, on the other hand, faces many pupils at once and, even if psychoanalyzed, he would be untrained in techniques to cope with transferences. No educational system can permit the teacher to assume the role of therapist, and the teacher could cause immeasurable harm should he attempt to assume this role. Freud's concept of the therapist and its implications for education is clearly an important topic to treat, and one deserving of its own volume.

29 *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis,* S.E., XXIII, 146.

The Teacher as Representative of Society as Seen by the Child

Because the child sees him as representative of society, the teacher would frequently and systematically ally himself with the children against society. Thus, he would gain the confidence of the child and also mediate (control) a "healthy" expression of adolescent revolt. In his role of ally to the student in his revolt against society, the teacher could conceivably solicit and obtain parental support. He could argue that, because the only alternatives are revolt or guided revolt, it would prove profitable to join in supporting these efforts of the school.

To the extent that the teacher is conscious of the bonds established between himself and the children, and also of the bonds established among the children themselves, the teacher can utilize his power for educational purposes.[30] However, the difference in background and experience of teacher and student may complicate identifications in various ways. The children may identify with an "apparent" teacher and not the "real" teacher. The teacher may inflict upon the children his prejudices concerning teacher-student or peer relationships. This problem takes on special significance in a Freudian theory of education since the teacher-student relationship tends to arouse vestigial erotic feelings.

The Teacher as Source of Knowledge

The teacher as source of knowledge should serve first as a model to demonstrate that knowledge leads to mastery, pleasure and profit.[31] To do this, his training will have to emphasize careful study of the child with special emphasis on such matters as libidinal development, ego strength, etc.

Freud constantly admonishes those who think that they can understand psychoanalysis, let alone practice it, without having

30 See *Group Psychology,* S.E., XVIII, 95–96.

31 See Freud's description of the reward of the scientific life as quoted on p. 162, n. 21.

undergone the experiences of psychoanalysis. For educators, this means that the gap between theory and practice cannot be closed without a training program that includes careful supervision of *practical* work. In this experience the teacher would be sensitized to such matters as his repertory and potential for serving as model to the child, his strength and weakness in handling anxieties expressed by children, his grasp of the forms that instinctual expressions take in various children at different age levels.

Administration

A brief word on the administration of the school. The administrator would be the central figure in introducing into the school the theory and practice of education we have just described. He would select the teachers on the basis of their qualifications for the roles we have enumerated (e.g. attractiveness to the children, sensitivity to the needs of children).

Society

In Freud's theory society is clearly important for it is in a society (family) that the inhibitional system is developed. We avoid discussion of a best possible society and will only point to some of the contributions that the school can make as a second society or as a new "milieu."

Although the administrator should be the central figure to the child and the teacher, he is in reality a remote figure. The instrumental central figure in the school society is the teacher. Through his efforts the school, as a new society, can affect the child (insofar as the super-ego can be affected). The teacher would have to be familiar with the various societies in which the child holds membership (family, peer groups, classroom, club, etc.). With the aid of peer leaders the teacher

can create an environment that is less restrictive.[32] As we mentioned previously an important asset in the development of this environment is the feeling on the part of the students that they have joined with an unusual adult, the teacher, in a clever and meaningful revolt against the rest of society.

The creation of such an environment is not easily accomplished. Against it are the individual problems that children bring to their groups. There are also the natural enmities which must develop between groups (as they do between families). As to enmities, one counteracting influence might be the creation of a "special" group consisting of the outstanding (elite) members or leaders of each smaller group.[33] This over-arching group committed to a common purpose and supported by the school administration would help "stabilize" the environment of the school.[34]

We cannot treat here the perennial problem of the relation of the school to society, except to indicate that we see the Freudian structure as requiring that the school's relationship to the society be analogous to the relationship of the teacher to parents. The school would "shrewdly" attempt to minimize the threat of societal control and values. It would avoid at all costs an open confrontation with the society. Indeed its leadership and the values and attitudes which it promotes, would all be taken from, and placed in the service of, the elite of that society. Thus, its minimization of the threat of societal control and values would be a means toward molding the super-ego in two senses: (a) reduction where necessary of its strictness; and (b) modification of its specific content. In this way the school contributes to the benevolent

32 Because of undue restrictions on man's biological nature all societies prepare the child poorly for living and education. See Chapter Six.

33 It is true that Freud discussed very special groups, the army and the church, and might have modified his view of group participation had he written more concerning smaller and less formal groups. However, it is our interpretation that there would have been no radical reformulation due to the importance Freud granted to the prototypal group, the family. See Chapter Six, pp. 125–128.

34 This, of course, presupposes and emphasizes the importance of the school developing criteria and means for early selection of such students.

dictatorship of the elite and begins the task of selecting and shaping successor elites.

Thus as far as its relationship with society is concerned the school policy would further the ultimate aims of the highest strata of that society rather than the local class-bound aims.

Subject Matter

Since Freud was not concerned with specific problems of curriculum and instruction, it is not surprising that there are few implications of his theory for the various subject-matters.

Instinctual gratification via *action* is so central in Freud that the terms with which the subject matter would be viewed are necessarily positivistic or empirical. In terms of Aristotle's analysis *(Posterior Analytics,* 219A) of the steps leading to induction: sense perception, memory, experience and induction, the student for Freud can proceed only as far as experience permits. He is restricted to empirical generalization, which he cannot combine with inductive or imaginative leaps. It is for this reason that we speak of Freud's educational stance as being empirical or positivistic.[35] That is so, because the prime function of the ego is to serve the id in its striving for pleasure.[36] Only to the extent that the ego is familiar with and able to cope with reality will

35 The complications for educators who adopt the Freudian frame of reference are most obvious here. First, there is the limitation of the possibility of transfer, i.e. emphasis on empirical generalization would require that each possible and useful generalization would need to be taught in its own right (no over-riding theoretical structures which impose ordered relations among such generalizations). Second, inference (thinking) can become eroticized. Third, regression is possible in thinking patterns. Fourth, memory itself is complicated by non-rational components, i.e. the instinctual needs. In terms of the "structure" of the disciplines as such, the educator will have a very difficult time with such fields as physics which contain such a vast amount of imaginative construction as against empirical generalization. Similarly in art, the school will have a difficult time teaching about the artist's personal world or his symbols.

36 We remember that the reality principle does not change the aim of the organism;

it successfully carry out its function, whether in a private or social context. If, however, imagination is considered a part of "the rational," we must remember that rationality would include those "imaginative" and "creative" operations that serve sublimational purposes.

Since the purpose of all learning is to serve the id in relation to coping with reality, the school cannot stop with merely imparting knowledge. It must also provide the training by which knowledge is rendered serviceable. This means that in the first place, the knowledge will be directed toward vocational and professional training; it means second, that the school will involve the child at an early age in experiences requiring mastery of physical, biological and social barriers to satisfaction of instinctual needs. Third, much of what is taught must be chosen to provide channels of sublimation suitable to each child. Fourth, the school must progressively teach the child to control the impulsive expression of instinctual need. We, therefore, conjecture that the school should early involve the child in experiences granting maximum expression of the instincts via suitable sublimations. Simultaneously, the school would introduce experiences designed to teach the child step-by-step to control instinct.[37] These concerns, control and sublimation, would guide the entire school experience and in addition the school would provide the vocational or professional training for adult participation in the society.

The Masses

For the masses, the curriculum follows much of the above outline. Thus, mathematics (arithmetic) would be taught for its practical use. The natural and biological sciences would be presented as guides to effective living, e.g. biology would essentially be a course in hygiene leading to information concerning personal health, thus avoiding many

it only postpones the immediate expression of pleasure, in order to attain the maximum amount of pleasure in the light of reality.

37 In a sense we are suggesting something analogous to the role of music and gymnastics in Plato's curriculum but with a major distinction. In Plato "appetites" can be subdued; in Freud instinct cannot.

conflicts and anxieties. Study of the humanities would invite students to identify with certain persons and issues. These identifications in turn would not only reinforce the subordinate role of the masses but would offer scope for constructive sublimation. The arts taught would be arts and crafts, with the hope that hobbies would both occupy leisure time and offer successful means for instinctual expression. The social sciences would be taught so as to facilitate the student's contact with the social reality. Information derived from political science, economics, and sociology would take the form of precepts and aphorisms serving as guides for "proper" action in the society, in accordance with the value system of the elite.

No education would be complete unless it prepared the young for participation in the adult world, i.e. work or vocational training. Freud emphasized the importance of work as a source of happiness and as sublimation of instinct.[38]

The Elite

The gifted student would undergo a similar experience of training in expression, sublimation and control.[39] However, his subject matter instruction would differ from that of the masses. Science would be taught to enable him to master reality so as to construct a physical situation in which he could attain the greatest comfort. In science and in mathematics his elegant theoretical constructions would serve as suitable sublimations. The humanities would serve as an arena for vicarious erotic expression and for free flight of the imagination.

Anthropology would be studied as the history of the development of the cultural and societal psyche, whose stages would be presented as paralleling the stages of individual development.

In the study of history the "facts" would be interpreted in terms of such psychoanalytic concepts as the unconscious, sublimation and

38 See *Civilization and Its Discontents,* S.E., XXI, 80, n. 1.

39 Whether the elite should be separated from the masses at an early age or at a later age, or whether they should remain in the group so as to offer leadership, is a question that cannot be dealt with here.

aggression. Furthermore, we would search for facts that otherwise might not be introduced into historical investigation, e.g. dreams of heroes or leaders, psychoanalytic interpretation of folk-myths and culture. Races and nations would be endowed with a *character* as a result of their inheritance over the generations. Special study would be made of the role of the leader and his psychological make-up. The historian himself would be investigated for his own psychological bias.

Economic explanation of present or past problems would be subsumed under psychological explanation.

Political theory would concern itself with the libidinal ties between leaders and groups. Attempts would be made to identify and classify leadership roles on the basis of the erotic needs they fulfill.

Obviously, literature could not be taught without making a psychological analysis of the characters in the drama or novel, the symbols in poetry and the upbringing of the author.

Theoretical and philosophical systems, and political and economic arguments might be distrusted as masking deeper and more basic intentions.

The more narrowly behavioral sciences would be so taught as to prepare the elite groups for leadership. Thus, the arts of rhetoric and "practical" psychology (industrial psychology, group therapy and practice, etc.) would be introduced as necessary skills.

Over and above these somewhat obvious distinctions between education of mass and elite, Freud introduces another and unexpected one.

> There is no golden rule which applies to everyone: every man must find out for himself in what particular fashion he can be saved. All kinds of different factors will operate to direct his choice. It is a question of how much real satisfaction he can expect to get from the external world, how far he is led to make himself independent of it, and finally, how much strength he feels he has for altering the world to suit his wishes. In this, his psychical constitution will play a decisive part, irrespectively of the external circumstances.

> The man who is predominantly erotic will give first preference to his emotional relationships to other people; the narcissistic man, who inclines to be self-sufficient, will seek his main satisfaction in his internal mental processes; the man of action will never give up the external world on which he can try out his strength. As regards the second of these types, the nature of his talents and the amount of instinctual sublimation open to him will decide where he shall locate his interests. Any choice that is pushed to an extreme will be penalized by exposing the individual to the dangers which arise if a technique of living that has been chosen as an exclusive one should prove inadequate. Just as a cautious business-man avoids tying up all his capital in one concern, so, perhaps, worldly wisdom will advise us not to look for the whole of our satisfaction from a single aspiration. Its success is never certain, for that depends on the convergence of many factors, perhaps on none more than on the capacity of the psychical constitution to adapt its function to the environment and then to exploit that environment for a yield of pleasure.[40]

Therefore, the curriculum will contain required courses to protect the student from "tying up all his capital in one concern" and an area of specialization to permit the development of his "unique" constitutional potential. We present some of the alternatives that Freud considered.

> One gains the most if one can sufficiently heighten the yield of pleasure from the sources of psychical and intellectual work. When that is so, fate can do little against one. A satisfaction of this kind, such as an artist's joy in creating, in giving his phantasies body, or a scientist's in solving problems or discovering truths, has a special quality which we shall certainly one day be able to

40 *Civilization and Its Discontents,* S.E., XXI, 83–84. See also *Libidinal Types*, S.E., XXI, 217–220.

characterize in meta-psychological terms. At present we can only say figuratively that such satisfactions seem 'finer and higher'. But their intensity is mild as compared with that derived from sating of crude and primary instinctual impulses; it does not convulse our physical being. And the weak point of this method is that it is not applicable generally: it is accessible to only a few people. It presupposes the possession of special dispositions and gifts which are far from being common to any practical degree. And even to the few who do possess them, this method cannot give complete protection from suffering. It creates no impenetrable armour against the arrows of fortune, and it habitually fails when the source of suffering is a person's own body.

While this procedure already clearly shows an intention of making oneself independent of the external world by seeking satisfaction in internal, psychical processes, the next procedure brings out those features yet more strongly. In it, the connection with reality is still further loosened; satisfaction is obtained from illusions, which are recognized as such without the discrepancy between them and reality being allowed to interfere with enjoyment. The region from which these illusions arise is the life of the imagination; at the time when the development of the sense of reality took place, this region was expressly exempted from the demands of reality-testing and was set apart for the purpose of fulfilling wishes which were difficult to carry out. At the head of these satisfactions through phantasy stands the enjoyment of works of art – an enjoyment which, by the agency of the artist, is made accessible even to those who are not themselves creative. People who are receptive to the influence of art cannot set too high a value on it as a source of pleasure and consolation in life. Nevertheless the mild narcosis induced in us by art can do no more than bring about a transient withdrawal from the pressure of vital needs, and it is not strong enough to make us forget real misery.[41]

41 *Civilization and Its Discontents,* S.E., XXI, 79–81.

Freud further discusses work:

> No other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for his work at least gives him a secure place and a portion of reality, in the human community. The possibility it offers of displacing a large amount of libidinal components, whether narcissistic, aggressive, or even erotic on to professional work and on to the human relations connected with it lends it a value by no means second to what it enjoys as something indispensable to the preservation and justification of existence in society. Professional activity is a source of special satisfaction if it is a freely chosen one — if, that is to say, by means of sublimation, it makes possible the use of existing inclinations, of persisting or constitutionally reinforced instinctual impulses. And yet, as a path to happiness, work is not highly prized by men. They do not strive after it as they do after other possibilities of satisfaction. The great majority of people only work under the stress of necessity, and this natural human aversion to work raises most difficult social problems.[42]

The curriculum would then prepare these children for professions able to grant them the greatest instinctual expression (happiness), would prepare them to enjoy the fruits of other professions (e.g. works of arts and literature) and train them to assume positions of power and status in the society.

A Note on the Curriculum

It appears that the curriculum would be guided by the following objectives and that the subject matter-to-be taught would be selected and organized to attain these objectives. The first three items are common to both the masses and the elite.

42 *Ibid.,* p. 80, n.

1. Instinctual expression and control.
2. Information and skill.
3. Vocation.
4. Sophisticated channeling of sublimation (appreciation of and amateur participation in art, literature, and the sciences).
5. Professional participation in the arts and sciences.
6. "Professional" utilization of the behavioral sciences.

Some hint of what might have been Freud's *curriculum theory* could also be obtained by looking at the rank order which the commonplace-terms of curriculum theory would take.[43] The child (the student) would be at the top of the educational hierarchy. He is the basic raw material of education and is not very malleable. Any educational theory or practice that makes excessive or improper demands upon the student will be self-defeating.

The teacher occupies the second rank. He is the central person in the group, a potential contributor to super-ego development and in control of the environment of the classroom. He can reduce conflicts and support the ego. Through his role as significant adult he can evoke student interest in the subject matter.

The society occupies third rank (family, school, peers, community and world), since it will continue to affect the child's developing super-ego and the child's ego will have to discover ways of attaining pleasure in his various societies.

The subject matter of education will occupy the lowest rank in the hierarchy. It is (except for the elite) a means for attaining some measure of relief in a perplexing world.

43 Joseph J. Schwab. Problems, Topics and Issues. In Elam, Stanley (Ed): *Education and the Structure of Knowledge.* Chicago, Rand, 1964; Tyler, Ralph. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.* Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950.

Concerning Another Interpretation

There is another interpretation of the place of rationality in Freud's theory, but we contend that this interpretation cannot be substantiated by analysis of Freud's works, but would have to be based chiefly on post-Freudian developments in psychoanalytic theory. In such an interpretation, Freud's theory would be treated as the initial stages of an evolving inquiry. The point of departure for this interpretation would be the state of psychoanalytic theory at the time and in the mind of the interpreter. For example, Heinz Hartmann's conception of an ego that does not develop from the id but differentiates from a common matrix would result in one variety of this interpretation; Erik Erikson's conception of the epigenesis of the ego would result in another.

With these conceptions, it could be argued that Freud's view of the ego and its relation to the id *developed* during the course of his investigations. The argument would claim that at first Freud conceived of no more than ego instincts in tension with sexual instincts.[44] Then he developed a concept of the ego as a coherent organization that developed out of the id but remained closely related to it.[45] Later he granted the ego the power to suppress the excitations that emanate from the id.[46] Finally, the argument would run, Freud allowed for the possibility of an ego that conquers the id. "Where id was, there ego shall be."[47]

In the light of such a view, the public correspondence between Einstein and Freud could be interpreted as follows: If Freud's "pessimistic" statements limit[ing] the possibilities of education for "the vast majority" are intended to counterbalance the "naive" optimism of Einstein, then the reader's attention is improperly focused on the first portion of the passage:

44 See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* S.E., XVIII, 61.
45 See our pp. 84–85.
46 But see pp. 88–89.
47 *New Introductory Lectures,* S.E., XXII, 80. See our discussion, pp. 91–94.

> One instance of the innate and ineradicable inequality of men is their tendency to fall into the two classes of leaders and followers. The latter constitute the vast majority; they stand in need of an authority which will make decisions for them and to which they for the most part offer an unqualified submission.[48]

and *should instead* be focused on its continuation:

> This suggests that more care should be taken than hitherto to educate an upper stratum of men with independent minds, not open to intimidation and eager in the pursuit of truth, whose business it would be to give direction to the dependent masses.[49]

Now the latter portion of this passage would be used as evidence of Freud's hope that education would develop men who could rise above their instinctual demands.

From these arguments a conception of the enlarged power of the ego would emerge as well as a different rank order of the commonplaces. The ego would be located at the top of the hierarchy or it would share this position with the id.

There is a multiplicity of implications for education in this interpretation of Freud. For ranking the ego highest in the hierarchy of commonplaces opens the door to every conception of education that emphasizes the importance of the rational and the aesthetic.[50]

The kind of education suggested earlier for the elite would constitute one curricular program appropriate to this interpretation. So also would most conceptions of "disciplinary education," that is, those which emphasized the mastery of intellectual competencies, whether those of the classical liberal arts or the more modem emphases on the competencies required for enquiry in the various disciplines.

48 *Why War,* S.E., XXII. 212.

49 Ibid.

50 Still excluded, however, would be any view of education that did not seriously consider the power and complexity of the id.

A source of support for this view of the powers of the ego might be found in interpretations based on examining Freud's theory as a product of his personality. For example, we have argued on pages 91–94 that although there are passages in Freud that would lead the reader to believe that the ego obtains substantial power over the id, the overwhelming evidence points to a conception of an ego that is subservient to the id. Further, in *Moses and Monotheism* and in *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis,* two of his last major published works, Freud maintains his conception of an ego that, for most men, must remain subservient to the id throughout life. Against this, those who interpret Freud's theory in terms of his personality might respond that Freud wrote his last works when he was old, sick and despondent.[51]

The introduction of biographical data and the application to it of psychological insight could certainly result in diverse interpretations of this nature. But we know of no way to discriminate among them.

51 For example, see Erich Fromm: *Sigmund Freud's Mission.* (New York, Harper, 1959); and H. W. Puner: *Freud — His Life and His Mind.* (New York, Dell, 1959), represent interpretations of Freud's work based on his personal life but their conclusions disagree with ours.

Part Four:

Translation and Application: From Vision to Reality

From Theory to Practice in Jewish Education

In general education Harold Dunkel, William James, Israel Scheffler, and Joseph Schwab, among others, have claimed that there is an activity, a step, which is required to prepare theory for practice.

In Jewish education, Jonathan Cohen, Seymour Fox, Michael Rosenak, Oded Schremer, [Israel] Scheffler, and [Joseph] Schwab, among others, have derived the implications of theory for the practice of Jewish education from Jewish philosophy, Jewish thought and theology.

The activity has been described in various terms. Schwab claims that theory must be prepared for "translation" into practice, whereas Scheffler prefers the less dramatic formulation, the "application" of theory to practice.

They have made their arguments for the need to undertake the translation or application of philosophy of education to educational practice convincingly. However, there is almost no literature describing the methods or the processes of "translation" or "application".

Historians and evaluation experts have joined the philosophers of education to document what occurs, and the price which is paid, when the translation of theory to practice is intuitive, is undertaken carelessly or omitted. For example the eminent historian, Lawrence Cremin, in "The Transformation of the School" demonstrates how the progressive school misunderstood and distorted John Dewey's philosophy of education.

The evaluation of curricular innovation and reform movements in education, demonstrate how the ideas, the principles which were at the heart of the reforms, were often misunderstood and barely reflected

in the programs and practices which were intended to embody the reform. There is evidence, particularly in the fields of teacher education and curriculum, which supports the notion that ideas and principles which are clear and obvious in their host disciplines, in epistemology, in psychology, or in sociology, require very explicit specifications for their use and application in curriculum and teacher education. This has been demonstrated in many fields, such as science education, Bible education, and the teaching of Jewish thought.

Recently, Deborah Ball and Maggie Lampert have demonstrated this claim for math education. Miriam Ben Peretz's work in the content analysis of the curriculum for the teaching of biology supports the importance of clear and precise formulations of concepts such as scientific facts, the nature of proof, and of evidence. The NY Melton Bible program, introduced in Jewish schools in the United States, and the Jerusalem Melton program in Jewish Values disseminated in schools in the Diaspora, have suffered from unintended distortions of subject matter and pedagogy by teachers and administrators.

Both research and anecdotal evidence have led me to suggest a formal step, possibly a domain between theory and practice which could lead to greater coherence between theory and practice and help us in our attempts to improve education. I have found it useful to call this domain "Theory of Practice". (Others have indicated the importance of the concept, e.g. Donald Schon and Chris Argyris.)

It consists of at least two steps. The first step requires the analysis of a theory, a philosophy, or the works of a philosopher of education and the disclosure of their implications for educational practice in areas such as teaching, curriculum, school organization, educational leadership and administration. To cite a few examples, scholars have analyzed the works of Plato, Kant, Herbart, Dewey, Whitehead, and Freud. For Jewish education, we have learned a great deal from the analysis of philosophers and thinkers such as Maimonides, Buber, Rosenzweig, Soloveitchik, Heschel, Fackenheim, Strauss, Wolfson, and Guttmann.

There have also been analyses of the organization, methods, and principles of disciplines which are the resources for subject matter

and teaching in education. We are all familiar with examples of the analyses of Mathematics for the purposes of developing programs in Math education, analyses of the Bible or Biblical Scholarship for guiding programs in Bible education, the analyses of schools of Jewish Thought and research in Jewish Thought for guiding the development of curriculum, and the analyses of psychological theory (personality or cognitive theory), for the guidance of teaching and learning.

Jewish and general education need more of this kind of research. And as I have mentioned what is particularly missing are descriptions, explications and elaborations of the principles that should guide and inform this first step in the Theory of Practice. Neither Schwab nor Scheffler have given us a sufficient description or elaboration of the elements and procedures involved in the analysis of theory so that it can be applied or translated into educational practice.

As I have remarked earlier, this genre of research and analysis is an important first step but it is not sufficient. It does not offer adequate guidance and information to the curriculum developer, to the teacher-educator and to many others who are responsible for the introduction of recommended educational practices.

What is missing is the second step, that is the specification of the products of curriculum-making which will embody the approach to subject matter and pedagogy, and to the kinds of teacher education which will manifest in actual practice (in the educational reality), the principles, the ideas, and the suggestions which stem from the careful analysis of theory undertaken in step 1 of the domain of theory of practice. These are almost non-existent!

However, let us examine these two steps and the distinction between them, in two examples of the translation of Theory into Practice.

Schwab, in his essay "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education" describes the distortions of Dewey's theory by progressive education. He claims that the distortions involve the omission or blurring of key terms and distinctions in Dewey's philosophy as they were institutionalized by progressive education.

"Since the earliest entrepreneurial efforts to institutionalize 'progressive' education, most of what has been said by and for educators in the name of Dewey has consisted of distorted shadows and blurred images of the original doctrine — epitomes, diverse in content and tending to oppose or exclude one another.

Many of the epitomes, despite their diversity of content, exhibit two significant similarities. In Dewey's original statement, the members of a numerous set of terms were placed in new and fruitful relations to one another: time, fact-idea, change, freedom, organism-environment, experience, individual and society. In each epitome, on the other hand, only one or two of these terms appear, and conclusions about the character of education are drawn from them alone. Thus each epitome inflates what was a part of the original into an alleged whole.

The second uniform feature of the epitome follows from the first. Since the one or two terms used in each epitome are now merely isolated terms rather than members of their original related set, they must be rendered with a specious simplicity and ambiguity to make the over-simplified statements of doctrine plausible. The result is to confuse or suppress reflection on the matters represented by the terms.

These uniformities point to a single degenerative process as the source of the various misinterpretations which Dewey has suffered. This process is one of selection which seeks a single evident principle on which to found a policy for education. The effect of this process, despite the variety of epitomes it produced, was to leave out of account three crucial aspects of Dewey's pragmatic method and content — precisely those three which treat of the function of numerous terms and how to cope with them. It is my intention to outline these facets of Dewey's view and suggest how they may be used to correct and organize the various epitomes which still represent Dewey's thought to substantial segments of our world."[1]

Schwab claims that the result of this process which characterized

1 *School Review* 67 (1959): 139–59.

much of progressive education, led to a major distortion of the role of the teacher and teacher education.

To repair the misunderstanding, Schwab proceeds to analyze how these terms, which have been separated and consequently distorted, must be joined and related to each other in an authentic rendering of Dewey's concept of pragmatic method and content. He then goes on to apply his understanding of Dewey to the role of the teacher. Schwab thus takes the first step in the translation of Dewey's philosophy for education, in this case for the role of the teacher. The result is a scheme involving five activities and their outcomes.

The Teacher in Progressive Education

The levels and dynamics of pragmatic intellectual space

THE DYNAMICS	THE ACTIVITY	THE OUTCOME	THE NAME
5th →	Reflection on knowledge of discovery	Invention of means and ends discovery	Mathematics *
4th →	Reflection on the conduct of discovery	Critical knowledge of scientific method	Logic
→	Reflection on ends and means; deliberate pursuit of experience	Knowledge organized for pursuit or further knowledge	Science, including the social
3rd →	Reflection on actions and consequences	Knowledge organized as tested ends and means	Technics, Practical Ethics
2nd →	Sensitive mastery of variable problematic situations	Flexible ways of acting in each such situation	Flexible habit; Artfulness
1st →	Mastery of problematic situations	A way of acting in each such situation	Mere habit

* "Mathematics" as used here, covers more than the number system, algebra, and geometry taught in the schools. It includes all invention of formal devices and relations.

But Schwab did not undertake the second step, that is the specification of the programs for teacher education, the curricula for teacher education, which are likely to lead to the various kinds of knowledge, action, and behavior that would exemplify Dewey's ideas as applied to the different actual classroom situations. Without this step, we are left with an exciting analysis, a more authentic explication of Dewey's philosophy for education, but we are missing the second step, that is a specification of the activities required in the education of teachers which will justify our hope that the theory will be applied in the educational reality. For example, how would teachers understand the concepts of "problematic situations" and convey these conceptions to students? What experiences for teachers and students are required for them to gain an understanding of "reflection on ends and means"?

To the skeptic, who might claim that Schwab's title "The 'Impossible' Role of the Teacher in Progressive Education" assumes that the assignment is not feasible, we respond that Schwab should then have entitled his essay "Some Limitations of Dewey's Philosophy for Education".

Teaching and teacher education would then serve as the key example.

Both Schwab and Scheffler claim that educational theory which cannot be applied in practice, that is, which fails persistently when attempts to introduce it into the field are made, demonstrates a sufficient weakness in the theory to require its modification and possibly even its abandonment.

Let us consider an example from Jewish education. In an essay which Israel Scheffler and I have written entitled "Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity: Prospects and Limitations", we describe work in progress in a project entitled "Visions of Learning: Varying Conceptions of Jewish Education". The participants include creative educators who are working with scholars of Jewish studies, philosophy and education, in order to apply their ideas to educational practice. The scholars who participated in this project and prepared essays in

collaboration with practicing educators, include Professors Menachem Brinker, Seymour Fox, Moshe Greenberg, Daniel Marom, Michael Meyer, Michael Rosenak, Israel Scheffler, and Isadore Twersky.

They presented conceptions of Jewish education both for Israel and the Diaspora. The group of scholars represent a variety of philosophies and philosophies of Jewish education. There is an advocate of a secular conception of Judaism, an Orthodox, a Conservative and a Reform position. One of the papers suggests a language for Jewish education that can be common and acceptable to all of the positions.

The example I would like to discuss is that of Prof. Moshe Greenberg. I will deal with it essentially in terms of Jewish education in the Diaspora.

Professor Moshe Greenberg's essay is entitled *"Hayinu Ke'Cholmim"* ("We Were Like Those Who Dream: a Profile of an Effective Judaic Education").

Greenberg's conception of the educated Jew is based on a conception of human nature, or more specifically a personality theory, that views the person as a spiritual being. Greenberg assumes that human beings have a basic need to understand what is of ultimate significance in the world. Material success, as rewarding as it may be, is never sufficient.

Furthermore, Greenberg affirms that the Jewish classical texts, the Bible, the Talmud, Midrash and the Commentaries, point to a transcendent realm of ultimate significance. For Greenberg, the Commentaries are particularly crucial, for it is here that each generation has contributed to the never-ending search for an understanding of ultimate value. *Parshanut* (interpretation) is a process, a standing invitation to all Jews to master the text, expand its meaning and thereby extend the impact of the tradition. The Hebrew language and close textual analysis are indispensable for Greenberg's conception of the educated Jew. It is difficult to conceive of a sophisticated understanding of the tradition except in the original Hebrew.

We now quote from Greenberg's essay a passage in which he states four aims of a successful Jewish education, from his perspective:

חינוך יהודותי ייבחן על פי הצלחתו להנחיל את תוצרו
ארבע תכונות:

א. חיבת לימוד התורה (ספרי היסוד וכל שבמתכונתם) וחיבת מעשה המצווה "שבין אדם למקום".
ב. קבלת התורה כמורה דרך בתחום שבין אדם לחברו, עם ההכרה שקביעותיה המוסריות הן פרי פעולה פרשנית בלתי נפסקת.
ג. הנהגת אורח־חיים היוצר קהילה.
ד. זיקה לכלל ישראל בכל ארצות פזוריהם.

The criterion of effectiveness for Judaic Education is its ability to instill in its product four properties:

1. The love of learning Torah (that is, the basic books and all that is involved in their framework) and the love of performing the *Mitzvot* (the Commandments) applying "between humans and God."
2. Acceptance of the Torah as the guide to the relations between humans, recognizing that its moral determinations are the fruit of everlasting interpretative activity.
3. The cultivation of a way of life conducive to the creation of a community.
4. Affiliation with the entire Jewish people.

To strive to promote these four qualities, to build an educational program based on these principles, will challenge our creativity and ingenuity. Let us consider some of the challenges that flow from Greenberg's aims, as listed above. Because learning and the acceptance of the Torah are not only intellectual, not only spiritual, but must be lived and require a community – it is doubtful that such an education can be undertaken only in schools or informal settings. It most likely needs to be undertaken in enclaves which offer a subculture where the students can experience and learn what it means to act on ideas and where their search for meaning can be responded to. This idea suggests efforts to expand day schools so that they include informal education in youth groups, in trips to Israel and in summer camps.

In such settings, we could hope to undertake education for Jewish citizenship and American citizenship, as well as the continuous dialogue between them. Such an education would count heavily on early childhood experiences in an environment in which Hebrew would be mastered and curiosity nurtured. For without mastery of the Hebrew language and an increasingly sophisticated curiosity, the encounter with the text would be dull and lifeless. As the student matures, Greenberg would challenge us to develop a curriculum that would help the student develop love of learning and commitment to the tradition.

Greenberg and his colleagues in education have presented us with their conception of a successful and authentic Jewish education. They have taken the first step in the translation of theory into practice, that is, a description of how his conception of Judaism can and should be applied to the practice of Jewish education. What is missing is the second step, a specification of the elements of the enclave, the details of their content, pedagogy, and educational staff.

For an enclave to be established and maintained, Greenberg and his educational collaborators must answer such questions as:

1) What will be the role and the nature of formal education in his enclave? How will it differ from formal education in a day-school?
2) What will be the role and the nature of informal education in his enclave? What curriculum will guide its activities? How will it be different from the experiences in a youth movement, a community center, a summer camp?
3) How will formal and informal education complement each other? How will they complete each other? What of the curriculum of the school will be delegated to informal education? How will the experiences in informal education be illuminated in the classroom?
4) What kinds of staff will educate in the various elements of the enclave and how will they be prepared?

The field of Jewish education and general education will benefit

from a significant investment in theory of practice. The efforts which will be devoted to the preparation of the works of philosophers, of scholars in the natural sciences, the humanities and the social sciences, for education, will yield rich ideas and suggestions for educational theory and practice.

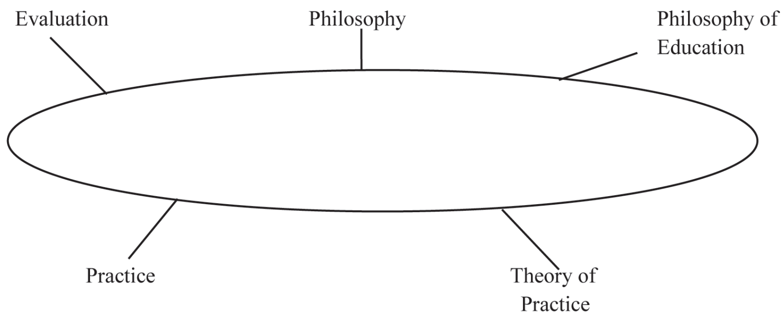
When this first step is augmented by a second step, which will specify for the curriculum developer and the teacher-educator the assignment to embody the ideas in materials and pedagogy which will motivate and challenge teachers, theory will have significantly informed practice.

We have found it useful to introduce the theory of practice as a special domain and level in our work as we move from theory to practice and from practice to theory. Thus our work is now guided and directed by five levels of activity:

The Movement from Theory to Practice and from Practice to Theory in Education

From Theory to Practice	From Practice to Theory
1. Philosophy	5. Evaluation
2. Philosophy of education	4. Practice
3. Theory of practice	3. Theory of practice
4. Practice	2. Philosophy of education
5. Evaluation	1. Philosophy

Dewey's Ends-Means Continuum



In our work, we have learned that it is equally appropriate and useful to work with a process that begins at level 5 and moves back to level 1. To be more precise, we have benefited in processes that have begun at any level and then proceed to any other level. For example, in working with schools on their goals, we have sometimes begun with an examination of current practice and discovered that we can benefit from a consideration of the philosophy of education that is implicit in the practice. Sometimes we have learned that the philosophy of education is not making its fullest contribution to practice because we have failed to specify the connection to practice by omitting the step of theory of practice. Donald Schon, for example, argues for the movement from level 4 to 3 or to level 2 as the appropriate approach for professional education. In most cases, evaluation, particularly evaluation that is informed by an understanding of the theory that has been adopted by the institution, is an indispensable step in our understanding of the role and impact of philosophy of education.

In addition to the movement from philosophy to evaluation and from evaluation to philosophy and in order to avoid a misconception that the process is hierarchical, I have rendered the process [also as a circle] to reflect Dewey's ends-means continuum.

(Time does not permit me to join or elaborate on the discussion and controversies related to the relationship between philosophy and philosophy of education. We see ourselves as members of the school of thought developed by Dunkel, Burns, Brauner, Kneller, Scheffler and Schwab, who argue for the essential contribution of philosophy to philosophy of education and justify philosophy of education as a discreet enterprise.)

We have learned that the additional step of theory of practice contributes to the development of an organic connection between philosophy of education and practice.

As a result, educational practice will not only be enriched by philosophy of education, but educational practice is ultimately a test of the adequacy of the theory, particularly in terms of its contribution to conceptions of the nature of man and society.

It is through evaluation, that we will be able to better understand how and to what extent theory has been appropriately applied to practice. After sufficient, serious experimentation and try-outs, it is reasonable to question and judge the validity and adequacy of a theory.

The Art of Translation

The Translation of Theory into Educational Practice

The essays in this volume offer distinctive visions of an ideal Jewish education. They address thoughtfully — and variously — such questions as: What should successfully educated Jews know and feel? How should they behave? What is their responsibility to the Jewish community and to humankind?

This chapter makes three assumptions that are foundational to our project. The first is that vision makes a difference, and that differing visions result in different kinds of Jewish education. But visions incorporate more than theoretical propositions; they embody as well the translation of these propositions into practice.[1]

Although the visions developed in our project have elements in common — some surprising — their differences are consequential. A visitor to an early childhood program based on Isadore Twersky's vision would not mistake it for a program based on Moshe Greenberg's vision. The mission of a teacher, according to Menachem Brinker, conflicts with the mission of a teacher in Michael Meyer's view.

The second assumption is that for these visions, or any others, to be implemented, they need to embody an understanding of the real-life settings — schools, community centers, adult education programs and summer camps — where education takes place. Vision cannot be separated from implementation. The act of incorporating vision in a complex reality releases its power and reveals its limits. In the

1 See description of vision in Chapter 1.

process of concretizing a dream — inspiring a community, choosing a principal, recruiting educators, identifying students, developing a curriculum or designing a community center building — we discover how real-life conditions can both challenge our vision and contribute to its fulfillment.

Finally, a thoughtful, compelling vision can not only improve existing institutions; it can lead to the invention of new ones. Such a vision can galvanize the will of the community and its leaders, ignite the creativity of teachers, hearten parents, and motivate gifted people to invest their talent and passion in the revitalization of Jewish life.

What does translation mean in the context of education?

Visions are often formulated in the language of theory. They make claims about the nature of the human beings to be educated and about the purposes of education. Thus, Greenberg believes that human beings are born with a spiritual instinct, an innate need to find answers to profound questions that must not be thwarted.[2] Twersky, on the other hand, contends that the spiritual curiosity of human beings will be distorted rather than cultivated unless they are initiated from the earliest age into a life of religious practice (*mitzvot* and *halakhah*).

Visions are, however, more comprehensive than theories. They make a variety of factual assumptions about the relevant educational environment — that is, they assume what powerful learning can achieve. They invite us to speculate about how enduring the educational experiences of early childhood, adolescence or adulthood can be. They suggest educational goals, lead us to choose particular approaches to teaching and learning, and specify the content of a curriculum. Visions emphasize the importance of some educational settings over others. They may suggest how schooling and informal education can be connected or even integrated.

As specifically theoretical statements, visions draw on the

2 Instinct is used here to mean a first cause or a principle that is irreducible; or, in Freud's language, a "basic concept." See Seymour Fox, *Freud and Education* (Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1975), 29, 30, 54.

conceptual vocabularies of academic disciplines — philosophy, psychology, sociology, political science and others — as well as on the subjects taught in schools, such as physics, chemistry, social studies, philosophy, and Jewish philosophy. Their rhetoric can be appealing intellectually and emotionally, but the experience of those who participate in education — learners, teachers, and policy makers — cannot be encompassed by any one theory or even a combination of theories, however ingenious. An analysis of the life of students or teachers in a school will disclose that they are bombarded by scores of influences, affected every day by many different people, by the rules of the institution and by the society beyond the school doors.[3] The richest theoretical formulation inevitably falls short of explaining the impact of education in its intricate and unpredictable reality.

The history of education is replete with examples of promising ideas that failed because their proponents assumed that the power of the idea was sufficient in itself to reform educational practice. A perennial example is the claim that to be successful, all a teacher needs to know is the subject matter. According to this view, if a teacher really knows history, for example, he or she is bound to teach it well. It is therefore assumed that courses in departments of education and mentored experience in classroom teaching are unnecessary, even a waste of time.

Teachers and students continue to pay for such simplistic thinking. So many of us have suffered from boring classes taught by great scholars, or from elementary and high school teachers who knew their subject but were unable to make contact with their students.

The translation of a theory into practice is an art, one that requires us to consider the necessary elements of education, one by one and together as they influence each other. It is only such translation that

3 See Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum," in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, ed. I. Westbury and N. J. Wilkof (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 287–321. See also Seymour Fox, "Theory into Practice (in Education)," in *Philosophy for Education*, ed. S. Fox (Jerusalem: The Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1983), 96–98.

can turn theory into vision, a comprehensive guide to education in the actual circumstances that confront us.

For over fifty years, scholars of education have discussed which elements must be taken into account in deliberations about education and in efforts to improve it. Ralph Tyler has proposed key elements in curriculum; Joseph Schwab in scientific enquiry and curriculum; Lee Shulman in professional education; Seymour Fox in personality theory; and, most recently, David Cohen in teaching and learning.[4]

Schwab, the philosopher of education, calls these elements "commonplaces."[5] He suggests four: the student, the teacher, the milieu (the society in which education is enacted), and the subject matter being taught. Further, Schwab claims that any educational problem requires their concurrent consideration. If one of the commonplaces is excluded in educational deliberations, the decisions that result will be skewed and the programs based on those decisions are very likely to fail.[6]

4 Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Joseph J. Schwab, "What Do Scientists Do?" in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, 184–228; Schwab, "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic," in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, 322–64; Schwab, "The Practical: Translation into Curriculum," in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, 365–83; Lee Shulman, "Theory, Practice, and the Education of Professionals," *The Elementary School Journal* 98:5 (1998): 511–26; Seymour Fox, Freud and Education, 26–28; D. K. Cohen, S. Raudenbush, and D.L. Ball, "Resources, Instruction, and Research," in *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis* (in press).

5 Schwab, "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic" Schwab says he "pilfered" the term from Aristotle and Bacon.

6 Schwab, "The Practical: Translation into Curriculum." I am greatly indebted to my teacher, Joseph J. Schwab, for my understanding of the challenge of translating theory into practice. The decision to undertake this project, *Visions of Jewish Education*, was largely inspired by him. In recent years there have been a series of critical essays on Schwab's work, particularly in the area of curriculum. Some of these essays have influenced current thinking about the importance of Schwab's contribution to educational thought and particularly to the field of curriculum. In my view, these essays failed to understand the depth and importance of Schwab's thinking for the field of education. One important example is Philip Jackson's essay in *The Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (New York: Macmillan Publishing

To move from theory to implementation, then, all the elements considered indispensable must be taken into account. Otherwise, a new method of teaching Bible, for example, may captivate students and excite parents, but can nevertheless be sabotaged by teachers who do not believe in it or by a culture of materialism so pervasive that it undermines the values advocated in the classroom.[7]

Our project encouraged us, and sometimes forced us, to undertake the difficult, invigorating activity of translation. The interaction between the scholars who proposed the visions and the educators invited to consider them in practice raised challenging questions. Do we know how to educate teachers so that they can help students become adults committed to Judaism while intensely involved in the modern world, as Meyer's vision proposes? Or, since mastery of the Hebrew language is essential for a successful Jewish education in Greenberg's view, are there enough teachers to teach Jewish texts in Hebrew? If not, how long would it take to recruit and train them — and how expensive would it be?

In their contributions to the deliberations, the educators challenged the scholars about both the meaning and the feasibility of their visions in the everyday world. Sometimes the scholars elaborated on their initial formulations; at other times, they adapted the visions to respond to the educators' practical knowledge.

There were also times when the educators' objections to a vision's apparent impracticality were reversed by the experience of the scholar himself. For example, the educators believed that Rosenak's vision was overly optimistic in its conviction that a Jewish community could agree on common elements to be emphasized in the curricula of all its schools, whether Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, communal or secular. They were surprised and moved to learn about

Company, 1992), 28–37. A penetrating critique that points to the misunderstanding of Schwab by Jackson will be found in Nehama Mosheiff's article, "The Curriculum Specialist: Deliberation, the Quasi-Practical, and Policy," in preparation.

7 See the example about teaching Jewish values in the "Text" section of this chapter.

the enthusiastic response of lay leaders in New York to Rosenak's presentation of his essay. That these leaders had been inspired by Rosenak's ideas and felt such a vision had a "fighting chance" led the educators to reconsider their initial skepticism.

Our work with the educators persuaded us that the process of translation is equally effective when it moves from practice to theory. What takes place in a camp or classroom can reveal the implicit vision of education, provide its most persuasive critique or even amplify its scope.[8]

To make words on a page come alive in a community means to experiment, to learn from mistakes, to try a new approach, sometimes to fail, and inevitably to reformulate the initial idea in light of experience. No one can write a step-by-step manual for success. Rather, success is the consequence of the ability both to justify an idea and demonstrate its implementation.

Focusing on some of the current critical topics in Jewish education, this chapter discusses the implications of the scholars' visions for practice — and the improvement or even transformation of the field that could result.

Lifelong Learning

All the scholars were committed to visions that require lifelong learning, since "graduation" from Jewish education is an oxymoron.

The human beings Twersky hopes to educate are halakhic Jews, challenged throughout their lives by day-to-day dilemmas they may not have previously encountered. If Jews are leading their lives according to *halakhah*, they do not expect to have a rabbi or scholar at their side to help them make every decision in family life, business

8 In Chapter 11, Daniel Marom demonstrates how he helped disclose the implicit vision of the Magnes School by eliciting inquiry and discourse about the curriculum, teaching methods, and culture of the school.

ethics or politics. Rather, to resolve their problems they need to make decisions about which principles of Jewish law and thought (or *halakhah*) should be applied and how to apply them. Although they may need to consult a rabbi from time to time about a difficulty they cannot resolve, as educated Jews they are continually refreshing and replenishing their knowledge of the tradition, striving to broaden and deepen their *bikiut* (erudition) so that they have a sufficiently rich set of principles from which to choose the appropriate action.

The ongoing and never-ending process of learning and of choosing the halakhic course of action links them to their fellow Jews around the world who are engaged in the same process and also to Jews across past centuries. This point is beautifully illustrated by Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik's portrayal of the living engagement of students with the great sages of the tradition:

> Suddenly, the door opens and an old man, much older than the Rebbe [R. Soloveitchik], enters. He is the grandfather of the Rebbe, Reb Chaim Brisker (1853–1918). It would be most difficult to study Talmud with students who are trained in the sciences and mathematics, were it not for his method….
>
> The door opens again and another old man comes in. He is older than Reb Chaim, for he lived in the seventeenth century. His name is Reb Sabbatai Cohen (1622–1663), known as the *Shakh,* who must be present when civil law, *dinei mamonot,* is discussed. Many more visitors arrive, some from the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and others harking back to antiquity — Rabbenu Tam (1090–1171), Rashi (1040–1105), Rambam (1135–1204), Rabad (1125–1198), Rashba (1245–1310), Rabbi Akiba (40–135), and others. These scholarly giants of the past are bidden to take their seats.
>
> The Rebbe introduces the guests to his pupils, and the dialogue commences. The Rambam states a halakhah; the Rabad disagrees sharply, as is his wont. Some students interrupt to defend the Rambam, and they express themselves harshly against the

> Rabad, as young people are apt to do. The Rebbe softly corrects the students and suggests more restrained tones…. Rabbenu Tam is called upon to express his opinion, and, suddenly, a symposium of generations comes into existence. Young students debate earlier generations with an air of daring familiarity, and a crescendo of discussion ensues.
>
> All speak one language; all pursue one goal; all are committed to a common vision; and all operate with the same categories. A *Mesorah* collegiality is achieved, a friendship, a comradeship of old and young, spanning antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times.[9]

Brinker's worldview is very different. His vision of Jewish education is based on the principle of freedom. Educated Jews are people steeped in the sources of Jewish culture and civilization, active members of their Jewish communities and the Jewish community worldwide, but free and able to choose those aspects of Jewish life, as well as those of other cultures, that will guide them.

According to this view, a successful Jewish and general education should offer learners the tools and strength to be able to make such decisions. Brinker emphasizes this point by calling the learner a *mithanekh* — someone who is continually educating himself throughout his life.[10] A *mithanekh* is prepared and motivated to contend with the moral and cultural issues facing humankind. There is no effective way for a person to do so, however, without his being deeply rooted in a particular culture. On this critical matter, Brinker agrees with Israel Scheffler, who at the close of his essay, states:

> The particular educated person is not simply interchangeable with every other such person. He or she is situated historically

9 Joseph B. Soloveitchik, *Man of Faith in the Modern World: Reflections of the Rav*, vol. 2 (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1989), 22–23.

10 In Chapter 5, Brinker delineates the characteristics of such an education.

> and culturally; and it is, I would argue, essential that knowledge of this situation enter into the educational learning of such a person, having a peculiar claim on his educational energies. One who had no knowledge of his own past, had no contact with the history that formed him, no understanding of the philosophical, religious, psychological and sociological trends that had shaped his contemporary situation, could hardly be accounted an educated person. In these reflections, Jewish education has an important form of justification based on the very concept of education.[11]

Although lifelong learning was an ideal for all the scholars, they knew they were vulnerable to the charge of elitism, given that many Jews have not been exposed to Jewish learning either through their families or through education. Nevertheless, every one of them believed that the ideas in his vision, carefully analyzed and skillfully translated into practice, could address the needs of people with very limited Jewish backgrounds as well.

In fact, the scholars were eager to engage with adults who had not had the opportunity to study or were not previously interested in Jewish learning. In his essay, Greenberg articulates his belief that "the soul knows no rest until it gains some comprehension of ... the realm of value": A human being is always searching for spiritual meaning. Thus, adults who have attained prosperity and status but feel unfulfilled may be intrigued by the study of such texts as Ecclesiastes, which speaks of the limits of affluence. Greenberg has taught biblical texts to adults in secular kibbutzim and in adult education programs throughout North America; he has seen the exhilaration of questing adults who first encounter the power of Jewish sacred literature.

One of the educators in our project, Ruth Calderon, founded in the heart of Tel Aviv a college called Alma Hebrew College that has

11 All quotations by the scholars are from their essays in this volume, unless otherwise indicated.

drawn some of Israel's most prominent — and secular — intellectuals, artists, television celebrities and politicians to the study of Jewish texts from a cultural perspective.

So remote is such study from the experience of many Israelis that a well-known novelist told her, "My children, who have never seen a page of Talmud, are unable to understand my decision to devote time to studying Talmud on a daily basis. They made one request: '*Abba*, please don't tell anybody about your unusual habit!'"

At Alma, Calderon held a *Tikkun Leil Shavuot*, the traditional all-night study session on the holiday of Shavuot to commemorate the Jewish people's receiving of the Torah. Together, students studied such texts as the Book of Ruth and discussed topics such as the influence of Talmudic texts on contemporary Hebrew literature.

After the first year, the crowd was so large and the experiment so successful that the study sessions were televised live to thousands of viewers throughout Israel, confirming Greenberg's faith that classical texts and their interpretations can speak to adults who have not been immersed in them all their lives.

Michael Meyer recognizes the inability of many families to transmit Jewish learning to their children. In his essay, Meyer urges synagogues to help foster communities of adult learners who can discover the vitality of Jewish study:

> In many instances parents who join the learning community lack Jewish memories, possessing neither the collective memories of the Jewish people nor the personal memories of Jewish experiences gained in childhood. This is clearly the case for Jews-by-choice, but is increasingly true also for Jews-by-birth.... Within the community their trajectory runs from history to midrash [commentary] and memory, to finding their own personal story within the collective story of Israel and to locating Jewish values they can internalize from within the textual treasury of Judaism.

Although for the scholars the ideal Jewish education begins in

childhood, all feel strongly that learners can join the process of becoming educated Jews at any point in life.

Early Childhood Education

The Jewish education of young children is essential to the visions of all the scholars. For Meyer, early childhood education is extremely significant because of his belief that a deep emotional attachment to Judaism is a precondition for commitment. Since today only a minority of Jewish homes in the Diaspora can create an environment likely to lead to commitment, early childhood education must concentrate on cultivating in a child powerful memories and lasting ties. The lingering melodies of Jewish songs, the awe of candle-lighting, the joy of giving thanks in ancient words of blessing can have a strong emotional impact that are central to Meyer's vision of early childhood education.

Brinker is influenced by the critical role of early childhood education in nurturing "the new Jew" — the Israeli. It was in early childhood programs that the children of immigrants mastered the Hebrew language; celebrated as a community the traditional Jewish holidays; and came to understand the significance of holidays such as Tu bi-Shevat, which Zionist educators directly connected to the cultivation of the land. Through their children's education, parents born in Israel as well as those who recently arrived, were introduced to the latest approaches to child care.

Despite the shoestring budget of the young state, the Ministry of Education, the *Histadrut ha-Morim* (Teachers' Union), and the kibbutzim invested significant resources in the education of talented and committed early childhood teachers, who were sent abroad to study with the students of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Montessori.[12]

12 The contribution of early childhood programs to the building of Israel as a new nation has been well documented. See, for example, Z. Scharfstein, *Toldot*

When Jewish children are educated in an environment where all the holidays are Jewish (compared to the Western Diaspora, where the holidays and their symbols are primarily Christian), they are likely to develop a natural sense of belonging that is a cornerstone of identity in Brinker's vision.

For Twersky, a child should be introduced to Jewish practice by loving parents, whose character and conduct the child will want to imitate. This mimetic process is further developed in early childhood programs led by teachers who also serve as role models. Imitation begins at the earliest possible age, which is the first stage of *hergel*, religious habituation. This stage is subsequently enriched by the intellectual and emotional understanding acquired through study in school.[13]

Greenberg sees early childhood experiences, particularly those that nurture curiosity, as precious resources. The questions a child asks about God, or about why there is evil in the world, must be encouraged and taken very seriously as reflections of humankind's spiritual quest. They are pristine forms of questions Jews have asked and addressed in their sacred texts throughout their history. When adults respond to such questions, they are introducing the child to educational antecedents of the skills required to enter the tradition of *parshanut*, commentary.[14]

Even more momentous than the content of the adults' answers are the feelings and body language that accompany them. Children must sense that their questions matter tremendously to the adults they love

ha-Hinukh bi-Eretz Yisrael (Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1965), 64–67, and Shlomo Haramati, "Trumat Gan ha-Yeladim le Hahiya'at ha-Dibbur ha-Ivri," in *Reishit ha-Hinukh ha-Ivri ba-Aretz ve-Terumato le-Hahiya'at ha-Lashon* (Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1979), 206–34. For many years, Israel's early childhood education was esteemed as a model throughout the world.

13 I want to thank my colleague Mordecai Nisan, who drew my attention to the renewed philosophical and educational interest in the concept of habituation in Aristotle and its importance for character education. See Nancy Sherman, *Making a Necessity of Virtue: Aristotle and Kant on Virtue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 241–48. Maimonides' and Aristotle's concepts of habituation are closely related. See Chapter 3.

14 See Greenberg Supplement, *Parshanut* in Practice.

and respect. Greenberg would say to parents and early childhood educators: "You know how excited you get when a child utters his first words or takes her first step? Isn't that how you should feel when a child asks a spiritual question?"

To respond well to children's questions such as "Why does the sun rise?" or "Why are there seasons?" parents and educators have turned to the natural sciences for their answers and to the social sciences — especially child psychology — for how best to express those answers so that children will understand them. Greenberg joins researchers such as Robert Coles, J. W. Fowler, and R. G. Goldman, who have studied the importance of spiritual questions in young children, but he emphasizes spiritual development as a goal of early childhood education.[15] The curriculum in a Greenberg program of early childhood education would become the joint effort of talented teachers, perceptive rabbis and scholars who can suggest appropriate responses to children's questions, and psychologists who are committed to the belief that spirituality is a basic element of personality.

A critical objective of a Greenberg early childhood program in the Diaspora would be the acquisition of Hebrew as a second language. Since, according to Greenberg, "the uniquely Jewish store of concepts and values cannot be transmitted in translation," the study of sacred texts and their commentaries, in their original language, is of the highest importance.

Early childhood schooling is the period in a child's development when a second language is most easily acquired, fortified in this case by the child's motivation to understand how the Jewish tradition has responded to his or her central concerns. For both reasons, an intensive program of Hebrew study in early childhood is eminently feasible. Such programs have been introduced in schools such as the

15 Robert Coles, *The Spiritual Life of Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990); J. W Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981); R. G. Goldman, *Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

Tarbut School in Mexico City, the Herzl Bialik School in Montreal, Canada, and as early as the 1940s in the Beit Hayeled School in New York City.

What is the practical result of these differing approaches to early childhood? Greenberg, for example, would disagree with the special emphasis Meyer places on the emotional realm, because he is convinced that intellectual and spiritual discovery is itself a profound emotional experience. In distinction from Twersky, Greenberg would insist that the spiritual dimension must be given primacy over the behavioral, for in his view religious habituation without explicit attention to its spiritual dimension runs the risk of sterility. And unlike Brinker, Greenberg hopes that in their early childhood education, even very young children will begin to find the answers to their existential questions within Judaism.

Notwithstanding the differences among them, the scholars agree that effective early childhood education is necessary for their visions of a successful Jewish education. The reality of current practice, however, belies the vanguard role the scholars assign to this period of a child's development. Although the number of Jewish early childhood programs in the United States has grown rapidly, the teachers and directors are the most underpaid professionals in the field. In the United States, their training in general education is often advanced, because of state accreditation requirements, but they have minimal training in Jewish studies and have received the least Jewish education of all teachers in Jewish schools.

Indeed, with 10 percent of teachers in Jewish early childhood settings not Jewish (and in one community, as many as 21 percent), imagine the limitations for a program like Greenberg's, with its demands that teachers both respond to their young students' theological questions from a Jewish perspective and immerse them in a Hebrew-language environment![16] Even in Israel, the emphasis on

16 In the policy brief *Background and Professional Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools* (New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, 1994), Adam

and investment in early childhood education, once the envy of the world, is declining.

Paradoxically, early childhood education provides the Jewish community with an extraordinary opportunity. Many parents, when they start out, secretly believe that with the right education their child could change the world. The Jewish tradition supports this notion. Maimonides claims that any human being may grow up to become as great as Moshe Rabbenu (Moses).[17] During these years parents are willing to invest incredible energy, hope and money in the future of their children, and, consequently, in their education. While children are in nursery and kindergarten, their parents' initial faith in education is a priceless resource for the education of the entire family.

What do parents want above all? That their child turn out to be a decent human being, a *mensch*. Imagine if parents could hear the message of Jewish education as, "What does it mean to be a *mensch*? Come see an early childhood program where the process is well under way."

Lee Shulman brought to my attention the power of such programs. He calls them existence proofs or "visions of the possible." An existence proof is a demonstration that an important educational idea can be translated into practice.[18] When educators, parents and other policy makers can visit a site where they see and experience a vision as it lives, the impact is enormous. Encouraged by the evidence before them to replicate such programs, they are then motivated to invest greater effort and resources in Jewish education.

The creation of existence proofs in early childhood education is a unique opportunity for Jewish education both in Israel and the Diaspora. Throughout our project, we discussed how a school or

Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, and their field researchers found that 55% of preschool teachers received no Jewish education after the age of thirteen. See also Shira Ackerman, who claims that 30 percent of early childhood teachers are not Jewish, in *Untapped Potential: The Status of Jewish Early Childhood Education in America* (Baltimore: Jewish Early Childhood Education Partnership, 2002).

17 Maimonides, *Laws of Repentance* 5:2.

18 Lee Shulman has discussed this idea with me on several occasions and has taught it to the Fellows at the Mandel School for Educational Leadership in Jerusalem.

community could join forces with a foundation or, in Israel, with the Ministry of Education to demonstrate that if an early childhood program is saturated with a compelling vision, the children and their parents would be deeply affected. If the educators were well prepared and the curriculum sensitive to the particular interests and abilities of the children and their families, parents might also be convinced to set aside serious time for their own Jewish education.

Education Formal and Informal

Jewish schooling cannot be equated with Jewish education. In our discussion on vision and schooling, we emphasized that Jewish education must include the application of ideas to life. The scholars concur that, for Jews, learning cannot be separated from doing. Jewish education is character education.

Brinker's educated Jews must be knowledgeable, sophisticated, fully participating members of their Jewish communities. Only when they are committed to "their family" — the Jewish people — will they be able to make a significant contribution to contemporary life.

For Twersky, halakhic Jews must live righteously, as they resolve the complex issues they encounter every day through a talmudic dialectic illuminated by nuanced philosophic concerns.

According to Meyer, Jews need to learn how to live ethically as they face the conflict between tradition and modernity. However, their Jewish identity demands a bias in favor of a commitment to a Jewish approach to existential concerns. Such a bias must be buttressed and justified by a profound knowledge of the Jewish tradition.

From Greenberg's perspective, successfully educated Jews will, throughout their lives, use the classical Jewish sources and their commentaries — in the original Hebrew — to "serve as a moral guide in our day and age."

In the project's deliberations, we considered how the scholars' visions could influence and even transform the essential elements of

formal education — schools, their curriculum and their personnel. We looked at the way these visions might shape education and educators in informal settings, and at the possibilities of integrating the two realms, since we know of no way that a serious vision of Jewish education can neglect thinking, feeling or doing.

For the most part, contemporary Jewish education in Israel and throughout the Jewish world reflects the notion that schooling and the learning that takes place in classrooms are mostly cognitive activities, minimizing and sometimes neglecting the role of emotions and behavior. Pressed for time, educators consider themselves fortunate if students understand and appreciate Judaism's basic ideas. To act on these ideas, to behave according to the moral principles taught in classrooms, is a key goal of Jewish education, but is often seen as beyond the influence of Jewish schools, nurtured instead in the family or in informal educational settings.

The power of youth movements in Israel from the 1930s to the 1960s is cited to demonstrate the impact of education outside the classroom:

> The story of the settling of the land of Israel, of the laying of the foundations of a new society and its culture, and finally of the establishment of national sovereignty is, to a very large degree, the story of these youth groups.... It is hard to imagine that in a period of twenty-eight years all these accomplishments took place: the inspiring of generations of youth in the Diaspora; their training for labor in the land of Israel; their *aliyah*; their settling the country, which was the chief accomplishment of the Zionist endeavor; the transformation of Jewish lifestyle and culture; and the readiness to defend what had been established in the land of Israel through organized military activity that later became the army, without which the establishment of the State of Israel would have been impossible."[19]

19 Zvi Lamm, *Tnu'at ha-No'ar ha-Tzionit be-Mabat le-'Ahor* (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1991), 8. This passage was translated by Daniel Marom.

Although youth movements are no longer as significant as they were in the 1950s and early 1960s, they continue to be a factor in Israeli education and identity building. Today the Israel Association of Community Centers is making a significant contribution to informal Jewish education. *Matnasim* (Israeli community centers or ICCs) are not only critical in the absorption of hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants, but they have also developed religious services for secular Israelis, with thousands participating each year in Yom Kippur services.

In the Diaspora, Jewish summer camps have long been recognized as a powerful means for forging Jewish commitment. In the United States, denominational camps are a significant part of the religious education of both campers and staff members. Jewish community centers (JCCs) have 100,000 Jewish children in their camping programs. Denominational and Zionist youth movements, and such campus organizations as Hillel, create contexts for young people to "behave Jewishly." Sports, art and drama, field trips, family weekend retreats, and travel to Israel provide rich educational opportunities for Diaspora students, particularly in the moral domain.

For Israeli students, trips to study the Holocaust and visits to Diaspora Jewish communities are powerful. In France, the Jewish scouting movement continues to play a very important role in the education of young people, as do Zionist youth movements throughout Europe.

Whereas in the past, the family, the neighborhood and even "the street" were living demonstrations of Jewish ideas as they were interpreted and practiced, today it is informal education that can offer settings for the implementation of ideas that have been studied in the classroom but must shape life beyond its walls.[20] Such activities

20 Israel Scheffler reminds us in his essay: "Traditional Jewish schooling could count on a home life permeated with Jewish religious sentiments, concepts, and practices; it could therefore concentrate its attention on the formal teaching of sacred texts. Current Jewish schools cannot rely on such home life as a given in the lives of their

as camping and educational travel can potentially foster a learning community that engages adolescents, teachers, counselors, and parents in an ongoing attempt to live by the insights of the Jewish tradition: No matter how eloquent a teacher may be about how to behave to a fellow human being, when a teenager at a summer camp is setting up a tent with his or her study partner during a downpour, an abstract principle is put to the test!

Programs of informal education also offer enough time, which is not to be minimized in contemporary life, and a unique environment in which the body and soul can speak to each other rather than being compartmentalized.

The distinction between formal and informal education may be useful for the organization of Jewish education, but it can be an impediment to the attainment of its goals. To encompass both the learning and the doing that Judaism demands, great schools must incorporate *tzedakah* and community service into their curriculum, just as outstanding summer camps have also offered programs of text study and Hebrew literacy. The relationship of formal to informal education is not one of mutual exclusion. Schooling focuses more on thinking and understanding, whereas informal education addresses itself more to feeling and acting — but they do, and should, interrelate and overlap.

There have been many attempts to link the work of Israeli youth movements, both religious and secular, to the programs of schools, particularly in the area of citizenship education, but with little success. The Community School movement in Israel was established in 1977, with the specific goal of enriching what was taught in the classroom through programs held after school hours. Despite the nobility of its intention, this movement has not yet achieved its aspirations.

In the worldwide Jewish community, there have been sporadic attempts to create camping programs that are year-round or designed

pupils." Scheffler then discusses the need to expand Jewish education to include informal, affective, adult, and family education.

for entire families. There have even been efforts to coordinate education in schools with the education that takes place in informal settings, most prominently with educational experiences in Israel. However, there are almost no examples of sustained efforts to develop a comprehensive plan — a curriculum — to coordinate the way concern for your fellow human being, for example, is taught in the classroom *and* acted upon on a sports field.

Despite its avowed importance, informal education is not yet viewed as a serious profession, grounded in a theoretical basis, with the components that formal education has in place. For example, there are very few programs — in the United States, Israel or anywhere else — where people can be prepared specifically for a career in Jewish informal education. Nor are there yet enough opportunities for their ongoing professional education.

Certain institutions in a community have come to be equated with either formal education (schools) or informal education (JCCs and ICCs). Often sponsored by different organizations and sometimes competitive with one another, they suffer from a lack of integration, which is a loss for everyone.

For fifty years, both literature in education and speeches about Jewish identity have been arguing that neither formal nor informal education alone can create Jews who are excited about their tradition, want to participate in it, and know how to do so. Imagine a community in which the JCC said to schools: Our centers are open to you. Tell us what texts you are teaching pre-Bar and pre-Bat Mitzvah students about how the Jewish tradition defines a responsible person, and then let us suggest experiences, extrapolated from those texts, that will allow them to act on those values. Today, JCCs see their role as introducing Jewish values through the activities that take place under their sponsorship — working with the elderly or preparing for Jewish holidays. In the future they could also ask: How will our swimming staff begin to see themselves as Jewish educators?

A challenge for Jewish education in our day is to find contexts where formal and informal education are permeable to each other,

where the intellectual, emotional and behavioral are cultivated together, deliberately and educationally.[21]

Text

In considering the role of schooling in Jewish education, the scholars' visions highlight the centrality of text. Whether you are a halakhist or staunchly secular, you will have to refer to books. A well-known rabbinic formulation sums it up: *Neitei sefer v'nehze*, "Let us open the book and see." If you and I are having an argument, let us turn to the text to see whose position it substantiates.

Judaism is text-rooted. All the scholars — specialists in Jewish thought, comparative literature, Bible, Talmud, modern Jewish history, philosophy of Jewish education, or general philosophy — center their visions of Jewish education on the written word.

Text, not textbooks, is at the heart of Jewish schooling. It must be at the core of the curriculum and influence pedagogy as well. The scholars believe in text and insist upon it, even as they disagree about which texts are essential and what role they should play. By text they mean original sources — not summaries or descriptions.

The scholars are equally committed to close analysis of the sources and their commentaries (also texts). They want the student to learn to ask: What question is the author answering? What dilemma is being addressed? For example, what distinction is being drawn

21 Israel Scheffler, in *In Praise of the Cognitive Emotions* (New York and London: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1991), argues against the tendency of philosophers, psychologists, and educators to distinguish between cognitive and affective experience, between thinking and feeling. Schwab makes a similar point in his description of the power of discussion for education, in "Eros and Education," *Journal of General Education* 8 (1954): 54–71. See also Seymour Fox with William Novak, *Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions* (New York and Jerusalem: Mandel Foundation, 1997, 2000).

between Jewish law and the Greek or Roman law of the surrounding societies?

What is a text meant to do? First, to arouse and respond to intellectual desire. All the scholars think that human beings are guided and energized by an appeal to the intellect. Second, to stir and satisfy emotional yearning. Read the text properly, and it will inspire profound feeling. Even a text that has no apparent connection to emotional issues can be, if you are prepared, intensely engaging as you decode it and understand its intent.

A teacher who is extremely responsive to his or her students can serve as a *shadkhan* — a matchmaker, in Greenberg's term — between the text and the students' sensibilities. Of course, all caring teachers ask the question: How can I make contact between this text and that learner?

In 1978, the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora of the Hebrew University developed a curriculum on Jewish values, created by Michael Rosenak. The curriculum was eventually adopted by schools in Israel and in Jewish communities throughout the world. Accompanying the curriculum was a seminar on how to introduce the material and approach to the participating teachers and students.

One of the first experimental sites was a Jewish school in Melbourne, Australia. The curriculum expert sent by the Melton Centre to work with the teachers in that school returned to the seminar in despair. The unit, on the Book of Ruth, focused on the value of loyalty — which the curriculum developers thought would be very moving to adolescents, who are preoccupied by the meaning of loyalty and friendship.[22]

Instead, the teacher reported, some of the students burst out laughing, making fun of the text and declaring, "Who cares about loyalty? All we care about is making money."

22 The curriculum was influenced by the work of Erik Erikson, who emphasizes the importance of loyalty for adolescents. He describes adolescence as the period when the young person is struggling to live according to the virtue of fidelity. See Erik H. Erikson, *The Challenge of Youth* [originally published as *Youth: Change and Challenge*] (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1965), 1–23.

How might she respond to these students? The teacher's colleagues at the seminar proposed that she begin by saying, "All right, you believe the Book of Ruth is composed of ridiculous and naive values. What are your values? Let's put them under a magnifying glass and imagine a world guided by your values."

The students would respond that their values are getting rich and "making it." Then the question becomes: How do you conduct a society built on those values? As the students sketch for themselves a portrait of a society based on "survival of the financially fittest," whose members are interested only in protecting their gains, they will realize that such a society is bound to implode.

The teacher can point to a biblical narrative that corresponds to the students' realization. In the Book of Genesis, as Nahum Sarna and others have explained it, the flood happened after *va-timaleh ha-aretz hamas*, the world was filled with lawlessness. Based on his philological expertise, Sarna interprets *hamas* as moral violence. When the moral order has been destroyed, the physical order cannot survive. A flood is the result of the breakdown.[23] When the teacher has helped students encounter the consequences of their expressed values, when they see that a world based on their values cannot work, then he or she can return to the original question of what values *can* guide humankind, and perhaps ask at this point, "What is loyalty and why is it important? Here is a text called the Book of Ruth, a text about building a world rather than destroying one. Let us read it together, understand what problems the text is grappling with and how they are addressed."

Clearly, we are not talking about text in isolation from the student, the teacher and the world in which they live. We soon find ourselves considering Schwab's four commonplaces and their interrelationship – the nature of the student, the understanding of the teacher, the influence of society, and a penetrating analysis of the subject matter – in this case, the text.

23 See Nahum M. Sarna, *The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (New York: Melton Research Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1964), 49–50.

Although all of the scholars have faith in the power of text, Greenberg has the most extreme faith, since he has confidence in the capacity of a text, rendered authentically, to touch even an adult alienated from Judaism.

The scholars also agree that one of the major purposes of a Jewish text is to guide behavior.[24] For some learners, their ability to understand the full meaning of a text is enhanced when informal education accompanies formal study. If, as Greenberg teaches us, biblical prayer was revolutionary in inviting people to pray personally and spontaneously,[25] how can we reconcile that idea with the fixed liturgy of the Siddur and its three-times-a-day mandatory ritual? The student can study the words of the prayer, but may need music and an aesthetic setting to release the emotions that motivated the religious writers whose words the Siddur preserves.

In Jewish schools, the activity of *tefillah*, prayer, can be educationally troubling, lacking fervor or meaning for the student. The customary approach of formal education is much more appropriate for the analysis of a prayer text than for the experience of prayer. A continuum between formal and informal education would allow students to explore fruitfully the tension between predetermined, traditional texts and the need for spontaneity that is central to both Greenberg's and Twersky's conception of prayer.

To animate inert words, Greenberg cautions, Jewish education must transmit a significant amount of sacred texts — significant in being persuasive choices for contemporary students and significant in quantity. In other writings, Greenberg has addressed the most difficult challenges faced by the teacher who tries to match ancient texts to

24 Greenberg was so distraught over the twisted interpretation of sacred texts used by Baruch Goldstein to sanction his murder of 29 Arabs on Purim 1994 while they prayed at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron that he wrote an essay to express his horror at the shocking distortion of texts by fundamentalists. See, "A Problematic Heritage: The Attitude Toward the Gentile in the Jewish Tradition — An Israeli Perspective," *Conservative Judaism* 48:2 (1996): 23–35.

25 See Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 47–52.

contemporary learners: feminism, democracy, and, as mentioned, fundamentalism.

Invited to give a lecture to an audience of senior Jewish educators in 1983, Joseph Schwab asked the question, "Can a book change your life?" The answer he offered was, "It depends. If you are ready, it can."

What is readiness? A person can read an essay and forget it the minute she has turned the last page. Ten years later she may come upon the essay accidentally — and suddenly it seems to have been written solely for her.

It is the task of Jewish education to make such contact likely rather than accidental. Once in a while, a unique individual may read a text that transforms his way of thinking. But we must not build an educational system on the exceptional person, because exceptional people are likely to find their own way, even if they have to go outside the system. Greenberg's point is that text can change your life, but you need to be prepared — by education — for the encounter.

How would a Greenberg teacher differ from a Twersky teacher in their approach to teaching Jewish text, since both would immerse the student in sacred sources?

An important aim of a Twersky teacher would be to deepen the student's practice of *mitzvot* through study. Uninformed practice can become rote behavior, whereas study dissociated from practice can be detached from life. The teacher's assignment is to maintain a living link between text and practice.

In a Twersky school, a teacher would have to believe herself in *Torah min-ha-shamayim* (that the text was divinely written and transmitted) in order to convey the text authentically to her students. Twersky's teacher must be a religious role model, a *shomeret mitzvot* (observer of the commandments). If she were capable of illuminating the beauty of such a life but did not herself practice it, she would not be the role model Twersky requires.

In a Greenberg school, however, the beliefs and religious practice of the teacher are not as significant as the ability to reveal the text's

profundity and its capacity to speak to the spiritual yearning of students. As Greenberg says, "The basic requirement of a Bible teacher is not faith, but understanding; not assent, but recognition of the profound issues of which he treats. It is not necessary to subscribe to Islam, or Christianity, or Buddhism in order to teach them well. It is necessary to recognize in them a significant possible position on ultimate religious problems."[26] The teacher will have succeeded in transmitting the message of the text when the student understands that the text, in its discussion of ultimate theological issues, is also a symbol of the transcendent realm beyond the self.

For Brinker, text is the agent of liberation, not merely induction. The task of text in a Brinker school is to introduce the student to his history, to the thought and literature created by Jews, especially in the modern era, so that he can establish his relationship to his people on a deeper and more independent basis. Brinker wants a student whose active involvement in the world is grounded in the values and commitments of his family — which means the Jewish people and its ideas.

If the student is alive only to the message of his own culture, he is not free but provincial, which Brinker considers a failure. On the other hand, if the student immerses himself in Jewish texts and ideas and then rejects aspects of Judaism while still participating in the Jewish community and the world as a responsible citizen, Brinker would claim that the study of Judaism has nevertheless made an important contribution to the student's development. Defending the student's freedom to choose what to retain and what to discard, Brinker nevertheless believes that the student is likely to find some aspects of Jewish life meaningful.

Brinker, too, is committed to original sources, and to Hebrew, but for different reasons than Greenberg. Greenberg's vision is addressed to Jews all over the world, whereas Brinker is focused mainly on Jews

26 Greenberg, "On Teaching the Bible in Religious Schools," *Jewish Education* 29:3 (1959): 45.

in Israel, whose mother tongue is Hebrew. His attention is on the texts of the Jewish people in the last 200 years — because for Brinker, civil emancipation was more determining of the Jewish condition than anything that preceded it. The Enlightenment was as influential an event for Jews as Sinai; the Enlightenment is when Jews began to move into the modern world, to become a nation like other nations, with a dream of shaping their own destiny and building their own society.

The Brinker teacher would ask such questions as: What values should characterize our Jewish society? How should we treat the Arabs in our midst? What is the value and risk of nationalism? The texts as they are conveyed in a Brinker school would reveal not only the nobility of the Jewish past but its conflicts. In such a school, Brinker's students would be in the process of becoming *mithankhim*, people for whom the goal of schooling is to become self-educating throughout their lives.

The induction into the Jewish tradition of students in a Meyer school, as in a Twersky school, would be deepened through text. In both institutions the text would be viewed as conveying not only values but belief. Theology is important to Meyer, as it is to Twersky: We are commanded to live in God's image and to express Jewish theological commitments in our dialogue with the world. Meyer's critique of Reform Jewish education in the past is that it taught what we as Jews have in common with the rest of the world without sufficiently emphasizing how we are different.

In Meyer's approach, text contributes to the student's initiation into religious practice. Greenberg's approach to text includes no such requirement. But Meyer also differs from Twersky, because his school would prepare the student to choose only those practices that seem most meaningful. Unlike Twersky, Meyer focuses on texts from Jewish history that show how Judaism has changed over time. His teachers would not subscribe to Twersky's view of Judaism as a conversation all participants would recognize as continuous from the biblical era through the Talmud through Maimonides until our day.

The Principal

Both research and experience demonstrate that visions can be mere pronouncements or can have the most intense impact on a school.[27] As we worked on our project, the scholars and educators continually returned to the observation that the principal has to be not only an effective administrator but, above all, an educational leader.

If the principal is not encouraging, supporting and leading the school in the translation of the vision's ideas into day-to-day practice, the school will drift, its teachers will lose their focus, and students and parents will be denied the excitement of an education whose details are designed to offer them both discernment and meaning.[28]

Equally, if management is relegated to second-class status, if those responsible for administering a school are not partners to the vision and full participants in actualizing its aspirations, then the vision is likely to deteriorate into slogans, rather than being rooted in the real life of the school. The means of education are not neutral, whether they involve student discipline, a school's policy on scholarships, or the job description of a new secretary.

Thus, in schools where vision matters, there cannot be a situation in which management means dealing with the mundane and educational leadership means dealing with the elevated and spiritual. The environment of a school — its "oxygen" — is determined by the commitment of the entire staff.

The leaders of the school — principal, administrators and board members — have to ask not only "What do we hope to achieve?" but "How are we doing?" They are the ones who must insist that

27 In *The Good High School: Portraits of Character and Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot describes six successful schools, each characterized by a principal who has a clear vision and has successfully communicated this vision to the teachers and administrative staff.

28 Bruno Bettelheim, when training the staff of his Orthogenic School at the University of Chicago, described the important role that a sensitive custodian can play in the education of students. For a description of the school, see Bruno Bettelheim, *Love is Not Enough* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1950).

evaluation and self-assessment be built into institutional life. Despite the unrelenting pressures of the day, they must refuse to separate the vision from its ongoing implementation and review.

If vision is to be taken seriously in Jewish education, then communities in Israel and the Diaspora will have to view the recruitment, training and placement of outstanding people in the role of principal as essential.

James Coleman's groundbreaking research on school desegregation in the United States was interpreted by some to mean that the socioeconomic status of parents was more influential than the school on the parity of educational achievement between black and white students.[29]

Thirteen years later, Ron Edmonds cited follow-up studies that found schools had definitely improved the achievement of students of lower socioeconomic status.[30] A determining factor in the success of these schools was the principal.

Those interested in improving American public education understand the power and impact of principals.[31] Principal centers have been created in the United States to offer the kind of ongoing in-service education that increases principals' effectiveness.

Neither in Israel nor in Jewish education in the Diaspora has there yet been a sufficient investment in the pre- and in-service education of principals. Only recently have parents and lay leaders recognized the critical shortage of principals for day schools, both elementary

29 James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1966).

30 Ronald Edmonds, "Effective Schools for the Urban Poor," *Educational Leadership* 37 (1979): 15–24.

31 The importance of the principal to the actualization of vision is also discussed in M. D. Usdan, "The School Administrator: Modern Renaissance Man," *The Teachers College Record* 69 (1968): 641–48; Thomas J. Sergiovanni, *The Principalship: A Reflective Practice Perspective* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1987), 177–92; Seymour Sarason, "The Principal," in *Revisiting "The Culture of The School and The Problem of Change"* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996), 139–62; and Michael Fullan, *The New Meaning of Educational Change*, 3d ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 137–50.

and high school. With the growth of day school education, there has been simultaneously a significant reduction in the number of full-time supplementary school principals. How can the result be an improved Jewish education for the approximately two-thirds of children in the system whose Jewish learning takes place in supplementary schools? Someone has to be in charge of a school, devoting not only the time and energy to running it as it deserves but also to introducing, guiding and goading all the "shareholders" to shape the school's vision of the kind of Jew they want to develop and nurture there.

At a Scheffler school, for example, students' thoughts and feelings would be given the utmost respect, whatever the starting point of their educational journey. The way the office staff greets a parent, the atmosphere when a student comes in with a problem, how teachers are treated by the administration – these factors either enhance or undermine the school's commitment to regard each person in the building as a unique human being. The principal is the key person responsible for creating a school culture that expresses and cultivates this value.

A Brinker school, which places a premium on the capacity of its students to make independent decisions based on their critical analysis of profound ideas, has to make students' experimentation and mistakes essential aspects of their learning. The principal has to support such experimentation – which is not easy to do and sometimes even less easy to justify.

In a Greenberg school, the principal not only studies during the school day but is seen by his students as applying the fruits of his study to his work life. Students have to pass him in the library, or see him poring over a classical text. Although there are never enough hours in the day, the Greenberg principal has set aside a fixed time for learning. We must remember, too, that Greenberg described his third goal as intense involvement in the community. The principal, then, is working with students during school hours as they raise funds and prepare food packages (*ma'ot hitim*) to be distributed to the poor before Passover.

It may seem from these descriptions that very few people qualify for such a role. One response is ongoing professional education, since principals, like teachers, can and do grow through in-service education. If the role of the principal requires fifteen areas of expertise, a principal may, at the beginning, be very strong in five and very weak in five. Someone, perhaps a coach or a group of consultants, has to work with the principal to assess which of the areas need to be strengthened immediately, which can be developed over time, and which ones can be delegated to members of the faculty or a lay member of the board.[32] A principal's abilities also need to be deepened and refined, because every professional has to grow, a leader all the more so. And yet in Jewish education there are even fewer opportunities for serious in-service development for principals than there are for teachers.[33]

No matter how much we strengthen those who hold current jobs, however, and even surround them with others to complement their talents, there are not nearly enough qualified people to do the work, particularly since many new Jewish schools are opening every year.

Let us look at one current response to this crisis. A new community high school is opening in your city, and you, the chair of the search committee, need a principal who not only understands the mission of the forthcoming school but can create the kind of school whose students will be accepted (preferably by early decision) into top American colleges. You have interviewed candidates with wonderful

32 There are communities, such as Johannesburg and Cape Town in South Africa or Melbourne, Australia, where lay leaders are often responsible for budgets and fundraising for the school. In "The Team," we discuss the importance of a team for introducing and implementing a school's vision. A team is equally essential for supplementing the abilities and capacity of a principal.

33 Goldring and Gamoran describe the very limited opportunities for pre- and in-service education in North America. See E. B. Goldring, A. Gamoran, and B. Robinson, *The Leaders Report: A Portrait of Educational Leaders in Jewish Schools*, an unpublished 1999 report by the Mandel Foundation, New York, 9–13. In recent years, Israel's Ministry of Education has invested substantial resources in the in-service education of principals. Programs have been established at the schools of education at Israeli universities and teachers colleges.

Jewish studies backgrounds who have never run a high school, as well as talented candidates from general education who are not Jewish.

Suddenly the following resume appears on your desk: The headmaster of one of the most elite high schools in the United States — the equivalent of Andover or Exeter — who happens to be Jewish is interested in a career change and has applied for the position. Everyone is excited. The anxiety about admissions to college is moot — and the headmaster is even Jewish! Of course, you recognize that this candidate lacks a background in Jewish studies, but you are prepared to invest in a director of Jewish studies to fill the gap.

This appears to be an acceptable solution to the problem of too few qualified candidates. However, such an approach ignores the fact that no matter how outstanding your candidate, he will not be able to build a Jewish school steeped in vision. If the principal of your new school is going to be the one who articulates the vision, fights for it, and embeds it in the culture of the school, how can he inspire faculty, parents, students and the community to be his partners when he has so little familiarity with Jewish thought, Jewish behavior, and Jewish life?

Judaism is a language, both literally, as transmitted by Hebrew text, and metaphorically. If you are trying to create a vision-suffused school, how can the principal not be someone deeply knowledgeable and committed to the chief rationale for your school's existence? If Jewish education is character education, then the goal of your school is to produce a person of both Jewish learning and the life meant to result from it. The head of the school should represent the kind of Jewish person to be fostered there.

How can our hypothetical candidate become such a person? The number of impressive people in Israel and the Diaspora who are willing to change their professions in mid-career is indeed encouraging.[34]

34 For the past 10 years, the Mandel School in Jerusalem, in partnership with Israel's Ministry of Education, has trained leaders for Israel's education system through its Mandel School for Educational Leadership (MSEL). Lawyers, scientists, and other academics, men and women in business and high-ranking officers in the

Even exceptional people, however, are not yet qualified to lead Jewish educational institutions without an extended training program to introduce them to the intensive study of Jewish texts in the Hebrew language, to alternative visions of Jewish education, and to experiences in the implementation of key aspects of those visions.

There are also people in related careers who might find work in Jewish education fascinating and meaningful — for example, M.A.s and Ph.D.s in Jewish studies who may not want to be academics or rabbis who may not want to serve in pulpits. Members of either group would need intensive training in education and administration, but the challenge is not an impossible one. Even so, their recruitment, training, and apprenticeship would demand a heavy investment of time — and money.

Businesses often send their top leaders to executive training centers. In the United States, in Israel, and around the world, there are now regional principal centers in general education that work with a school's professional leader throughout his or her career. It would be very exciting for a foundation, in partnership with a community, to take on the establishment of such a center for Jewish educational leaders.

In fact, this is a time for Jewish communities and Jewish foundations all over the world to think together about how we might meet the

Israeli army have attended MSEL; and rabbis, young Jewish scholars, journalists, and artists have attended the Mandel Jerusalem Fellows program, a department of the Mandel School that trains Jewish educational leaders for the Diaspora. Both MSEL and the Mandel Jerusalem Fellows, however, are very expensive to run, require of their students a two-year, full-time commitment, and are only the "tip of the iceberg" in relation to what is needed. In the Diaspora, the Avi Chai Foundation has supported programs for the preparation of day school principals at the Davidson School of Jewish Education at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, at the Azrieli Graduate School at Yeshiva University, and, in Israel, at Bar-Ilan University. For fifteen years, the senior educators program of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora at the Hebrew University, with the support of the Jewish Agency, has prepared principals for Jewish schools outside of Israel. These are important developments that nevertheless do not begin to meet the shortage of qualified principals.

great challenge of training enough people to lead our educational institutions. There is no instant solution to the shortage of principals. However, it is important to begin a serious conversation, to consider alternatives, to inspire committed people to recognize the problem — and to get to work.

The Teacher

In discussing the primacy of text in all the visions of Jewish education conceptualized by our scholars, we offered sketches of the different teachers each vision specifies. A comparison of the teacher in Twersky's vision and the teacher in Greenberg's illustrates how two visions require different kinds of teachers.

As mentioned, Twersky's vision of Jewish education leads him to introduce the idea of *hergel*, or religious habituation, because he will not separate the practice of Judaism from its philosophical understanding. His educated Jew needs both and is engaged in both, modeling *avodat Hashem*, worship of God, and *ahavat Hashem*, love of God.

In our deliberations, Twersky emphasized that teachers also demonstrate their love of God through love of their students. Love should permeate the classroom as it does, ideally, the family, since children should begin Jewish life by watching caring parents model the first words they have been taught to say: *Torah tzivah lanu Moshe*. The meaning of the phrase is "Moshe commanded us to live according to the Torah" [Deut. 33:4]. Parents in such a family interpret its meaning to their children as "This is how God wants us to live."

In a Twersky school, teachers would not only live according to the commandments but be committed to and trained in a philosophical way of thinking so that they can induct their students into that mode of thought, which for Twersky is an essential aspect of *hergel*.[35]

35 According to Twersky, Maimonides assumes that it is natural for human beings to

Like Twersky, Greenberg asks that teachers be role models, but he has such faith in the power of the text that he has room for teachers who may not themselves observe many of the *mitzvot.* What Greenberg requires is a commitment by teachers to a contemplative life, so that they can, with understanding, candor, and sympathy, demonstrate in their behavior and express in the classroom the profundity of the texts they are studying with their students.

Greenberg recognizes that he is asking a great deal more of teachers in a religious school than of university professors, who can "content themselves with the Bible as literature or as archaeology without responsibility for its religious teaching." Greenberg teachers must "convey the religious significance of the Bible," which they can do only after "having gotten hold of the great spiritual issues that animate it."[36]

Such teachers must be sensitive to the psychological needs of their students, their religious growth, and their Jewish lives beyond the classroom so that they can match the learners with the texts that will continually awaken and satisfy their spiritual curiosity. In a Greenberg school, teachers are responsible for cultivating their students as "commentators in training." From the start, students would learn to recognize the questions that the classical commentators disclose in the sacred texts and join that tradition so that they might invent powerful questions and responses of their own.[37]

Curriculum specialists have learned in their work with teachers that a vision of Jewish education can succeed only when teachers understand it, are capable of teaching it in their classrooms, and are committed enough to want to do so:

First, to bring a vision to life, teachers need to recognize that it can make a vital difference in the lives of their students — and in their own lives.

ask philosophical questions. Untrained in philosophical thinking, however, they will arrive at erroneous conclusions. Therefore, a school that adopts Twersky's vision must teach philosophy.

36 Greenberg, "On Teaching the Bible in Religious Schools," 45.

37 See Greenberg Supplement, *Parshanut* in Practice.

Second, teachers have to be able to teach it. Almost all innovations in curriculum involve a change in both the subject matter being taught and the way it will be taught, its pedagogy. Just because teachers understand a new approach does not mean they can easily change their method of teaching.

Consider the following example. Beginning with the curricular reforms in the United States in the late 1950s and 1960s, scholars in the natural sciences and later in the social sciences, humanities and Jewish studies urged teachers to change their teaching methods from the "lecture method" to "teaching by inquiry." In science, teachers would help students understand a scientific concept through their own experiments in a laboratory, replicating the way scientists developed or discovered the concept. In history or Bible studies, teachers would help students understand an idea through their own analysis of an original historical source or of a biblical text and its commentaries.

In evaluating the impact of these reforms, researchers discovered that there were teachers who either could not easily master the "teaching by inquiry" approach or who took a long time to do so; the same people were much more capable teachers when they used methods that were a better match for their style and skills.

Third, teachers have to want to teach the material and must believe in the assumptions underlying the approach. In 1963, when the Melton Research Center for Jewish Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York introduced the new Melton curriculum for the teaching of Bible to Conservative supplementary schools in North America, its approach was very much influenced by the question: How do you teach the Bible to young people who come from families not committed to *Torah mi-Sinai,* to the idea – axiomatic in Orthodox Judaism – that the Torah was given by God to the Jewish people at Mount Sinai?

As it turned out, a considerable number of teachers in Conservative supplementary schools either identified as Orthodox Jews or had a nostalgic attachment to its ideology. They could not base their teaching

on a version of Judaism whose assumption was that the Torah might not have been divinely given.

When the curricular materials were prepared, no one was aware of that possibility. The Melton method was being introduced to schools where many of the teachers understood the proposed curriculum and were capable of teaching it – but could not support one of its chief assumptions.

Teachers' own commitments must be taken into account because when the classroom doors close, it is teachers who are in charge. They are the ones in direct contact with students; they will interpret and apply the key ideas of the curriculum in such a way that students will weigh its meaning for their lives.

What kind of education nurtures teachers who are capable of contributing to the realization of these or other visions?

Twersky's teachers will have to master the units of *Mikra*, *Mishnah* and *Talmud*. They will have been habituated into the life of *halakhah* that is practiced with *kavanah* – in a manner that is earnest, purposeful and from the heart – and have been trained in the systematic study of philosophy. These teachers will then be able to help students take the preliminary steps that can lead them to *avodat Hashem* and *ahavat Hashem*.

Greenberg stipulates that his teachers "must study Hebrew and become acquainted with the civilizations of the Near East.... They must also familiarize themselves with the history of ideas, with religious thought in general, with philosophy, especially in its religious garb – theology."[38] Finally, they must be willing to address contemporary existential issues forthrightly.

In our project, we recognized that the preparation of teachers requires an ongoing program of professional education. Just as doctors are expected to continue their studies throughout their professional careers, so the pre-service education of teachers has to be supplemented by in-service education – ideally, planned together.

38 "On Teaching the Bible," 46.

There are Israeli universities and teacher training colleges that have already combined their departments of pre-service and in-service education for this purpose.

There are also Jewish schools that have instituted in-service education programs for teachers that take place during the school day. For twenty-five years, the Tarbut School in Mexico City has organized an ongoing curricular seminar for all its teachers every Thursday afternoon. The teachers reported that the in-service training program has not only made it possible for them to master both new subject matter and new methods of instruction, but also encourages them to be more receptive to innovative projects in the future.

In the Israeli education system, biology teachers meet every Tuesday to continue their studies, a practice established thirty years ago. These meetings, which take place at Israel's universities, include the teachers in both the Jewish and Arab school systems.

When teachers have taken advantage of all that their local community offers to further their professional education, where might they go to extend their learning?

In general education in the United States, regional labs have been established that specialize in key areas to meet the evident needs of the field. For example, WestEd, a regional laboratory in San Francisco, has developed a program in which teachers are trained to develop case studies of problems they encounter in their teaching and how they have negotiated them.

In Jewish education a community could sponsor a lab that, drawing on local expertise as well as consultants in the region, might serve as a center of knowledge. Thus, regional laboratories could be established for the teaching of Bible or Jewish history.[39]

If the Jewish community hopes to develop teachers who are willing to invest the time and energy required to translate the ideas of a vision

39 Another example of such a program is the Teacher Educator Institute (TEI), which was established by the Mandel Foundation in 1995 to develop a national cohort of teacher educators for Jewish education. The program includes initial intensive training and continuous learning.

into their classrooms, we need to take a hard look at the realities of Jewish education:

Today, principals of Jewish day schools can earn very respectable salaries with appropriate benefits. The status of principals is also considerably higher than it ever was.

In the case of teachers, however, salary and benefits remain low, and status correspondingly so. The recruitment of teachers is a severe problem. A solution to the chronic shortage of qualified teachers will be found not by avoiding the issue but by asking the question: What might make a difference?

Although the shortage of teachers, like the shortage of principals, cannot be solved locally, a sophisticated community with committed federation leadership could join one or more local foundations to address the question: What plan could improve our teaching force?

Some key elements for teachers already in the field might be:

- An intensive, mandatory in-service training program for current staff, which could improve teaching and may contribute to the retention of good teachers who become excited about their ongoing professional growth.
- The development of a career ladder of advancement that does not force good teachers to abandon teaching in order to "move up" to administrative positions. Newly created positions might include "lead teachers," whose job is to model powerful teaching and to serve as mentors to other teachers in the school, or even among several schools; or "specialists," experts in specific subjects, such as Bible, Hebrew, Jewish history, Talmud or Jewish thought, who can work closely with teachers who may not know the material as deeply. Later in their professional careers, these expert teachers might become department heads in day schools who would work to improve classroom instruction.

Communities could also target underutilized sources for the recruitment of teachers and offer these candidates a customized training program:

- People who have accumulated sufficient financial resources and are now interested in second careers that will make a difference in the lives of the next generation;
- Highly motivated retirees with an understanding of children, who, with early retirement and longer, healthier lifespans, have time to devote to this meaningful profession.

What other resources can we deploy in addressing this problem? In the Diaspora, there are many Jews who have excelled in the field of general education and are interested in making a contribution to Jewish life. As leaders in American education, they are an enormous resource for helping us think about how to meet the challenge of recruiting, training and retaining outstanding people for the field of Jewish education. Some of them already have profound Jewish commitments; others are interested in exploring their own Jewishness. In our project, we have benefited from the generosity of eminent academics in general education who willingly lent their expertise to the particular challenge of increasing the pool of qualified teachers for Jewish education.

There are also some experiments that could be attempted by an intrepid community or funder. For example, what would happen if an affluent Jewish community in the Diaspora decided to pay all its very capable full-time teachers a substantial salary? No one knows whether salary is the determining issue for the recruitment of superb teachers — or for their retention. But it is certainly worth finding out. Surely a necessary condition of excellent Jewish education is that teachers must be able to support their families — and go to the theater, too.

What would such an experiment entail? First, a group of wise and experienced people would need to sit together to think about the idea seriously. They would ask such questions as: What is the state-of-the-art wisdom in this area? What do we know about teacher recruitment and retention in general education, since the shortage of committed and qualified teachers is a problem all over the world? They might

also ask: What are the minimal salary and benefits that would attract exceptional people to this profession?

They could develop a plan to test the idea and conduct well-considered tryouts with rigorous follow-up. And then they would ask questions: Is this approach working? Does it need minor changes or a major overhaul? Can it be replicated in other schools or communities?

To those who respond to an experiment in raising teachers' salaries by asking "How do you know it will make a difference?" the answer has to be, "We do not know – yet." But we do know that thinking, planning, monitoring, rethinking, reporting to the Jewish community, generating spin-offs and competing ideas, and engaging foundations and community leadership on specific issues appear to be among the necessary components of any effort to augment the ranks of teachers who can inspire and challenge us.

The problem of recruiting and retaining appropriate teachers is similar in Israel. The low salary and status of teachers, as well as the very large number of students in the Israeli classroom, have discouraged many of the most committed and talented teachers from remaining in the field. The difficulties have been complicated by the insistence of the Teachers' Union on a unified salary scale that does not distinguish between the more successful teacher and the less so. (This is true of teachers unions in many others countries as well.)

If a school or a community could develop a strategy for the recruitment and retention of talented teachers for Jewish education, it would be a powerful existence proof for a dramatic improvement of Jewish education.

The Team

Given the complexity of influences that shape an educational experience, what is a realistic plan for infusing the institutions of

Jewish education with compelling visions that bridge theory and practice?

As we have said, even the most wonderful principal cannot conceive, coordinate, and fulfill such an intricate assignment. No single teacher, nor a group of teachers, can be responsible for the translation of a vision's ideas into a school's practice. In order to move back and forth along the continuum of theory to real-life conditions, an educational institution needs a team.

In a day school, a team might be composed of the principal, the head of Jewish studies, the head of general studies, a curriculum specialist (whether full-time or a consultant), and whoever is charged with the continuing education of teachers, without which even the most sophisticated plan will remain on the drawing board. A scholar who is both committed to education and familiar with it is indispensable to the process. Such a scholar would need to be sensitive to the role that her discipline can play in the intellectual, emotional and spiritual development of the students. Furthermore, she would have to be aware of the background, abilities and problems of the teachers. If a school is preparing a new Bible program or adopting Greenberg's vision, such a Bible scholar would have to be a member of the team. If a school were changing its curriculum to integrate medieval history and Jewish history using primary sources, as Brinker advocates, it would need the help of a historian to compile an anthology of sources from both Jewish and Muslim history and philosophy. If a Meyer curriculum identifies the issues treated by contemporary Israeli literature in relation to Philip Roth's fiction, a school might want a specialist in American or even American Jewish literature.

An expert in informal education would also be a key member of the team. Because, as we have claimed, Jewish education involves not only thinking but feeling and doing, an informal educator could help a school conceptualize opportunities for its students to act on the ideas being taught. In informal contexts, students can try out the ideas and report what was resonant and what was problematic when they return to the classroom.

The head of administration would be as invested in the vision as the principal. She is the person in charge of finances, janitorial services, and timely communication of vital information for parents. But she would also have become a very knowledgeable, involved member of the team, not only developing the budget but interpreting its priorities and engaged in realizing them. She would continually educate her staff members, too, so that they care not only about efficiency and keeping the premises clean but also how these matters and others contribute to the learning environment of the school.

As the head of the team, the principal may decide to take leadership in dealing with the community and ask a local rabbi to serve as a consultant. Or the principal may say, "I am going to invite a key lay leader at the outset to contribute to formulating a vision, be an advocate for it, interpret it to the community, be a voice for the community at our table, and, not incidentally, run interference when the inevitable objections arise."

For example, the board chair of a Greenberg school would have to participate in the deliberations about why an intensive Hebrew study program in early childhood is indispensable in educating children who are capable of being touched by sacred texts. Then, when a group of board members proposes the underwriting of a feasibility study for a capital campaign to build a new wing of the school, rather than continuing to spend large sums of money on curriculum efforts such as Hebrew-language study, the board chair would remind them of their agreement that mastery of the Hebrew language is essential to the school's vision of Jewish education.

Schwab's commonplaces can function as a checklist that no critical elements are being omitted in any consideration of how to translate a vision's ideas into practice: Who is going to infuse the conversation with an understanding of the community's concerns? Who will guarantee the scholarly authenticity of the new material being taught? Who will have insight into what might engage the students? And who will make sure that teachers can master the material and the approach in a reasonable amount of time?

In Israel, or in any national education system, the notion of the team expands to mean that there are experts who need to be consulted in the appropriate departments of the Ministry of Education, such as the chief supervisor of the Department of Bible Instruction or the head of the Department of Teacher Education. These professionals decide on key policy issues for the Ministry and all its schools.

At the start of a new project, only an unusual school would be able to compose its team entirely of its own staff members. Realistically, most institutions would have to bring in consultants to fill particular roles. Not only does the school or program benefit from all the talent around the table, but the various specialists also have a unique opportunity to learn from each other.

Finally, if its teachers are offered ongoing opportunities for professional education over the course of their careers, a school may be able to build a team by using members of its own teaching staff, who have been trained over time to become experts in specific areas.

One reality is not negotiable: A spectacular educator can be the leader of a team that develops a school's vision but not a soloist. The range of diverse competencies and the time involved in implementation require the development of a team.

The Policy Maker

In his book, *Of Human Potential*, Israel Scheffler devotes a chapter to the education of policy makers. He describes them as "educational decision-makers, ... all those whose attitudes and ideas affect the making of policy."[40]

In this chapter, I use the term "policy maker" to refer to those people whose decisions — whether about vision, personnel, curriculum or

40 In this chapter, Scheffler describes a process of learning that begins with educational policy formulation and continues through execution and evaluation. Israel Scheffler, *Of Human Potential: An Essay in the Philosophy of Education* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 99–126.

budget — influence Jewish education. They may be professional Jewish educators, but also Israeli ministers of education and their deputies, heads of organizations whose mission includes Jewish education, foundations and their leadership, and especially lay leaders. This is the era in which lay leaders — in partnership with educators and others — are becoming essential to any version of a vibrant future for the field.

In the past, Jewish educators have been, for the most part, the dominant policy makers, their vision and energy responsible for important innovations and improvement. Today, we can see the extraordinary impact on the field when educators join forces with other policy makers — with lay leaders, rabbis, scholars, parents and intellectuals.

Jewish educators have tended to minimize the role of these policy makers in the improvement of education. Even in Israel, where it is clear that the policy makers — that is, the Minister of Education and the staff of the Ministry — are responsible by law for determining educational policy and practice, their influence is often underestimated by professional educators and their potential contribution unrealized. Because ministers are frequently lay people, in the sense that they have not been trained professionally for the field to which they have been appointed, educators tend to think of them as politicians rather than partners, obstacles to be overcome in securing approval — and funding — for new ideas and programs. In Israel, parents' groups and committed educators have even established semiprivate schools to circumvent the ministry's control.

In the Diaspora, too, policy makers who are not trained educators have seldom been involved in determining the goals, curriculum and pedagogy of Jewish education, matters that are largely decided at the local level by the principal, the staff, and consultants and at the national level by the professional heads of educational organizations and their staffs.

Nevertheless, in the past there were rabbis and scholars in the Diaspora and in Israel who, by making Jewish education a priority and

a passion, had a profound impact. In 1937, Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik founded the Maimonides School in Boston. Later, his daughter, Atara Twersky, and son-in-law, Isadore Twersky, joined him to build a leading institution of Orthodox education in North America. At the School for Overseas Students at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at Tel Aviv University, Nechama Leibowitz, a biblical scholar and scholar of literary theory, revolutionized the teaching of Bible throughout the Jewish world.

Organizations led by visionary professionals have also been instrumental in setting the course of Jewish education. In the 1950s, Ezra Milgrom, director of the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, a policy-setting group composed of rabbis, educators, and lay leaders, was the force behind the commission's decision that Conservative congregational schools had to hold classes for a minimum of three times a week. If a child did not attend, he would not be permitted to have his Bar Mitzvah at a Conservative synagogue. This decision, which affected the content and achievements of Jewish education in the Conservative movement, was adopted despite the fact that many congregational schools in the Reform movement at that time met one or, at most, two days a week.

Milgrom encountered great resistance from members of the Conservative rabbinate and lay leaders who were concerned that they would lose many congregants. Despite the opposition, he prevailed, a classic example of how the leader of an organization was consequential in setting policy for a movement.

In his book *Response to Modernity*, Michael Meyer describes the influence of Emanuel Gamoran on the education program of the Reform movement through the Commission on Jewish Education,[41] which Gamoran led: "Gamoran was tireless. He commissioned and edited new textbooks, worked out a religious school curriculum, and was co-author of a series of primers in modern Hebrew.... In the

41 The commission was under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations — Central Conference of American Rabbis (UAHC-CCAR).

interwar period, the UAHC was the only national organization printing such texts. By 1930 they were finding their way into Conservative, Orthodox as well as Reform schools."[42]

Not all heads of educational organizations are as strong or as skillful. Job role alone does not ensure the impact of a policy maker. Vision, determination and effective implementation do.

Foundations, too, have played a significant part in the improvement of Jewish education in the past. Today, as a result of their stunning growth and influence, Jewish foundations have the potential to make a huge contribution. Their support in the form of ideas, funding and advocacy is energizing the community and beginning to change the way Jewish education is conducted throughout the Jewish world and in Israel.

Although a volume could be written on how Jewish education is benefiting increasingly from the commitment and expertise of diverse policy makers, I want to focus my discussion of Jewish education in the Diaspora on lay leaders because of the pivotal role they can play in the translation of a vision's ideas into practice.[43]

We have already looked at lay leaders as policy makers when they are members of the educational team in a school. As we noted, lay leaders must be full participants in any serious attempt to infuse

42 Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 301.

43 In Israel, the Rothschild Foundation (Yad Hanadiv) has established some very important educational institutions, such as the Open University, educational television, and the Center for Educational Technology. The Sacta and Rashi Foundations make large contributions to programs that attempt to close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students, and have encouraged the development of promising programs to improve the curriculum and pedagogy of schools, particularly in the area of science education. The Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies have launched programs with the Ministry of Education to lengthen the school day with enrichment for various subjects in the curriculum. In 1999, Yossi Beilin, Israel's Minister of Justice, suggested to Michael Steinhardt that a program of educational trips to Israel be established for young Diaspora Jews (ages 18 to 26). The result was "Birthright Israel," a partnership among philanthropists, the government of Israel, and local Jewish communities that has sent 30,000 young adults to Israel for the first time.

the field with visions. If they are deeply immersed in the discussion from the start, they can become eloquent negotiators for change and improvement, as they have the ability and credibility to make the case on behalf of a vision to their peers. They can help guide the planning team on how to persuade parents and the community that what appears impossible is really only difficult, and that the ideal can indeed become real. And they know how to navigate in "the real world" — to move an idea into action.

These policy makers can also remind the rest of the team that in the adoption of a vision, there are indispensable elements — but also inevitable sacrifices of what cannot be included because it is either not essential or not practical. Then, when the principal is pressured by constituents to make a school all things to all people, the policy maker can help protect the vision by saying: "This is what our school stands for — and this is what we cannot do. This is the kind of person we are trying to nurture here; but if you want another kind of person, we are not the right place."[44]

Although institutions of higher Jewish learning, congregations, JCCs and Jewish foundations have made significant progress in introducing lay leaders to Jewish study, there is not yet a program designed to illuminate, in all its complexity, decision making within Jewish education.[45] If a single community decided to take on this

44 In *The Shopping Mall High School*, the authors describe the risks to high schools that, lacking a clear vision, attempt to meet everyone's desires. They claim that "in most American high schools, almost everything is available in small doses, and everything tends to have the same weight, the same ranking." In trying to anticipate every possible desire that a student or parent might have, these schools have turned into the academic equivalent of shopping malls. "Both types of institutions," the authors write, "are profoundly consumer-oriented. Both try to hold customers by offering something for everyone." They conclude that such high schools "take few stands on what is educationally or morally important." Arthur G. Powell, Eleanor Farrar, and David K. Cohen, *The Shopping Mall High School: Winners and Losers in the Educational Marketplace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), 3.

45 CLAL and the Wexner Heritage Foundation have developed adult education programs that introduce community leaders to the regular study of Jewish sources and their relevance to contemporary life.

challenge — a project to cultivate lay leaders as a cohort qualified to improve decision making in local and national Jewish education — the project could be emulated and adapted by many other communities. Such a project would also constitute an existence proof. Policy makers are very adept at using successful examples in practice to marshal support and broader communal involvement.

To learn how to foster such a cohort, to explore and develop a curriculum that inducts policy makers into the complexity of decision making and examines its effectiveness, and to understand how to transmit a vision such as Twersky's or Meyer's to leaders who are not educators is an increasingly necessary project. The implementation of the ideas that are basic to the various visions proposed in this volume, or any other visions, will require an immense investment by the worldwide Jewish community. It is unreasonable to expect such a commitment by policy makers unless they understand what is at stake and what can make a difference.

Having been initiated into the difficulty — and exhilaration — of making consequential decisions in Jewish education, such policy makers would understand that in a Twersky school the teachers must be Orthodox and in a Meyer school they must be Reform, but in a Brinker or Scheffler school the teachers' diversity is an asset. Policy makers involved in a Twersky school would want to know if philosophy is being taught, how it is being taught, and how early. Policy makers in a Greenberg school would ask: If we put all this effort into an intensive program for the study of the Hebrew language, what happens if we fail? And they would understand that a heavy investment in Hebrew acquisition and in students' mastery of text would necessarily come at the expense of other subjects, such as the intensive study of Jewish history. These policy makers would recognize the importance of evaluation and participate in it because of their thorough understanding of the relationship of a vision's goals to an institution's practice.

As policy makers, lay leaders are seldom experts in the content of Jewish education. Rather, they are intelligent, engaged citizens who

need to be informed by experts in order to make critical decisions. If an expert cannot explain his ideas to an interested and committed lay leader, it is the responsibility of that expert to learn how to frame the issues in a more comprehensible fashion. A school principal, for example, needs to know how to articulate and justify to her board chair what she wants to accomplish and why.

Rather than being a burden, an educator's work with policy makers — whether board members or parents — offers a priceless opportunity to expand the range of questions they can and should ask.

Today, unaware of alternative visions and possibilities for Jewish education, many lay leaders are limited to posing such questions as: Are the children happy? Are they learning anything? Are parents complaining? Do teenagers enjoy the sports program at our JCC? What is the attendance at our adult education lectures?

But they might be invited — indeed, encouraged — to ask:

- Why is this proposed program a good idea? Are there alternatives? Can we defend why we should choose this idea over other possibilities?

To address such questions, policy makers would learn that research is indispensable, both to check the assumptions underlying an idea and to find out if it has been attempted previously — and if it worked. If they are indeed inclined to the idea and want it to succeed, they could join educators to ask intelligent critics of the idea to take an active part in the deliberation. Then, by the time they decide to go ahead, they have already heard and learned from the most cogent criticism available.

- Even if it is a brilliant idea, is it one that our staff and our institution can carry out?

Understanding what is required for success, policy makers could ask: Do we have the resources of personnel, commitment, funding and patience? In a school setting, with which teachers will we work? What is the board's or foundation's responsibility? Which elements can be undertaken simultaneously and which must wait?

- If we conclude that we can do it, how long will it take to implement the idea, and how will we keep our constituency both informed and engaged until we succeed?

Policy makers would ask themselves: How can we foster a community of people who care about this idea and will persist in its support rather than give up along the way? Who will nurture them? Are we being honest with ourselves and our constituents about how long it will take, and have we allowed enough time for the inevitable mistakes and unanticipated consequences? If the program takes five years, can we identify the results that might be expected after six months, a year, or two?

- What will we do when the professionals charged with turning vision into practice lose heart?

At the School of Education of the Hebrew University, my colleagues and I found that, in the development of a curriculum for a vision, there are always serious obstacles in the first few months of its introduction into a school. The burden is particularly heavy for teachers, who find it difficult to change their style and habits as they encounter new content and innovative pedagogy. Policy makers can include in their planning the training of qualified people to work directly with teachers and be available to them to resolve their dilemmas.

- As members of a team, how can we, together, be able to evaluate what we have done? How do we know we are succeeding? Are we doing what we set out to do — or are we inadvertently accomplishing something else? How much time will we give ourselves if we fear we may be failing?

It is essential to monitor the project and to evaluate it at appropriate times throughout.

Policy makers who learn to ask these questions and others — whether through their participation in the nuts and bolts of implementing a program or, more rarely, their being educated to concern themselves with such questions — can transform the depth and impact of an idea and become ever more sophisticated in assessing the merits and hazards of future ideas.

What is the justification for allowing non-experts — lay leaders and others — to be so intimately involved in making decisions?

First, there are moral reasons. In the case of lay leaders who are involved in a school, it is often their children and grandchildren who are the focus of the education being designed. Their commitment represents a great act of faith.

Second, there are legal reasons. As mentioned, in Israel the law mandates that the Minister of Education make such decisions for the nation's education system.

Third, policy makers have power in education — and they will use it. It is important, then, for them to be thoughtful in its exercise.

Fourth, the field needs the resources of policy makers — government officials, opinion makers, funders and others — to maximize the impact of Jewish education.

Finally, policy makers bring wisdom and expertise that educators do not have.

To return to Schwab's commonplaces, policy makers as we have defined them are the experts on the milieu or the community environment in which education will be shaped and which it hopes to influence.[46]

For all these reasons, the relationship between Jewish educators and lay leaders is at long last being renegotiated. Certainly, the sorry state of some aspects of Jewish education reveals what happens when policy makers are not sufficiently involved. For Jewish educators to dismiss lay leaders as uninformed Jewishly or simplistic in their thinking is a luxury no one can afford.[47] All of us need a new conception of this partnership.

For their part, these policy makers have to join educators as

46 In Joseph J. Schwab, "Community: A Mission for the Schools" (unpublished manuscript); and "The Practical 4: Something for Curriculum Professors to Do," *Curriculum Inquiry* 13:3 (1983): 239–65, where he developed this point.

47 See Seymour Fox with William Novak, *Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions*, 35–38, on how the partnership has been viewed in the past.

partners in understanding what is being proposed, in all its daunting complexity. Schwab claims that there are seldom successful revolutions in education; change is necessarily incremental.[48] If policy makers involved in trying to improve education have the illusion that a simple solution is possible, they will be disabused of that notion as they become involved in the nitty-gritty of making it work.

Policy makers deserve to be initiated by learned, sophisticated and persuasive educators into an understanding that the value of an important idea may not be obvious from the start. Otherwise, they will be attracted to solutions whose impact may be more immediate and evident but will not result in real, measurable and lasting improvement.

Like communal leaders in the Diaspora, elected officials and senior civil servants in Israel are not trained educators but make determining decisions. For example, Zalman Aranne, Minister of Education from 1955 to 1960 and 1963 to 1969, was committed to help close the gap between the haves and have-nots in education. The wonderful Hebrew term for the disadvantaged, *te'unei tipuah,* means "requiring nurturing," which is how Aranne saw Israel's responsibility. There was a compelling body of research that showed how these children were likely to fail in school by the time they reached the fourth grade.[49] Aranne used to say: When you plant a tree in the shade and it dies, whose problem is it — the planter's or the tree's? These children have been brought up their entire lives in a context that has denied them the chance to develop.

Aranne decided to do nothing less than integrate the Israeli education system. He studied James Coleman's report on American

48 Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum," in *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, 287–321.

49 Chaim Adler, at the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University, documented how many of these students came from large families of low socioeconomic status. Parents, particularly mothers, had limited education and scant time to devote to helping their children adjust to and succeed in school.

public education, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,*[50] and accepted Abraham Minkowich's interpretation of the report — that if you join in a classroom 60 percent advantaged students to 40 percent disadvantaged, the advantaged do not lose but the disadvantaged make significant gains. Aranne then claimed that the seventh and eighth grades of the Israeli school system were not effective, and so he created junior high schools in Israel. Because they were a new institution on the educational landscape, he was able, in his ministerial role, to legislate the makeup of their population: He concluded that these new junior high schools must be integrated.

Today there is much disagreement about whether this experiment was successful. But for the purpose of our understanding the impact of a policy maker who oversaw the implementation of a vision, Aranne is an outstanding example.

Nor did he do it alone. Aranne worked closely with Joshua Prawer of the Hebrew University and Moshe Smilansky of Tel Aviv University, as well as with members of the faculty of the Hebrew University's School of Education. He consulted James Coleman and invited Ralph Tyler, the world-renowned expert in evaluation and dean of the faculty of the Division of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, to appear before the Knesset Committee on Education to discuss the successes and failures of junior high schools in the United States.

A great policy maker will involve thinkers of stature to guide, justify, interpret and criticize an idea before it is adopted and to accompany and evaluate its implementation.

In the translation of his vision into the Israeli education system, Aranne recruited not only scholars but also lay people as his partners. He encouraged the National Council of Jewish Women to establish The Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University. The Institute created more than twenty programs whose purpose was to improve the prospects of the disadvantaged child to succeed in school.

50 James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity.*

Other ministers of education translated their ideas into new institutions and programs. Yigal Alon, Minister of Education from 1969 to 1974, studied higher education in the United Kingdom and then intensified the work of the Council for Higher Education in Israel. As a result, the Council governs the policy and determines the budget of Israel's universities and colleges.

Zevulun Hammer, Israel's first Minister of Education from a religious party, created the Tali school programs out of his concern for the 70 percent of Israeli students in secular schools who were receiving a minimal Jewish education. Tali schools offer an alternative to the choice between Orthodox Jewish education and very little Jewish education by enlarging and intensifying the time a school devotes to Jewish studies, taught from a more pluralist perspective. Hammer prevailed despite the opposition of his own party, the National Religious Party.

Like Aranne, Alon and Hammer were guided in their work by academics and other consultants from Israel and elsewhere.

Ministers are not the only example of government officials who have made important contributions to educational policy. Mayors are another. For example, formal and informal education are different departments in the ministry and in city government as well. When Teddy Kollek was mayor of Jerusalem from 1965 to 1993, he realized the importance of integrating formal and informal education at the local level. In 1985, working with the city's director general, Michael Gal, Kollek combined the two departments into one unit, the Municipal Education Department (*Manhi*). It was now possible to integrate important aspects of formal and informal education in Jerusalem.

Although any government has its share of cynical bureaucrats, there are always policy makers who hold their positions for the noblest of reasons. They are operating within severe constraints — usually in office for a period too brief to effect the profound change required in education, tired and overwhelmed by the complexity of the challenge and yet committed to improving their societies. They need not only

inspiring ideas but ideas that can be implemented while they are still in office. Their time line for showing initial results may be as brief as six months to a year, and their perspective is often limited by that reality. Even more than the policy maker in Jewish education in the Diaspora, ministers of education and their deputies have to offer rewards that are evident to the public very soon after an idea is approved.

The cost of those constraints is best illustrated by superb ideas that were abandoned prematurely. In 1969, Lawrence Cremin, the distinguished historian of education and later president of Teachers College, Columbia University, delivered a lecture at the Hebrew University in which he described ideas that were abandoned "ten minutes before midnight." He urged Aranne and the ministry leadership, as well as some of Israel's leading academics in the social sciences and education, not to give up too early on promising ideas.

Michael Rosenak's essay poses the question: What might Jews of very different beliefs nevertheless share in their visions of Jewish education? When presented with drafts of this essay, communal leaders in several American cities responded with optimism to Rosenak's articulation of common elements. They saw a justification for their faith in developing a community-wide commitment to Jewish education and possibly even cooperation among diverse groups, based on respect and a true understanding of pluralism.

All of our scholars, devoted as they are to their particular visions of Jewish education, recognized and emphasized the importance of creating strong community support for Jewish education despite disagreements about goals, content and methods. They were deeply committed to pluralism as a central value for educated Jews. Twersky became so involved in this particular discussion that he wanted to write a book on the concept of *ahavat Yisrael* — love of one's fellow Jew — to provide a grounding in the tradition for why Jews have to find a way to respect each other and work together, particularly in Jewish education.

As recently as twenty-five years ago, the major priorities of Jewish organizations worldwide were the welfare and social services of

their communities and the rescue of Jewish communities in distress. Today, Jewish education has risen to be among the highest communal priorities. In Israel, too, within the last decade, the government has recognized that no matter how difficult the economic situation, the budget must continue to reflect the great importance of education to the electorate. The unrelenting advocacy of policy makers in the Diaspora and Israel is largely responsible for that transformation.

Conclusion: The Practicality of Great Ideas

These are encouraging times for Jewish education. Day schools are growing at an impressive rate. Increasing numbers of very talented people are entering the field in the Diaspora and Israel.

The Jewish community's faith in the potential of Jewish education is also bolstered by changing attitudes in the culture of the West, where there is a consensus about the power of education to advance society's goals and redress some of its inequities. If Jewish survival over millennia is owed in large measure to a remarkably consistent and unwavering emphasis on learning, today that value is reflected in the front-page coverage of educational issues and in national press conferences that highlight their importance to policy makers in government and philanthropy.

At the same time, there are fascinating problems in the Jewish world that demand new thinking and approaches. To cite a glaring example, there are approximately 650,000 Jewish students studying in day schools and supplementary schools in the Diaspora and approximately 30,000 educators who work in these schools. Yet there are fewer than 50 full-time professors of Jewish education in the entire Diaspora. If great ideas are essential for education, who is going to do the requisite thinking?

It is inconceivable that so small a number of specialists and academics can meet such challenges as preparing the missing cadre of teachers and principals; developing compelling curricula to

address the changing circumstances of young people; conceptualizing strategies to address the condition of the Jewish family in its strengths and shortcomings; adapting for Jewish education the state-of-the-art knowledge available on early childhood; training educators to specialize in informal education; and conducting the research to undergird all such efforts and inform us about what works and what does not.

Because there is almost no research being commissioned for the field of Jewish education in the Diaspora, we are creating programs, establishing institutions and investing increasingly substantial resources without sufficient data. We know almost nothing about the economics of Jewish education. How much is the world Jewish community currently spending on Jewish education? And how much more must it spend for our institutions to embody a range of compelling visions?

Throughout our project we encountered key research issues to be addressed: How do we educate for commitment? How can the curriculum of a school contribute to moral development? How can we integrate general education and Jewish education? Jewish history and general history? Jewish thought and contemporary philosophy? But almost no one is at work on these issues.

There was a time when pundits claimed that even if there were people who were interested in becoming professors of Jewish education, there would be no positions for them. Today, institutions of higher Jewish learning and universities in the United States are creating those positions — but they cannot find qualified candidates to fill them.

In the United States more than 60% of Jewish children who participate in Jewish education are enrolled not in day schools but in supplementary schools. And yet almost no attention is being devoted to this population. Available thinking and planning is focused on the day school, with scant energy remaining for the improvement — or reinvention — of the supplementary school. How can we justify to ourselves the neglect of those children, who deserve the same

thoughtfulness and creativity as their peers in day schools? What are alternatives to the current system? How could informal education contribute to the education of supplementary school students? What thoughtful experiments might be tried that are worthwhile and feasible?

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, ministers of education, intellectuals, and academics have been concerned about the difficulties — some contend the failure — of Jewish education for students in the secular education system. In recent years the impact of the religious education system on its students has also been a source of concern. Yet there has been very little systematic study of the kind of education that might lead young people and their families to grapple with the issues that will determine the Jewish character of the State of Israel:

How should the Bible be studied? How has Jewish thought developed throughout the ages and what are the themes that should be emphasized today? How can informal education make its full contribution and how can the youth movements be rejuvenated? What ideas might be examined both in the general and the religious systems of education in the hope that they could contribute to communication between the religious and secular communities in Israel?

We have contended that some of the most urgent problems require not immediate action but profound thought, and that outstanding people who are advocates for visionary ideas can make the most practical difference. Our great challenge today is not only financial resources but intellectual wealth. Now is the time to capture the Jewish mind, the disproportionate number of Jewish thinkers in the fields of education, social sciences, and humanities.

In working on this project, we were surprised and encouraged to find that such people were eager to join us in the thinking and experimenting that might help meet the many challenges of a renewed Jewish future. Some were attracted to Jewish education because of their search for their own Jewish identity. Others became involved because they were intrigued by basic issues, such as character education,

alternative ways to integrate formal and informal education, and the challenge of interpreting complex ideas to the public and its policy makers. They were excited about making a contribution to Jewish life in innovative ways.

What might happen if we could recruit enough of these gifted people? What would Jewish education look like if we could harness their knowledge, imagination and energy?

Above all, how might we launch and sustain a range of conversations among scholars, intellectuals, and policy makers — those in the field and those enticed to join us — in order to generate ideas for translation into the current settings of Jewish education, or into newly invented ones?

In a session devoted to considering the future of Jewish education in Israel and worldwide, David Cohen, of the University of Michigan, responded to the skepticism of Israeli academics by saying, "My friends, we dare not forget that education is a profession of hope."

There is no greater evidence for optimism than the history of the Jews, who have regarded learning as both the object of their aspirations and the most important means of fulfilling them.

Vision at the Heart:
Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions

Seymour Fox with William Novak

The Need for Vision

You've made the claim that every educational initiative should be guided by a clear and well-developed vision. But what may seem self-evident to you is not necessarily obvious to everyone. What makes you willing to allocate so much time and energy to what some people might view as an introductory or preliminary step in the creation of a new enterprise?

If you begin a new project with serious ideas and lofty ideals, some people will criticize you for being grandiose or for "too much thinking." And it is true that in the normal course of events you will invariably fall short of your carefully thought-out vision. That is the way of the world: If you start with cognac, you'll be lucky to end up with grape juice. But that's not a bad result when you consider the alternative — if you *start* with grape juice, you'll probably end up with Kool-Aid!

Let me put it another way. Education that is essentially *pareve* — that's neutral and doesn't take a strong stand — has little chance of succeeding. In my experience, all effective education has at its foundation a distinct and well-considered vision. The proof of that proposition is all around us. A few years ago, Dr. Marshall S. Smith, the current U.S. Deputy Secretary of Education, wrote a paper analyzing the many attempts to reform American schools during the 1980s. He

found that despite a great deal of new legislation and the expenditure of huge sums of money from both public and private sources, very little had actually improved. Among the few exceptions were those schools and institutions with a clear and substantial vision.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, a professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, made a similar point in her 1983 book, *The Good High School*. In an attempt to discover "what works," she visited and analyzed six well-regarded American secondary schools, of which two were urban, two were suburban, and two were "elite." She found that each of these schools had a distinct vision, and that the attempt to realize that vision was precisely what motivated the headmaster and the staff. In some of the schools, the concerns of teachers, administrators, and students were easy to identify because they were articulated explicitly; in others, the "repetitive refrains" and "persistent themes" were expressed in more subtle and indirect ways. But whether the visions that animated these schools were loudly proclaimed or quietly whispered, they were present in each of these institutions.

Another book from the mid-1980s, *The Shopping Mall High School* (by Arthur G. Powell, Eleanor Farrar, and David Cohen), examines the other side of the coin — that is, what happens when you maintain a school *without* a clear vision. In most American high schools, almost everything is available in small doses, and everything tends to have the same weight, the same ranking. The authors contend that in trying to anticipate every possible need and desire that a student or parent might have, these schools have turned into the academic equivalent of shopping malls.

"Both types of institution," they write, "are profoundly consumer-oriented. Both try to hold customers by offering something for everyone. Individual stores or departments, and salespeople or teachers, try their best to attract customers by advertisements of various sorts, yet in the end the customer has the final word."

In other words, if you offer everything, you stand for nothing. Or, as the authors conclude in an understatement, contemporary high schools "take few stands on what is educationally or morally important."

Does this mean that vision is a tough sell?

Yes, but it's getting easier. Five or ten years ago you had to convince people about the importance of vision, but today the idea is increasingly accepted – if only because we've all seen what happens in its absence. There is a professor at Stanford University who argues that in the business world, vision is even more important than leadership. He claims that if a company has a clear vision, and that vision becomes part of the culture and is internalized, the company can survive periods of weak leadership or even a move toward control by the bureaucracy. I believe this is true of educational institutions as well.

Anyone can claim that a particular idea constitutes a vision, so let's take a moment to establish what an educational vision is — and what it isn't.

A vision is a vibrant entity. It's a portrait of ideal human beings shaped by education – an image rich and exciting enough to guide your future choices. A vision is inspired by your belief about human possibility, while being influenced by your experience of human fallibility.

An educational vision must be able to answer certain questions: What kind of people will graduate from this school, camp, or other educational setting? What will they understand and believe? How will they behave? What will they know how to do? In what ways will they be able to contribute to the community? And what qualities, intrinsic to your vision, will enable them to keep growing and learning?

Vision, then, is inherently both dynamic and flexible. It is not a mission statement or a declaration of purpose, which often end up as frozen, static assertions. And a vision is more than a goal. Goals are important, but they are specific to a particular educational setting, or even a specific class or text. You might have one goal for teaching science and another for the study of Talmud. Out of your vision will flow a series of goals for educators, parents, community leaders, and students, who will apply or translate that vision into concrete programs.

A great vision will inspire educators to creativity and even to the

invention of new kinds of institutions. Goals certainly matter, but by themselves they're not sufficient. And they are often so pedantic as to leave no room for vision. A vision that is intelligent and worthwhile is guided by great ideas that will survive periods when those ideas are out of favor. In philosophy, for example, trends come and go, but you still find Platonists in every generation.

I would add that it's often easier to inspire people if you're presenting them with a vision that is essentially extremist or fanatic, that depicts the world in stark, well-defined, black-and-white polarities. The challenge is to inspire them with a vision that includes a commitment to concepts such as religious tolerance, pluralism, and democracy.

Visions in General Education

Let's look at some specific visions in American education.
John Dewey has been on my mind of late because I've been reading Alan Ryan's book, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism*. Although Dewey did most of his significant writing during the 1920s and 1930s, there's a renewed interest in him and his ideas today, just as I believe that in the Jewish world we will soon see a similar renewal of interest in the ideas of Mordecai Kaplan, who viewed himself as a student of Dewey.

Dewey had a vision of the world as ever changing, as people continually tried to modify themselves and their environment. He believed the best way to approach such a world was through rational efforts at perceiving problems and inventing solutions. Dewey had an unlimited optimism about what could be achieved by the combined powers of science and the intellect, and his vision led to a revolution in American education.

Today, it is difficult to appreciate just how significant a place he occupied in American culture. On the first page of his book, Ryan quotes the eminent historian Henry Steele Commager, who

observed that “for a generation no issue was clarified until Dewey had spoken.”

Dewey’s followers took many of the ideas he wrote about and applied them to practice. The same is true of the followers of the spiritual philosopher Rudolf Steiner, who established hundreds of Waldorf schools across the country. To this day, his followers discuss every issue, down to what color to paint the walls in order to achieve a particular result that is part of Steiner’s vision. Whenever you have a vision that excites and inspires people, they continually ask themselves what it would take to translate it into practice.

Another example of a successful vision is the one developed at the University of Chicago. Robert Maynard Hutchins led the school during the 1930s and 1940s, but his influence endures to this day. His vision had to do with the centrality of great ideas, which in turn generated the Great Books movement. Over the years, Chicago has probably produced more Nobel Prize winners and university presidents than any other institution of higher learning. It was a uniquely dynamic place that was guided by a vision, and it has remained a great center of intellectual excitement.

Visions in Jewish Education

And in the Jewish world?

Any number of important visions have influenced Jewish education over the years, and many of them have been directed, either explicitly or implicitly, at the larger Jewish world. Maimonides wanted to prepare young people for a society that would reflect his concept of Judaism, in which the intellect played a central role. Centuries later, in a very different era, the modern Zionists believed that to create a new, vibrant society in the Jewish homeland, you had to educate a new type of individual.

One of the most important family dynasties in Jewish education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was that of the Brisker

Rav of Lithuania, whose descendants include the Soloveitchiks. The followers of the Brisker Rav established a network of important and influential yeshivot. In some cases, they deliberately chose to teach and study texts that other rabbis felt were impractical, such as the sections on animal sacrifices or the regulations pertaining to the Temple in Jerusalem. Most other yeshivot in those days concentrated on sections of the Talmud that were more immediately applicable — texts that dealt with topics such as civil damages, marriage and divorce, the rituals of prayer — cases of Jewish law that you could actually *use*.

But the Brisker Rav's followers insisted that to ignore the more esoteric sections of the Talmud was to miss the point. As they saw it, the classical texts constituted a coherent system. If you omitted certain sections, you were not only in danger of distorting the tradition; you were also liable to overlook some great treasures. Who is to say where you will find the most significant ideas? One cannot presume to know where the highest wisdom lies.

Another major nineteenth-century educational reform movement was the Musar movement, with its emphasis on *mitzvot ben adam l'chavero* [the commandments pertaining to interpersonal relations]. The Musarists introduced a serious concentration on moral and spiritual issues into the yeshiva world of Lithuania. In most yeshivot, Musar [ethics] had been considered "soft," unworthy of significant attention. But in the late nineteenth century, the followers of Rabbi Israel Salanter developed entire institutions that emphasized Musar. They believed that the exclusive emphasis on *pilpul* [the concentration on subtle, legal, conceptual differences] in most yeshivot could lead to a distortion of Judaism and the inability of the students to develop sufficient social and ethical sensitivities. The Musarists were reacting to a world they viewed as both excessively intellectual and insufficiently concerned with morality and personal responsibility.

Their opponents countered that the Musarists were demeaning the power of the text, which in itself contained the power to affect people's behavior. But over time the Musarists prevailed, and their influence penetrated most of the Lithuanian yeshivot.

The Vision of Ramah

Let's jump forward a few decades and take a close look at an important Jewish educational institution in which you were intimately involved: Camp Ramah. In the late 1940s, the founders of Ramah could have invested their energies in any number of projects. Why a summer camp?

Ramah was a response to problems that Jewish education had to confront in the years following World War II — problems that we still face today. First, most Jewish children were not being exposed to meaningful Jewish experiences during their early, formative years. Second, most Jewish families did not significantly contribute to the Jewish education of their children. Third, most North American Jews didn't live in an environment that supported the values of Judaism. In an era when children of immigrants were busily trying to become Americans, the Jewish character of most Jewish homes was declining. The founders of Ramah wanted to go beyond what a school could achieve. By trying to create a special enclave, an entire subculture, they sought to accomplish what the family and the community were no longer willing or able to do.

We wanted to create an educational setting where young people would be able to discover their Judaism and learn how to live it in their daily lives. We hoped this would nurture Jews who were both deeply committed to their tradition and actively involved in American society.

Why a camp? Because even the best school operates only part of the day. We wanted to create a real and total society that would respond to the whole person, twenty-four hours a day, even though we could maintain that society for no more than eight weeks at a time. Within that framework, which would include daily classes for every camper, our aims could be educational in the boldest sense — not only teaching Hebrew, but grappling with all kinds of social concerns: How should counselors treat campers? How should the drama coach react when a child misses his cue during a performance? Because Ramah was

a round-the-clock society, our basic source, often explicitly, was a vibrant, living *halakhah*.

Take the inevitable conflict between competence and compassion. It's good to improve your baseball skills, and it's wonderful to win the game, but when you're striving for excellence people sometimes get hurt. You have to draw a line between the need to win, or to excel, and a concern for people's feelings. Whether it was sports, or the arts, or Hebrew, our goal was to lower the possibility for hurt without seriously compromising the aspiration for excellence. The phrase "not living up to his/her potential" was heard often, which led to a measure of disequilibrium in the lives of the campers. There was an emphasis on ethics and caring—but also on growth. Ramah was not a laid-back place.

The founders of Ramah could have invested their energy in a cluster of day schools. Ultimately they chose camping, because the issues that they believed needed to be addressed could not be addressed by a school, not even a day school. Among other limitations, a school isn't the best place to nurture a child's Jewish emotional development. The challenge of Ramah was to educate the entire child—including his or her mind. We wanted to pay equal attention to emotional and spiritual issues, and to the articulation and living out of Jewish values.

The Jewish Ideas behind Ramah

It's generally known that Ramah's Jewish vision was guided by the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary. But who were these scholars, and what, exactly, did they contribute?

I would start with Professor Louis Finkelstein, who was the primary figure in Conservative Judaism during Ramah's early years. He was president of the Seminary during the 1940s, when Ramah was established, and chancellor during the 1950s and 1960s, when the camps flourished. He believed the Talmud embodied a great ethical message, a message that spoke not only to Jews but to the larger society as well. In 1951, he was featured in a *Time* Magazine cover story as the leader of a

Jewish renaissance in America. In 1958, Dr. Finkelstein even wrote an article on business ethics for *Fortune* Magazine as a result of a meeting with Henry Luce, the magazine's founder, who had called him in to discuss the negative image of Jews and Judaism in the business world.

Above all, Dr. Finkelstein relished the opportunity to apply Talmudic principles to the issues raised by living in a modern American society. During the McCarthy hearings, he actually wanted to be summoned to testify. He wanted to tell the Committee: "I will not answer you, because you have no right to question me this way. America is based on the ideal of human dignity. In our tradition, we also have a conception of human dignity. Parts of it are delineated in the volume *Sanhedrin* of the Talmud in a concept known as *drishah v'chakirah*, which deals with how you may question a witness. And you cannot interrogate an individual in this manner."

This was an essential Finkelsteinian response: Americans are sensitive to the Bible, and the Jewish interpretation of the Bible ought to become part of the public discourse. Dr. Finkelstein wanted Jews to compete in the American marketplace of ideas from within their own tradition, especially with regard to ethics and social behavior. He once said that we Jews have been living on top of a volcano from the very beginning of our history, and we therefore had a great deal to offer a world that was beginning to understand that now we were *all* living on top of a volcano.

In postwar America, Dr. Finkelstein was viewed as a sage who spoke out of a long and venerable tradition. He delivered the invocation at President Eisenhower's inauguration, and Eisenhower used to consult with him surprisingly often on ethical matters. One of Finkelstein's proudest achievements was the Seminary's Conferences on Science, Philosophy and Religion, where many individuals from a variety of world views and traditions would address a single theme, such as peace or equality. Louis Finkelstein's most significant influence on Ramah was his passion to create educated Jews who were active and responsible citizens.

Next, I would cite the great Talmudic scholar Professor Saul

Lieberman and his emphasis on the close and careful study of Jewish texts. When the first Ramah camp opened in 1947, people were incredulous: "You're establishing a summer camp that includes *classes*?" In those days, young people went to camp to get *away* from classes, although there were some prominent exceptions, such as the Interlochen camps for students with exceptional musical talent. It was only much later that summer camps were established for the study of science or computers.

In effect, we were running a school within the camp, complete with its own educational director and staff. The daily classes were mostly text-based, and it was quite possible to spend a large part of the summer on just a few verses. Teaching was considered a full-time job, and the teachers were not given other duties, although multiple tasks would have made more sense economically. They therefore had ample time to prepare for class and were available after classes to any camper who might seek them out.

At Ramah we believed in exposing ideas to critique and inquiry rather than presenting them dogmatically. We never sought intellectual obedience. A common question the Talmud asks is: *Minah hani mili*? How do you know? The risk, of course, is that students will pose this same question about the central assumptions of religious belief. How do you *know* there's a God? How do you *know* God or Moses wrote the Torah? One must allow these questions, and all questions, while recognizing that a tradition that encourages difficult questions will every now and then produce a Spinoza, an Einstein, or a Freud, who will operate outside of the system.

The main purpose of text study at Ramah was to uncover the basic ideas of Judaism, which isn't always a simple proposition. In those days, the Seminary didn't allow the Five Books of Moses to be taught in the Rabbinical School because they would have to be studied critically and scientifically. Biblical criticism was so rife with controversy, especially the issue of the authorship of the Five Books of Moses, that the Seminary responded by avoiding the study of these texts entirely. The Prophets? Fine. But not the Torah.

Meanwhile, at Ramah we were experimenting with the curriculum on Genesis that was prepared by the Melton Center for Research in Jewish Education. (The Melton Center was founded in 1960 at the Seminary; among its activities was a program to develop a new curriculum for the teaching of Bible in Jewish supplementary schools.) To a considerable extent, Ramah served as a testing ground for Melton material. This material, which included Professor Nahum Sarna's important book *Understanding Genesis*, argued that whether or not the Biblical text was divine in origin, it contained profound ethical and religious messages.

In the early 1960s, the volume on Genesis was in galleys, but we still didn't have official approval to use it. I went to see Professor Lieberman – not because I had to, but because it would have been irresponsible not to check with the Seminary synagogue's rabbi, who was officially responsible for the interpretation of Jewish law at the Seminary. I took with me a report on the social studies program of the Westchester public schools, where the students were being taught to distinguish among "science" (meaning The Truth), "philosophy" (meaning True Ideas), and "religion" (meaning, in this context, myths and legends).

"This is what we're up against," I told Professor Lieberman, "and this is why we're publishing our book on Genesis. Whether or not the reader regards the Torah as being divine in origin, we are demonstrating that it offers an enormously important ethical and religious message."

At the time, much of the Seminary's theological position was roughly equivalent to what you might find today in some quarters of modern Orthodoxy. Ramah, however, was willing to take risks in order to achieve its educational goals, and the Seminary faculty was generally sympathetic to those needs.

Another important influence was Professor Mordecai Kaplan's view of Judaism as a civilization. He defined God as "power that makes for salvation." He wanted to reconstruct traditional Jewish theological ideas so as to transform them from an otherworldly conception to

a personal and social this-worldly conception of salvation. He was seen as a heretic by some of his Seminary colleagues, who regarded his views as a demythologization of God. Some of Kaplan's colleagues believed that he was essentially a sociologist who had wandered off into theology. As the story goes, Kaplan replied that if the Seminary greats, especially Louis Ginsberg and Saul Lieberman, had dealt with theological questions, he would have left them alone; but their failure to address these issues forced him to attempt to fill the vacuum.

Kaplan joined the centuries-old conversation between Judaism and the great philosophers. He wanted Judaism to be in constant relationship with the world around it, and he brought the elements of music, art, and drama into central focus as legitimate religious concerns and expressions.

At the other end of the spectrum, Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel's religious vision was a major influence on Ramah. Dr. Heschel believed that Jewish rituals and symbols embodied a deep and profound message about the way human beings should live. He viewed Shabbat as a great gift to the world, a sanctification of time in a society where that sanctity was continually being violated. Heschel was amazed, for example, when the dates of certain American holidays were shifted merely for the convenience of having them coincide with a three-day weekend. "Can you imagine changing Rosh Hashanah so that it always falls on a weekend?" he asked.

For Heschel, prayer was the way for an individual to make contact with his innermost self. The whole question of what *t'fillah* [prayer] meant at Ramah was deeply influenced by Heschel and his students, including the concept of *kavannah* [devotional intention] and the idea of *t'fillah* as an opportunity for contemplation and self-improvement. But Heschel was also very concerned about the role of religion in the larger world. He marched in Selma with Martin Luther King as an expression of his own religious tradition. He believed that the most profound ideas in Judaism speak directly to contemporary social and political concerns.

Finally, there was Professor Hillel Bavli, a poet and professor of Hebrew literature. Dr. Bavli functioned as a kind of watchdog who made sure we really were using enough Hebrew at Ramah – no easy task. All of us believed that if you wanted to understand and be part of Jewish history, you had no choice but to master Hebrew; that was how you joined the ongoing conversation with Rashi, Maimonides, and all the other great commentators and philosophers. Hebrew was also a vital link to the State of Israel, although it must be acknowledged that Finkelstein wasn't a Zionist at first, and neither was I.

After years of success, it may be difficult to appreciate what an outrageous idea it was at the time to try to run a Conservative movement summer camp in Hebrew. Camp Massad was doing it, of course, but Hebrew and Zionism *were* Massad's religion. In the Conservative movement, which was competing with other forces in the struggle to define authentic Judaism in the twentieth century, to have Hebrew as the official language of Ramah was an additional yoke around our necks. The importance of Hebrew is far from self-evident, and today Hebrew is on the wane even in some day schools. If you can acquire the same ideas in translation, why go through all the trouble of studying a whole new language?

At Ramah we believed that Jewish education, effectively carried out, would result in young people who were deeply rooted in their tradition through their attachment to Jewish texts, which they would now grapple with because they had already mastered the necessary skills. Once you introduce students into the *method*, anyone can join the ongoing conversation. In our tradition, there is no way around it: The method must involve Hebrew.

But it's also possible to go too far, to stress Hebrew so much that you err in the other direction. In some Jewish communities, such as Mexico and Argentina, there are schools where Hebrew has become the main goal of Jewish education, and content is secondary. While Hebrew is essential, it is not sufficient. You need several other components – *mitzvot*, prayer, and a communal consciousness on several levels: one's immediate community, the extended Jewish community, one's

national society, and the world at large. At Ramah we tried to bring all of these components together.

I regarded these five men — Louis Finkelstein, Saul Lieberman, Mordecai Kaplan, Abraham Joshua Heschel, and Hillel Bavli — as our teachers. I spent hours talking with them, and to some extent I saw my mission as one of serving as the conduit between this older generation and the next.

Ideas into Action: The Melton Faculty Seminar

In addition to these five professors, Ramah was also influenced by the Melton Faculty Seminar, which discussed and debated the essential principles that would guide the camp. The Seminar, which ran through the late 1950s and 1960s, included some of the younger scholars at the Seminary, such as Walter Ackerman, Chaim Brandwein, Gerson Cohen, Sylvia Ettenberg, Lloyd Gartner, Avraham Holtz, Joel Kraemer, Morton Leifman, Shmuel Leiter, Yochanan Muffs, Louis Newman, Fritz Rothschild, Nahum Sarna, and David Weiss Halivni. To the best of my knowledge, the Melton Faculty Seminar was the longest ongoing deliberation on Jewish education in the United States.

Essentially we tackled two fundamental questions. First, what were the motifs, the essential themes that we wanted the camper to internalize through the Ramah experience? And second, what were the best ways to realize these goals?

We gradually arrived at a consensus on various points, and we formulated concepts that are still in use today. There was a productive dialogue between the ideas of these scholars and their application at Ramah. A professor might teach an exciting course at the Seminary, and the following summer his students would be teaching it at Ramah — to the staff, or perhaps even to the older campers.

The Seminar was always asking: What is the relevance of this particular Jewish idea, and when and how should it be taught? Some of these Seminar scholars taught at Ramah, because it was a place

where you could not only be excited by ideas, but could witness their application in real-life situations. In fact, it was taboo to treat theory and practice as separate domains.

Ideas in Creative Tension

Two of the Seminary professors you mentioned, Heschel and Kaplan, had such different outlooks that they're generally seen as representing opposite poles of contemporary Jewish theology. Did these differences lead to problems in a camp that was searching for a clear religious ideology?

No, because from the start Ramah recognized that Judaism is too complex to be guided by a single perspective. Within a philosophical system, an eclectic approach can be problematic because philosophers strive for coherence. But while Ramah was guided by ideas, it was also a practical place where ideas were put into action, and where an eclectic approach could provide a rich source of energy. The fact that both ends of the theological spectrum were represented at Ramah added intellectual tension and excitement.

The Seminary professors who served as mentors represented differing and sometimes conflicting ideas. But their various approaches had already managed to coexist within the framework of the Seminary. Ramah tried, and was often able, to take their different conceptions a step further by building a society that was guided by a similar multiplicity of visions. Fortunately, the people embodying these various visions were willing to affirm that all of us had far more in common than not.

But even when there is agreement on the fundamental principles of Judaism, there are inevitable differences as to how those fundamentals should be combined. Dr. Yochanan Muffs, a Seminary Bible scholar, once pointed out that the three basic principles of Judaism set forth in *Pirke Avot* [*Ethics of the Fathers*, an accessible and well-known section of the Talmud] — Torah, *avodah*, and *g'millut chasadim* [study,

prayer, and acts of loving-kindness] — while mutually supportive and reinforcing, are not always in harmony with each other.

Focus exclusively on the study of Torah, and the result will be disembodied intellects, which was precisely what concerned the Musarists. Focus only on prayer, and you risk becoming excessively inner-directed, which can lead to reclusiveness, removal from the world, and a passivity that is inconsistent with mainstream Judaism. Finally, *mitzvah* on its own can lead to a simplistic and mechanical pattern of observance. Piety is a beautiful thing if you're living in an uncomplicated world, but that's not our reality. The answer is to try to integrate these three forces so that they all form part of the same picture.

The Educational Ideas behind Ramah

We've looked at the major Jewish influences on Ramah, but that's only part of the story. Ramah also made extensive use of experts from the worlds of general education and the social sciences.

Because what we were trying to create required a wider range of expertise, we decided to supplement the Seminary faculty by inviting some of the leading scholars in the humanities, social sciences, and education to join us. We were determined to have the worlds of general and Jewish education "interpenetrate." The additional scholars who formed the Melton Advisory Board included some of the most thoughtful, creative minds in the field, such as Goodwin Watson, the social psychologist; Fritz Redl, the psychoanalyst; Ralph Tyler, Dean of Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, and a powerful force in American education; and Lawrence Cremin, the eminent historian of education.

Two of the scholars in this group were especially important to Ramah: Joseph Schwab, the prominent philosopher of education and curriculum theorist, and Bruno Bettelheim, the renowned psychoanalyst, who regarded Ramah as a marvelous experiment. I

had written my doctoral thesis about Freud and education under the guidance of both men at the University of Chicago.

The members of our Advisory Board were not paid for participating. They were attracted to Ramah by the scope of the project and were excited by the idea of being part of it. They were also impressed by how serious we were about training educational leaders. Professor Schwab even came to camp before the campers arrived to lead seminars for the staff.

Recently, somebody asked me what motivated these high-profile professors – some with little or no interest in Judaism, others who were not even Jewish – to contribute so much of their time and energy to Ramah. The answer, I think, has to do with scholars' wish for immortality, which occurs when people read their books and put their ideas into practice. Schwab not only generated ideas; he lived to see them acted upon at Ramah, at Melton, and many other places. What we offered these scholars, as well as the Judaic scholars on the Faculty Seminar, was a living laboratory in which to try out their ideas. Somehow we were able to inspire in them a confidence that the various plans and ideas we discussed around the conference table would actually materialize. What was talked about in November was often part of the camp's program the following summer. Moreover, we never undertook a project without first discussing it with them and paying close attention to their comments. We were giving these scholars an unusual opportunity – the possibility of making a real impact on a society.

Schwab, in particular, viewed Ramah as an ideal place to create disciples. Certainly he was the most important force in shaping my own ideas about education.

Could you say more about him? Schwab seems to have been the key figure in this group, but his name is not well-known today.

Joseph Schwab was born in a small town in Mississippi, where the entire Jewish community consisted of half a dozen families. Although he grew up knowing little about Judaism, he became intrigued by

certain Jewish concepts, such as *mitzvah*. He devoted a great deal of his time to Ramah; between 1952 and 1966 I spent at least two days a month with him. He helped us think through issues such as the connection between the cognitive (intellectual) and the affective (emotional) aspects of education. There was a natural fit between his ideas and our vision.

I should explain that Ramah was built on the belief that you have to make contact with young people on all levels — the intellectual, the emotional the spiritual, and the aesthetic. Some people are touched by music, while others are tone-deaf. Some will respond especially to prayer, or to Shabbat, or to social justice, or to the intellectual challenge in the rabbinic commentaries, or to theology.

Ideally, of course, youngsters will respond to several or even all of the many components within Judaism. Our tradition offers a great deal, and the mind is not the only means of access to it.

In an essay entitled "Eros and Education," Schwab argued that the human mind is not only cerebral but also passionate, and the intellect is not an emotion-free area. He also believed there were hardly any emotional areas that did not include cognitive elements. Schwab was convinced that for education there was no meaningful distinction to be drawn between mind and body, or between intellect and emotion.

Schwab wrote in that essay that Eros was all about "the energy of wanting." He believed that the definition of "to know" had to include "to do." The aim of education, he said, was to produce "*actively* intelligent people," whom he described in this way:

> They *like* good pictures, good books, good music, good movies. They *find pleasure* in planning their active lives and carrying out the planned action. They hanker to make, to create, whether the object is knowledge mastered, art appreciated, or actions patterned and directed. In short, a curriculum is not complete which does not move the Eros, as well as the mind of the young, from where it is to where it might better be.

We also consulted with Schwab on how best to teach traditional Jewish texts. This was familiar territory for him because at the college of the University of Chicago nobody used textbooks, only primary sources. We spent hours with him discussing, for example, how best to teach adolescents the story of Jacob, Rebecca, and Isaac in the Book of Genesis. As presented in the text, Jacob and Rebecca can be viewed as scheming co-conspirators against Isaac. Jacob is deceitful, his mother is less than honest, and together they mislead poor Isaac into giving the birthright to Jacob instead of to Esau, the first-born.

How do you explain what is at stake here — the future of the people of Israel? How can you help adolescents discover that what appears to be a story about personal gain, about acquiring the birthright and its privileges, is actually a story about the future of the Jewish people: Which of Isaac's sons is qualified to forge a nation? How can you teach teenagers to consider the idea that a great leader can have great flaws, a persistent theme in the Torah? How do you convey to them that there are often shades of gray, when adolescents tend to see only black and white?

This is a tremendous challenge, and we discussed it with Schwab at length. Freud wrote in *Civilization and its Discontents* that the way most educators prepare young people for the world is the intellectual and moral equivalent of sending explorers on a polar expedition outfitted in summer clothing. How do you tell young people the truth about the world without doing damage to their innate idealism and hope?

Schwab was also involved in our work in leadership education. If you look at how leadership training has evolved in recent years, you will see two main schools of thought. The British school says: Study the greats. Plato, Aristotle, and John Locke will provide you with all the principles you will need. Alfred North Whitehead claimed that everything he had ever required to live the good life he found in the Bible and the literature of ancient Greece.

The American model, as you may expect, is more directly pragmatic. The Harvard Business School says: If we can provide enough case

studies that illustrate the principles and include the situations you are likely to encounter during your career, you will succeed in the real world.

Schwab helped us develop a third conception, which was essentially a blend of the other two and which fit in perfectly with the goals of Ramah: Teach young people the principles that have guided your tradition, and give the students exercises in analyzing practice in view of these principles. They must then ask themselves: If I acquire, accept, and understand these principles, what will my practice be like?

What was the contribution of Bruno Bettelheim?

First, I must say that although Bettelheim's reputation has been challenged in recent years, that in no way diminishes his important contribution to Ramah. Second, although some members of the Melton Advisory Board responded to Ramah in terms of their Jewish background, that wasn't the case with Bettelheim, who regarded Judaism and all religions as anachronistic. And yet he clearly appreciated what we were trying to do educationally.

As a graduate student at the University of Chicago I had worked at Bettelheim's Orthogenic School for emotionally disturbed children. Once, with the *chutzpah* of youth, I said to him that the school didn't always measure up to his descriptions of it in his book, *Love is Not Enough*.

"You're right," he replied. "The book outlines what the school was *supposed* to be." He acknowledged that it often fell short of its vision, but that didn't mean it wasn't guided and directed by that vision.

One of the distinguishing marks of Bettelheim's school was its creation of a "home haven," a comfortable and safe setting for the children. To make this happen, Bettelheim used every resource at his disposal – from architecture to food. We believed that a camper's cabin at Ramah should function in a similar way, as a supportive environment against the inevitable pressures and problems created by an intense milieu. Bettelheim helped us understand how best to bring this about.

We were influenced by Bettelheim when we asked that each camp director show us the menu for the first few days of the summer. We wanted to make sure that all our camps were serving familiar foods like hamburgers — foods that would facilitate the smoothest possible transition from a youngster's home to this new environment. We also made sure that we were prepared to provide as many additional helpings as a camper wanted, so that nobody would leave the table feeling hungry, especially during the first week. We even had the counselors serve extra snacks at night. We were a bit extreme when it came to food, especially with all those Freudians on our board!

Another lesson I learned from Bettelheim was the significance of the school custodian, who, for some students, was a more significant educational figure than the teachers or other professionals. At Ramah we paid close attention to the character of all the people we hired, not only the counselors, specialists, and teachers, but the service staff as well. Many of our dishwashers were students from Ivy League colleges. They didn't know Hebrew, but they wanted to be at Ramah and would accept any job in order to spend a summer at camp. We responded by giving them the best teachers, including, quite often, the professor-in-residence.

Bettelheim stressed the distinction between education and therapy — that while education could be enormously therapeutic, we shouldn't confuse the two. He also taught us that there ought to be a place in camp where campers could be wild and noisy, and another place where a youngster could find peace and quiet. And it was Bettelheim who introduced me to the distinguished Harvard psychoanalyst, Erik Erikson. In his biographies of Martin Luther and Gandhi, Erikson portrayed charismatic individuals as unreconstructed adolescents who continued to believe that the world could be changed and that history was reversible. This was an idea educators needed to hear, and before long, Erikson's books were being read and discussed at Ramah.

Finally, Bettelheim helped us understand that we had a tremendous built-in advantage that we hadn't fully been aware of: Because

Ramah was in opposition to American suburban values, the camp was inherently countercultural in a way that was attractive and yet constructive to adolescents in rebellion against their elders.

A Philosophical Commitment to Excellence

It seems to me that during its earlier years, Ramah was unapologetically elitist in a way that might not be acceptable these days.

Back then, of course, elitism was a commonly shared assumption, and nobody questioned it. It was a necessary consequence of a commitment to excellence. The Seminary sought out great scholars and the best possible students, and to a large degree it succeeded. Ramah wasn't open to everybody. It was often difficult to get in, and there were waiting lists. We believed that if you invested in the right people, they could change the world. We believed that with talent and hard work, anyone could make it to the top. But we also believed there *is* a top.

From Theory to Practice

We've looked at some of the intellectual background that helped create Ramah. I'd be interested in how some of the ideas and principles that came up in the Melton Faculty Seminar were ultimately expressed in practice.

Obviously, the leap from the theoretical to the practical is a big one. How do you fill the enormous gap between a text, the internalization of its message, and its incorporation into behavior? How do you move from mastering an idea to living it? And how does your practical experience affect your theory and help you revise it?

Although we didn't articulate it in exactly these terms, we were working with a process that involved five levels.

The first level is philosophy, and it asks theoretical questions. What is your conception of Judaism, of an ideal Jewish society, and of the

individual? What is your conception of knowledge? Does knowledge consist of a mastery of facts? Of basic principles? If you know, will you therefore do?

The second level narrows the scope to the philosophy of education. How does your philosophy guide your conception of education? In our case, how do your ideas about Judaism shape the vision of what education should or can be?

The third level deals with the theory of practice, and takes the process one step further. How does your philosophy of education shape and alter your educational goals? How does it shape your conception of curriculum, or of teacher education, or of informal education?

The fourth level brings the discussion to actual practice: pedagogy, in-service education, and classroom management.

The fifth level consists of monitoring and evaluation, which serves as a corrective for each and all of the levels.

But these levels are not linear, and you need not move from Level One to Level Five. Some of the most effective work in education begins with Level Five — with a careful, critical look at your ongoing program, which often demonstrates that you may not be accomplishing what you set out to do. This may lead you to reexamine your practice or your philosophy of education, which may in turn lead you to reconsider your basic assumptions about Judaism and knowledge. In other words, you return to Level One.

In our discussions about Ramah, we often started from Level Four and then moved on to Levels One through Five. Moving from theory to practice, or from practice to theory, is a dynamic process that forces you to constantly observe, rethink, and — ideally — change and improve.

These distinctions are still somewhat theoretical and abstract. Could we look at a specific area, such as* t'fillah *[prayer], in light of these five levels?

If you are considering how to deal with *t'fillah* in an educational setting, the five levels might apply as follows:

Level One: What is prayer? Why do we praise God, who clearly doesn't need our praise? One answer, suggested by Maimonides, is that God is a role model. When we praise God for being merciful, we do so in order to articulate and emulate that particular quality. If we restricted our discussion to this sort of issue, we would have a philosophical treatment of prayer.

Level Two might ask: What is the role of prayer in your philosophy of education? What specific ideas about it do you want to convey to children? How do you make contact with the spirituality of a child?

With Level Three we move into ideas that will guide educational practice. Can these ideas be taught to younger children? You might decide that you really can't accomplish much in this area until you make people sensitive to words, because the whole assumption of prayer is that reading or chanting certain words will set off something inside you. Or you might ask whether meditation fits into your understanding of Jewish prayer. And if it does, how will you teach it?

Actually, that last question brings us to Level Four, which deals with pedagogy. How, in the classroom, will teachers help students develop a sensitivity to words or to *nusach* [the traditional chant of the prayer service]? How will teachers be trained to carry out these assignments?

Level Five asks: As you monitor this activity, how will you make the necessary changes as a result of what you observe or learn? Does your experience support your theory?

As long as we're talking about prayer, could you explain why, given the general intellectual openness of Ramah, it was mandatory for campers to attend services every morning?

In order to reject something you first need to experience it, and at Ramah you could experience religious services under optimal conditions. As Schwab used to say about music, the sonata form isn't something you immediately respond to. It takes hard work and experience before you appreciate it. Similarly, for *t'fillah* to succeed

you have to work at it and experience it. Eventually it becomes meaningful — or it doesn't. Rejection is always an option, as long as it's thoughtful and considered.

We believed that most young people who experienced Judaism at Ramah would become deeply involved in it. Of course, all education works on that premise. If you are introduced to a profound idea by a fine teacher in the right environment, there's a good chance you'll accept it. This is a faith assumption of education.

But while *Shacharit* [morning] services were compulsory at Ramah, afternoon services were not. This was an important difference between Ramah and the Seminary. *Halakhically*, the *Minchah* service is also compulsory, but there were limits as to how much the uninitiated camper could be expected to understand and appreciate. After all, the majority of these youngsters had never experienced any daily prayers. Our educational analysis made it clear that if we insisted on *Minchah* at camp, we were likely to lose much of the impact of *Shacharit*.

In the end, the Seminary faculty voted for an optional *Minchah* at Ramah, basing the decision on educational considerations rather than *halakhic* principles. It was a difficult debate, and ultimately the issue was decided by a single vote.

How did Ramah deal with the fact that even within the Conservative movement, not to mention the rest of Judaism, not everybody observes Shabbat in exactly the same way?

As we saw it, the camp's public space was to be maintained as a religious preserve. We didn't legislate against the use of a radio in the privacy of a cabin, for we made a distinction between the public space and private space. We enabled campers and staff alike to experience as close to a total Shabbat as possible within the public areas of the camp. As with the issue of *Minchah*, our policy allowing the private use of electricity rather than its public use was not a *halakhic* decision but an educational one.

On the other hand, many other practices and activities at Ramah were non-negotiable. These included Hebrew, daily classes, morning

services, kashrut, the recitation of *birkat ha-mazon* [grace after meals] — and, in a very different sphere, instructional swim.

Let's return to the five levels that move us from the theoretical realm to the practical and back again. We've already seen how they might apply to prayer. But what about a very different area, such as sports?

Level One would begin with philosophical questions: What is the relationship between mind and body? Why do you need a healthy body? How is the conception of a healthy body in our tradition different from that of other traditions?

Then, in Level Two, you might ask: What is the role of sports in your conception of education? You might, as John Dewey did, discuss the importance of rules, fairness, cooperation and competition.

In Level Three you would think about what role sports might play in your program. Are you prepared to let a camper complete the summer with no significant athletic experiences? What about those campers who simply don't like sports? Or swimming?

In Level Four you might think about how you will teach respect for rules and fairness. How will you teach youngsters to be good losers — or good winners, for that matter? What are your methods of teaching these values?

And in Level Five you would take a critical look at your program and measure your accomplishments. Have your students internalized the values of fairness and good sportsmanship? What changes or improvements need to be introduced in your program?

That sounds fine, but almost every institution with aspirations to greatness makes grand claims about being guided by lofty theoretical principles. How do you ensure that there really is a link between those ideals and the real world?

If you develop your ideals carefully and thoughtfully, and you constantly reinforce the message that they really matter, you can make those principles come alive. We once had a thirteen-year-old camper

who used to wet his bed. We used to have late night staff meetings, but no matter what we were discussing, or how important it was, at 11:45 PM each night two counselors would rush to this boy's cabin and wake him up to make sure he went to the bathroom. If they arrived too late, they would wake him up and change his sheets so none of the other campers would be aware of the mishap when they woke up in the morning. The driving force here was the principle of *ha-malbin et p'nei chavero b'rabim* – that you must avoid a situation where a person might be embarrassed in front of others.

That brings to mind another case involving this same principle. We had a problem one summer with adolescent girls who, after lights out, would conduct "bull sessions" – discussions in which, under the rubric of self-improvement, each girl's faults and deficiencies would be addressed by the entire group. These sessions invariably ended with girls in tears, and with some of the girls being scapegoated.

I was the camp director that summer, and when this developed into a serious, continuing problem, I was tempted to outlaw these sessions. But I knew that the campers could continue holding bull sessions as soon as the counselor was out of earshot. When the situation finally got out of control, I came in to talk to the girls.

"We don't understand," they told me. "We're just trying to help each other."

"That sounds fine," I said, "but may I sit in?" I started listening, and I soon found myself interrupting. "You know," I told them, "I appreciate what you're doing. I accept your aims, but I have a problem with your method. One of the things we don't do in a Jewish community like Ramah is publicly embarrass our fellow human beings. What if we studied a text together that deals with how people should behave toward one another, and then each girl can do her own self-evaluation privately?"

At this point, because an alternative was available, the more sensitive girls prevailed and the study session was accepted. Each night we studied the sixth chapter of *Pirke Avot* and discussed, among other things, what it means to be a *re'a ahuv* – an intimate friend, someone

you could confide in, who would be supportive and would help you muster the strength you need to change and improve. We read this chapter every night for four weeks and had some very good talks. At Ramah, this sort of thing was part of the director's job definition.

Investing in Staff

It's interesting that the camp director would spend so much time with one cabin — but what about the rest of the staff? There were so many specialists in camp.

We weren't too concerned with conserving our resources! We had three full-time staffs at Ramah – counselors, specialists in sports and the arts, and teachers. Financially, of course, it was outrageous. There were no dual roles: Different people had different functions. This was part of the audaciousness of the place. We were trying to do it all.

The best specialist was somebody who pressured you and stretched you, and sometimes that led to problems for the camper. Whether in sports, music, drama, or any other area, competition and striving for excellence can cause problems. Classes were demanding, too, because the teacher would force you to grapple with the text and stretch your mind. If there were problems, it was up to the counselor to pick up the pieces.

We also co-opted an idea from the kibbutz movement, which saw itself as an *edah mechanekhet* [an educating community], of having the teaching staff available throughout the day. The kibbutz teacher would teach a class in the morning and would continue to debate issues with you through the day. The same was true of our teachers – at least in theory.

An even more unusual position for a camp was that of the librarian, whose job was to sit in the library and be available all day to anyone, whether camper or staff member. And just as some camps have an artist-in-residence, each Ramah camp had a professor-in-residence, generally a Seminary faculty member whose role was to encourage

intellectual ferment. He or she was there to listen, to teach, to prod, to criticize, and to help the camp community respond to *halakhic* problems that would invariably arise during the course of the summer.

Communal Leaders as Partners

Let's step back from the camp community to consider a constituency that is critical to the success of any educational institution. I'm referring to the communal leaders, who as board members assume ultimate responsibilities for the various camps.

Ramah, from its inception, was fortunate in recruiting outstanding communal leaders. While today, communal leaders are more supportive of good educational programs and more active in their support, that's a fairly recent development. In the 1970s and 1980s, most American Jews of status and means cared mainly about Israel, hospitals, and defense organizations. Jewish education and culture ranked very low. Four notable exceptions were way ahead of their time and were interested in education: Sam and Florence Melton of Columbus, Philip Lown of Boston, and Leighton Rosenthal of Cleveland.

Now it's different. More and more, people are coming to realize that Judaism's and Israel's best asset is a Jewishly educated Diaspora, and that American Jews should be investing significantly in Jewish education. Fortunately, this view has prevailed, especially as part of the "continuity" agenda. Mort Mandel, who, with his brothers, Jack and Joe, established the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, helped launch this movement in a serious way. Jewish education has now been raised to the very top of the agenda of most Jewish organizations and institutions.

In general, communal leaders are more knowledgeable and insist on having a greater voice in the projects they support. In addition, we have major assets now that we didn't have then. There are academics

and well-informed communal leaders all over North America who care about Jewish education and see it as important. Jewish studies courses in colleges and universities are one of the big success stories of American Jewish life. Families today can draw on a wide variety of programs. There are hundreds of day schools in North America and any number of excellent organized trips to Israel. There are young Jews in general education who are interested in making a contribution to Jewish education. There are Jewish leaders and philanthropists publicly proclaiming that Jewish education is a top priority. For all these reasons, I'm optimistic.

This may be the right moment to ask for your thoughts on what, for many would-be institution builders, is a difficult and intimidating process, although it's essential if you're hoping to build or sustain a meaningful project. I'm referring, of course, to the whole question of fund-raising.

This may sound strange, but I firmly believe that money is not the biggest problem. Although funds have not always been easily available, these days there are enough resources to support a wide variety of fine projects.

The key factors in successful fund-raising are the strength of your ideas, your commitment to those ideas, and your enthusiasm. I have never asked anyone to support an institution unless I would have been willing to donate a similar amount if I had it. In other words, if you're not deeply committed to the cause, you shouldn't be trying to raise money for it. You have to start with vision and commitment, and you must convey them to the people you're approaching. And you have to *mean* it. I believe we're all transparent, and that as human beings we're continually judging each other and asking: "Is this person genuine? Is he sincere?"

Another thing: I always start with the assumption that the person I'm meeting with is at least as intelligent as I am. There's no inherent reason for him to support my project, because he has many other valid claims to consider. Therefore, it is my job to convince him — or, better

still, to educate him. Only if you take the time to educate people about a project will they be able to make intelligent decisions about it. If you treat potential donors as people who can join *with* you and help you in creating this new enterprise, you may get somewhere.

Although the situation is far better than it used to be, the relationship between Jewish educators and communal leaders is still too adversarial. The professionals still ask: "How can this person make an informed judgment if he can't even read Hebrew?" And the communal leaders still think: "This guy is a shlepper. If he were really successful, he'd be in my business." This is unfortunate, but it's true.

What are the biggest mistakes you see in fund-raising?

I see three common mistakes, and they're connected. The first mistake is to treat the donor as if he or she were naive. The second mistake is arrogance. And the third one is not disclosing the full truth about the undertaking, including its problems and failures.

Here's my favorite fund-raising story: Sam Melton was visiting Ramah in the Poconos, and one morning we passed a ten-year-old boy on his way to class.

"What are you studying?" Sam asked him.

"*Chumash*," answered the boy.

"*Chumash* with what?" Sam asked.

And the boy replied, "*Chumash* with Melton."

At that moment all my fund-raising efforts were vindicated.

How do you respond to those who ask why educational change takes so long and costs so much?

With this analogy: Would it make any sense to study mortality rates in surgical wards where the instruments weren't sterilized? As long as teachers are often untrained or unmotivated, and certainly underpaid, what can you expect? When your mission is to conquer a disease, you don't withdraw funding because you haven't found a cure despite years of research. On the contrary: You invest additional money until

you do. We have just begun doing that in Jewish education. It's too early to ask whether the investment is too great, or whether it will take too long.

Vision vs. Budget

Still, there must be times when a well-developed educational vision and a prudent business plan are at odds with each other.

At Ramah that happened often. We couldn't always justify the educational investment on economic grounds, which was hard for some people to accept. Take the Mador Program, in which we devoted an entire summer to the training of promising high school graduates who agreed to serve as counselors for two additional summers. From a purely economic standpoint it was foolish to invest so much money in that program. And what about the professor-in-residence and the camp librarian? These people were expensive! What other summer camp had three separate staffs? But when you give parents reason to believe that you're helping their child become a *mensch*, you can ask for a great deal.

When Ramah first started, we had to make a critical decision: Who would head the camps? Should it be an educator with vision who could then hire a talented business manager, or did we need a talented manager who would hire a creative director? The Seminary, in partnership with an outstanding board of communal leaders, decided that Ramah should be led by educators, by people with a vision. Each of the camps had a capable business manager, of course, and that job was vitally important, but the camp was always led by educators.

Where Ramah Failed

We've talked about some of Ramah's accomplishments, but as you said earlier, even if you start with cognac you'll be lucky to end up

with grape juice. Looking back on it, what are some of the areas where Ramah missed the boat?
I can identify five significant failures.

To begin with, we failed to conduct any systematic evaluation of our work. Ralph Tyler once told me that not doing this was the educational equivalent of not carrying out diagnostic tests until the patient was leaving the hospital. In other words, we often had no feedback on what we were doing until it was too late to do anything about it. If our results were really as promising as they seemed, we should have been documenting the evidence. It's amazing that, as far as I can determine, we never asked our campers to write about their experiences at Ramah! We were so busy building something new that we didn't ever stop to evaluate it.

Conducting a serious evaluation of an ongoing project is time-consuming and expensive, and it may sound like a luxury. Even today, when educational institutions embark on a self-evaluation, it's more likely to be used as a fund-raising technique rather than a way of improving the enterprise. But it's something we should have done.

Ramah's second failure was that, despite all our efforts, we never really became a Hebrew-speaking camp. Hebrew was a clearly articulated goal that was central to the philosophy of Ramah, and while Hebrew was the official language at camp, we simply didn't do well enough in this area. It's true that most of our counselors didn't know enough Hebrew, but that's no excuse. We could have taught them Hebrew in the off-season, perhaps in a series of regional centers. We could have sent them to Israel. But we did neither. We had no graduated curriculum for the teaching of Hebrew at Ramah. We had no language labs. We didn't even look to Camp Massad for guidance in this area. We assumed they were successful at it only because Hebrew was their chief concern.

I must accept some of the blame for this failure. My attitude was: If there's a conflict between understanding ideas and learning the language, let's go for understanding. In the Melton Faculty Seminar, Gerson Cohen and Shmuel Leiter fought for more Hebrew – and

they were right. So did Sylvia Ettenberg, whom I consider the great hero of Ramah, and who represents the only coherent continuation from the founding of the camp until her recent retirement, a span of forty-five years. She was both an anchor for communal leaders and a nurturer of directors. She was also a great facilitator and a peacemaker between warring factions.

On a related issue, I made a similar mistake with regard to Israel, which didn't always receive its rightful place on our agenda. On the other hand, the fact that hundreds of former Ramah campers now live in Israel suggests that we must have been doing something right in this area.

For years I did my best to keep Israelis out of our camps, because the Israelis I had met who wanted to work in an American summer camp seemed inappropriate as educators for Ramah. But eventually I joined those who decided to bring over an Israeli delegation every summer to serve as teachers and specialists. They turned out to make a real contribution.

Our third failure was in not establishing a year-round program. One reason we hired full-time camp directors was our expectation that they would maintain the camp program throughout the year by working with the Conservative movement's youth program, the Leadership Training Fellowship (LTF). The summer months could have served as the climax of the year, or perhaps the launch of a new year — or both. All the camps could have been winterized. In this area we simply quit too early; the idea didn't advance far enough to merit being called a failure.

Our fourth failure was that we didn't establish a curriculum for the camp program as a whole. It's amazing, but we never formalized the various camp programs, although some of them were remarkable. There was some sharing of ideas among the camps, but not nearly enough. Over the years, we failed to document or preserve any number of innovative and creative projects. There was far too much reinventing of the wheel and too much improvising. At least this failure was deliberate: We were afraid of formalizing

what we had because it might have inhibited creativity. But this was a mistake.

The fifth failure that comes to mind was that we didn't achieve an effective transition between the rarefied atmosphere of Ramah and the camper's home community, despite the fact that we paid a lot of attention to this problem and were probably on the right track. For example, we often discussed how to help campers, newly excited about Jewish practice, who return to a non-kosher or otherwise non-observant household. Because we respected the campers' family relationships, we did not encourage them to tell their parents what they should or shouldn't eat, or do, in their own homes.

But more often than we anticipated, the reentry problems arose not with the campers' families but with their synagogues. After a summer at Ramah, campers found it hard to return to a service that suddenly seemed stilted and complacent, and to a rabbi who seemed formal when contrasted with the informality and warmth of camp. We even had youngsters who refused to attend synagogue services after camp because the service no longer felt authentically Jewish to them.

In a sense we were creating misfits, but we were arrogant enough to think our campers could turn the Conservative movement around. And they did, to some extent, although it took years.

Unexpected Successes

In addition to the successes we worked hard for, we had a few others that we hadn't really anticipated. Many Ramah campers went on to become rabbis, professors of Judaica at American and Israeli universities, or prominent community leaders. Today, Ramah graduates are extremely well represented in professional Jewish life and in institutions of Jewish culture and education — in all denominations. And a great many others have made aliyah.

Second, we recruited and developed our own personnel. That is, much of our staff consisted of former campers. We had some terrific

directors, and most of them, too, came up through the ranks. We made sure they were decently paid, and we created a new Jewish profession: camp director. These people were given tenure, just like university faculty. Being a Ramah director was a difficult job that involved dealing with a variety of groups, such as staff, campers, parents, rabbis, educators, and communal leaders, not to mention such complex issues as religious ideology and finance. Most of our directors had been trained as rabbis, which meant they had a clear and obvious career line, usually in the pulpit, but sometimes in formal education or Jewish communal life. At Ramah they were really going out on a limb in terms of their future careers — some of them for years, and others for their entire professional lives.

Despite our failures, Ramah worked. I've been in the Jewish education business a long time, and nowhere else have I seen a closer correlation between what we set out to do and what we actually accomplished. The ultimate proof, of course, are the campers. They may have hated Hebrew school, but they really learned, loved, and lived Judaism at Ramah.

They also loved and appreciated the *people* at Ramah. I have no idea how many deep and lasting friendships began at Ramah, but there have been a great many. And many marriages, too. All over North America and Israel, you can find young people whose parents — and increasingly, *grandparents* — met each other at Ramah.

Lessons for New Institutions

What would you identify as the most significant lessons that other institutions might learn from Ramah?

First, Ramah demonstrates how a vision can motivate a staff, and how a staff can then stretch itself. Second, I think there is something to be learned about how to combine sophisticated approaches to content and theoretical discussions with the most concrete and mundane nitty-gritty details.

Ramah was also about investing in talent, and the vital importance of communal supporters. In our case, the communal leaders protected us from attempts to dilute the educational component. They believed in the project because they understood it, and they acted out of deep conviction. Ramah made it possible for educators, rabbis, scholars, and communal leaders to join forces. There was a real generosity of spirit and a genuine attempt to understand the other person's position. Ramah was more than a camp; it was an educational movement.

The success of Ramah empowered some of us to think about institutions that didn't exist, and that *still* don't exist. At some point we will probably see the creation of institutions that combine the day school with the community center, breaking down the conventional walls between formal and informal education. Just as the students of John Dewey hoped to produce an active participant in a democratic society, such an institution, when it finally comes into existence, will serve as an intensive training ground for Jewish citizenship.

The next challenge, in my view, is to provide for the needs of post-materialistic people. More and more, people are looking for meaning in their lives. They want to know what our tradition is all about, and our job is to take that tradition and present it in contemporary terms that speak to them. From time to time a genius will emerge, a Heschel or a Kaplan, but you can't sit back and wait for them. It's far better, in my view, to build places where potential Heschels and Kaplans will be nurtured, develop, and flourish.

The Mandel School for Educational Leadership

The Mandel School for Educational Leadership was established because its founders believe that the way to significantly improve our educational system is to recruit, train and place very talented and committed young people in key leadership positions in the field of education.

This assumption that 1000 creative and sophisticated educational leaders placed in key positions could guide the system to successfully meet the challenges that face our country in the next decades is a thesis that was carefully investigated before it was acted upon.

It all began in December 1990, when the Mandel Foundation (a private philanthropic foundation in Cleveland, Ohio) decided to review, to reconsider the program of its activities in Israel. This was the background for the meeting that took place on December 21, 1990 between the Minister of Education, Mr. Zevulun Hammer, and the Chairman of the Board of the Mandel Associated Foundations, Mr. Morton L. Mandel. At that meeting the Minister and Mr. Mandel agreed that people, personnel — are the key to the success of all systems, be they large or small, whether they are governments, businesses, Ministries of Education, schools or classrooms. The Minister described the acute shortage of top people for positions in the Ministry of Education, in teacher training institutions, in systems that work with the Ministry such as ORT and AMAL, in the local city systems of education, the community centers, the system of informal education, the media, etc.

An idea emerged at the meeting: to establish a place, an institution to meet this challenge. They decided to study the idea, its importance, its potential impact, its feasibility and its cost.

This study was immediately undertaken by the newly established Mandel Institute for the Advanced Study of Education in Jerusalem.

It was a wonderful assignment that posed one special difficulty. There were few precedents to learn from, for the idea was to recruit mid-career people (who had enough educational experience to demonstrate leadership potential) and train them to assume the key educational positions in the country.

....Our group was led by Dr. Ami Bouganim, a senior researcher at the Institute, and its members were Annette Hochstein, Director of the Institute, Professor Michael Inbar, a consultant to the Institute and myself. We interviewed hundreds of people in Israel, France and the United States.

In France, we learned that a large part of their success in developing an outstanding civil service could be traced back to the decision by Napoleon to establish a series of independent institutions (Ecoles) of various kinds beginning with the Ecole Normale Superieure,whose purpose it was to train elites for the French educational system. [This process reached] its climax with the Ecole Nationale D'Administration, established in 1947 by De Gaulle and De Bres.

It was clear that the difference between our two countries would lead us to think of establishing a different kind of institution appropriate to a young country that is not centralized as is the case for France. We were, though, encouraged that an institution could be created that would be appropriate for Israel.

We studied the war colleges in the United States and Israel. We familiarized ourselves with the elite programs at universities for journalists, for physicians, and for educators. We learned a great deal from the Mandel Jerusalem Fellows, a program [originally] established in Israel by Bank Leumi and the Jewish Agency, to train leaders for Jewish education in the Diaspora. All in all, we interviewed close to 200 people — and their enthusiastic support for the idea encouraged us to take the next step which was securing the funding necessary to undertake the project. We already had two partners, the Ministry of Education and the Mandel Associated Foundations. We realized that

if we were to establish an institution with 40 students in each class, in their 30s and 40s (people with families) for a two year period of study and work and require them to devote full time, if we were to recruit outstanding faculty to teach, and individual tutors to prepare them for the future positions, then a large multi-year budget was required. The Mandel Foundation turned to the Doron Foundation in Israel, to the Rich Foundation in France, and [to Mr.] Felix Posen in England. Their generous and enthusiastic response made it possible to take the decision to establish a school for educational leadership.

During these first six months, the structure and the program of the institution was also being planned. The school would recruit 40 students for a two year program. The Russian aliyah, with its many scientists, academics, artists, and engineers led us to consider a student body of 20 veteran Israelis and 20 *olim*. We thought that the Russians and other *olim* could infuse the system of education with new energy as well as help the system of education absorb the million *olim* that were expected to immigrate to Israel.

Though the students would be recruited by and large from the field of education it was proposed that the institution could also attract talented scientists, academics and army officers who wanted to contribute to Israeli society through education.

[We would be looking for the kind of people who], in a two year program, could be prepared for work in the field of education.

When the funding had been secured, the founding partners decided that the time had come to establish a joint committee of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Doron and Rich Foundations, the Posen Foundation and the Mandel Foundation, to plan and oversee the establishment of the school. This committee met regularly as a group and decided on all issues from recruitment to selection of students and faculty, the curriculum and the establishment of an *Amuta* [non-profit organization] and its various committees, such as the academic committee.

I wish I had the opportunity to describe the work of the committee and its many decisions. Let me give you but one example. Although we

knew that there was a great shortage of candidates for the top positions we asked ourselves: What are the key positions? How many positions should be included as key positions? Who is filling them now?

The committee decided to commission a survey that would try and answer these questions. The results are fascinating. There are at least 1000 positions that could determine what can happen in Israel's educational system. (Professor Lawrence Cremin, the great historian of education, describes these positions as the gatekeepers, the people who decide whether change can or cannot be introduced into the system.)

I believe I am reporting accurately when I say that this was a most rewarding experience for all the members.

Together we fashioned the ideas and the steps that made it possible for us to open the Mandel School for Educational Leadership on September 1, 1992.

In February of 1992, we placed two small advertisements in the newspapers and an article in the Russian-Israeli press. We received more than 2000 inquires, while 600 candidates actually filled out applications which involved writing three essays and obtaining three written recommendations.

The committee interviewed more than 200 candidates and chose the current entering class. We recruited what we believed to be an outstanding faculty that will guide the practical work as well as teach courses in the areas of education, in policy studies, and in the humanities and Judaica.... Time does not permit me to describe the program except to say that at the school the students study together in the areas of education, Judaica, the humanities, and policy studies. Each student is now choosing an area of specialization where he hopes to assume a leadership position upon graduation from the program. This will require practical work, apprenticeships, individual research and group projects, all guided by a tutor. The students are encouraged to enroll at universities or yeshivot to enrich their background and prepare them for the future positions. The school has made available courses, seminars and workshops in languages (Hebrew for the Russians, English for some of the Israelis), in computer literacy,

in management budgeting, etc. Madame Minister, we began on September 1st with 20 promising *Amitim* [Fellows], which include two Russians. On November 1st, we begin a *Mechina* (that will help prepare the students in Hebrew, the system of education, and Israeli society) for 11 Russian *olim*, whom we hope will be able to join the school at a later date as fulltime students.

Though we have had so many outstanding applicants we decided to begin with less than 40 so as to learn how to establish the program with a smaller group.

These students are committed for two years of full time work and studies and they are able do so because of the fellowships awarded to them.

Madame Minister, since you undertook your position you have been such a source of great encouragement to us. Twenty students in the school and 11 students in the *Mechina* come from a variety of backgrounds. They are religious and non-religious. They are preparing themselves to work in science, education, in administration, in curriculum development, in the teaching of the humanities and of Judaica, in building new institutions that will serve as demonstration centers for open education, in informal education and in the use of the arts and the media for education.

They come from Haifa and Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Rehovot and elsewhere in Israel. They come from Leningrad and Moscow and Kiev and elsewhere in the Former Soviet Union.

We believe you'll come to know them and develop close working relationships with them. Today we are honored that you are officially opening the institution and its first school year.

Educating the Professional Leader: A Conception of Training

1. Introduction

The Mandel School in Jerusalem and within it the Mandel Jerusalem Fellows and the Mandel School for Educational Leadership prepares cadres of mid-career professionals for leading positions in the education systems of Israel and in Jewish communities around the world. Graduates have assumed positions as heads of municipal and communal education systems, as leaders of schools [principals], as heads of teacher training programs, as directors of educational foundations; they have founded and led institutions and programs — from schools for special populations to colleges, to programs for environmental education to curricula for various forms of Jewish life. The first cohorts are gradually taking up key policy-setting positions in Israel's Ministry of Education and in the Jewish community around the globe.

In this paper we offer for discussion a brief outline of the conception of training that has guided the establishment of the (full-time) programs for professional leadership of the Mandel School in Jerusalem.

The Mandel School has as its purpose the introduction (the launching) of the student into a professional life that compels him/her to define his/her vision of education and to constantly re-examine it.

A successful graduate is one whose entire professional stance, educational commitment and behavior are guided by vision, and whose practice demonstrates a keen ability to translate vision into implementation.

2. The Professional Leader

The proposed conception rests on the definition of a professional leader as one:

- committed to an articulated and examined vision of his/her society or community, of the good (Jewish/general/other) education, and of the particular educational program to which he/she wants to devote him/herself.
- who has a deep understanding of this vision and hence can articulate, explain, detail, and argue it.
- who sees its relationship to alternative visions and worldviews — and hence can defend it.
- who knows what is involved in translating this vision into strategies and plans for implementation — hence can make the ideas feasible in practice.

3. Guided by Vision

A pre-condition for professional leadership is that the leader be familiar with alternative versions as well as with their strengths and weaknesses in different circumstances. He/She will then be able to determine the vision appropriate to him, to his/her circumstances, commitments, beliefs, assumptions. Examining these is part of the curriculum.

Elements for one's overall vision (of the good society, community, person) are to be found in humanities' great creations of philosophy, religion and literature. It is learned through studying — in the history of education — the impact of philosophers' visions on educational thinkers (from St. Augustine and his reliance on Plato to Twersky and his reliance on Maimonides….. When thus relying on profound ideas one is set free from conventional educational categories, e.g. education, formal and informal; schooling; the media's role; accepted role-models such as the army hero, the kibbutznik) in order to focus

on the question of how existing or new distinctions can be useful to attain one's goal (of implementing one's vision).

We believe …. that the explicit definition of one's vision of education is essential in order to decide on the goals of any program or educational institution as well as in order to define the means required to achieve those goals. A given vision of education will dictate the kind of teacher appropriate for implementing it as well as the content and, method for their teaching. Hence, we expect our students to work out a vision of education based on a coherent set of assumptions.

Specifically a vision of education addresses the question of a) who is the product of this education when successful; what kinds of communities does this education entail, what convictions do its members hold, on what knowledge does this rest b) how are they determined to act on these convictions.

We assume….that an educational vision requires one to have an understanding of how that vision can be translated into practice (how it is "realistic"; how it can work). Hence we expect the student to adopt visions he/she knows how to apply or translate into reality. This will require that he/she master the principles and practice of planning, of strategic development and of implementation.

Our graduates must develop a sophisticated and deep understanding of what education can achieve. This is obvious for the area he/she wants to work in and for areas closely related to it. It is also true for education in general. He/She must know what both optimists and pessimists believe can be achieved. Related to this, the graduate must be keenly aware of what he/she him/herself is able to achieve. Understanding this becomes an important element in the graduate's choices regarding what he/she will do….

For ideas to energize visions of education, they must be accompanied by strategies that make them operational. By this we mean building institutions and programs that embody these visions in practice, e.g. where the faculties and staff of these institutions understand and are committed to the visions and are translating them into practical goals, guiding and determining the nature of the institution or program.

The challenge to the creativity of the faculty (of the student's program) is to determine and sometimes invent the means which they believe are likely to lead to the realization of the vision.

We have spoken about vision up until now as being derived from great books, great ideas. Here we are beginning from the opposite pole: the student's vision must be shaped in dialogue.... between his/her understanding of a great educational vision to which he/she wants to commit and at least the following aspects of feasibility:

One. Education [has shown that it] knows how to do this, or I, as a student-graduate, have a convincing argument about why education should try this.

Two. We know how to sell this, introduce this, maintain this in the system. This is a way that vision is linked to implementation. It is our way of indicating that vision is not an independent step from which we then move to implementation but rather that implementation accompanies the concept of your vision as part of your understanding it, adopting it, and experimenting [with] it....

...We mean that one's conception of a school, [or] of a program of the training of teachers, etc. is based on, saturated with conceptions of human nature, possibility of change [in human beings], method of change, the right to change, the public good, your right to affect the public good, the nature of knowledge, in what state do you want this knowledge to be held (to understand, to act); the kinds of behaviors in students and educators that your idea – program implies, etc.

In discovering/developing their answers, their stands on these issues, in learning to understand what contribution they can make to the desired changes, to the program/institution/ they are developing, students will discover themselves as professionals differently than they did before. By discovering their strengths and weaknesses they learn what they must learn through others in order to achieve their goals.

By recognizing their strengths and weaknesses they are developing the curriculum for their life-long professional education. It is with such a profile, an assessment of self as professional developed in partnership by faculty and student that one must graduate. What

we are saying here is that the concept “transformative” embodies the terms by which we evaluate the institution and the individual performance of a student…..

4. The Theory of Practice Institution

1st. To accomplish this we need an institution geared to meet the challenge. This could clearly not be a university setting because the university cannot, nor should it take responsibility for the knowledge it generates. In medicine and law it is the professional association and the national legislature that sets the standards for qualifying as a professional — not the university. Education does not have such institutions.
2nd. Nor can it be a program of on-the-job-training or in-service education. They of necessity need to respond to the needs of the client and must minimize out of the box thinking, theory and vision….
3rd. The institution that is required can be described as a “theory of practice institution” characterized by:

1. The highest standards of theoretical grounding and justification for the proposed practice.
2. The accompanying and monitoring of the use of theory for practice by the members of the institution (students, faculty, managers).
3. This accompanying is exercised through a “norms authority” — a forum of scholars, thinkers, [and] intellectuals who are in ongoing dialogue with the members of the institution, lending their ideas theoretical expertise and the wisdom to apply the theory to practice.
4. Practitioners, politicians, statesmen must be guaranteed equal rights to those of the theoreticians in their analyses of feasibility, impact, importance, durability of all ideas and plans.
5. It is this dual character of the institution, its concern with theory as applied to proposed practice and with practical knowledge,

as well as (overwhelmingly) with the dialectic between them (theory and practice) — that requires the establishment of a special institution.

This institution makes possible the following conditions for quality:

1. The autonomy to choose students, faculty — and curriculum flexibility; [it must] apply the best standards [in admitting] participants.
2. The autonomy to choose faculty in accordance with the developing needs of the curriculum and with standards of teaching practice relevant to the institution's goals ….
3. The freedom to amend the curriculum on an ongoing basis — to adapt it to the learning needs of participants as they emerge.
4. The resources and policies to implement these.

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