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Goals Project. Jerusalem Goals Seminar. Readings packet [1 of 2], July 1994.

No rush, but when you return from Israel, can you please send the
goal seminar materials (readings, memos, etc) to Adam and the FR so
they will be in touch with what happened. Thanx, Ellen

Gamoran   field Researchers
                    ⑤
               Bill
               Julie
               Roberta

June 23, 1994

Dear Participants in the CIJE Goals Seminar:

We at CIJE anticipate our upcoming seminar with great excitement. The seminar represents the first stage in a process designed to encourage Jewish educating institutions to become more goals-oriented and vision-driven than they typically are. We are especially hopeful that as a result of our collaboration during and after the seminar, educating institutions in your communities will become increasingly engaged in the process of becoming vision-driven.

Our last memo highlighted the seminar's basic purposes. On this occasion, we hope to give you a concrete sense of the seminar's elements and rhythms. The seminar will include a half-day field trip, plenary presentations and discussions, and a variety of small group activities organized around study, reflection, the sharing of ideas and experiences, and serious deliberation.

Each day will also include time for participants to divide up, by community groups and along other lines, for regular work-group sessions. These sessions provide a chance to discuss the pertinence of the seminar's themes to the situation back home, as well as to begin developing a plan of action that will guide the work ahead. Along the way, these work-groups will have the chance to share their insights, concerns, and plans with one another.

We will be meeting from Sunday through Thursday, July 10 -14. With the exception of Monday, when we will begin at 8:30 am., we will begin each day at 9 am. We will be working intensively each day, with afternoon breaks. Evening sessions lasting until 9:30 pm will take place on Sunday, Monday and Thursday and there will be a very special cultural program on Tuesday night. On Wednesday night we will conclude by 7 pm. You are on your own for dinner that evening; other lunches and dinners will be provided by CIJE.

As background to some central themes, we are sending you under separate cover a packet of articles to be read prior to the seminar. Please also complete the enclosed written assignment, which will form the basis of small group discussions early in the seminar.

The themes the seminar addresses are organically related, but each day will feature a different emphasis.

Sunday will highlight the kinds of problems and convictions that give rise to the Goals Project. In the course of looking at some examples of vision-driven institutions (See the Dewey and Heilman pieces in the readings packet.), key terms, guiding principles, and central issues will be articulated. A session orienting us to the next day's field trip and informal small group sessions will conclude the day's activities.

Monday includes a field trip to Yeshivat Har Etzion. (See the Licbtenstein selections in the packet of readings.) In addition to on-site observation, our visit will include an opportunity to discuss the vision animating this Yeshiva and its challenges with its renowned co-director, Rabbi A. Lichtenstein. Please dress appropriately for a visit to an Orthodox Yeshiva.

In the latter part of Monday and on Tuesday, we carefully examine Moshe Greenberg's article "We Were as Dreamers." (See reading materials.) It is presented as one example of the varied and powerful visions that have been systematically articulated througb the Mandel Institute's Educated Jew Project. Our understanding of Greenberg's ideas will be enriched through conversation with him and through attention to significant alternatives. Professor Greenberg's vision of the aims of Jewish education offers a chance to think carefully about what elements enter into a comprehensive vision and its power as a tool in educational planning.
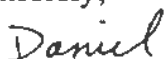
Tuesday evening will offer a change of pace. We will dine at the home of Alan and Nadia Hoffmann, followed by a visit with poet Yehuda Amichai.

On Wednesday, "How"-questions move into the foreground of our work. Using an example from the world of informal education (a summer camp movement), we look carefully at the major dimensions of the effort to translate a vision of the aims of education into the design of an educating institution. (See the article on Camp Ramah in the packet.) We also wrestle with the difficult problem of how to make progress towards vision-driven education in institutions that presently lack any shared and compelling vision. We will examine different strategies, share insights, and surface pertinent questions and issues.

On Thursday, the work-groups which have been meeting daily will be asked to present to the group as a whole their emerging plans for encouraging local institutions to work towards being more vision-driven. These presentations, along with a review of CIJE's role in the process, will become the basis for the development of a shared and concrete plan of action that will guide our joint efforts.

We are looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Daniel

Daniel Pekarsky

PRE-SEMINAR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT

Our seminar will focus on some topics that are at once straight-forward and very difficult:
1) the nature and importance of educational goals; 2) the process of arriving at meaningful
goals; and 3) the processes involved in moving from goals to educational design and practice.
But goals do not come out of nowhere. Typically, they are rooted in our very basic beliefs
concerning the kinds of Jewish human beings we hope to cultivate via Jewish education. The
Goals Project assumes that many Jewish educating institutions need to work towards a clear
and compelling vision of the kind of Jewish human being they would like to cultivate. The
Goals Project further assumes that an important component of such efforts is for the
individuals involved to clarify and develop their own personal views on this matter. The
exercise described below is designed to encourage such an effort. It will serve as the basis of
a small group discussion during the seminar.

Write up your initial thoughts about the kind of Jewish adult you would hope to see emerging
from the process of Jewish education. In what ways would being Jewish be expressed in and
enhance the quality of his or her life? In developing your view, you may find it helpful to
think about what you would hope for in the case of your own child or grandchild. Below are
three guidelines for the exercise:

1. For purposes of the exercise, don't settle for what you think feasible "under the
    circumstances." Rather, try to articulate what you would ideally hope for in the
    way of Jewish educational outcomes.

2. Be honest with yourself concerning this matter. The point is not to arrive at a
    position that someone else finds acceptable, but to identify your own views at this
    moment of time.

3. Approach the task not by listing characteristics but in the way a novelist might:
    present a vivid portrait or image of the Jewish human being you would hope to
    cultivate. Focusing on, say, a day, a week or some other interval of time, describe
    this person's life, emphasizing the ways in which the Jewish dimension enters into
    and enriches it. The challenge is to make this person (male, female, or
    gender-neutral - it's up to you!) "come alive." To accomplish this, it might prove
    helpful to give this person a real name. In addition, use any literary device you
    think might be fun and helpful. You might, for example, develop your portrait as a
    week-long diary entry written by the person portrayed; or you might choose to
    describe the person from the point of view of a spouse or a child.

Have fun with the assignment -- and remember that nobody will hold you to anything you
say. It's simply designed to stimulate some initial reflection on some questions we'll be
addressing.

PACKET OF READINGS

Enclosed is the packet of readings for the Goals Seminar. Read what you can in advance of the seminar -- especially the selections we'll be referring to in the first couple of days of the (the articles by Dewey, Heilman, Lichtenstein, and Greenberg).

Some of the readings offer portraits of very different kinds of vision-driven institutions. The Dewey selections offer an example of the school started by Dewey, a school based down to its very details on a systematically articulated and comprehensive social and educational philosophy. This reading explains some of his general philosophical and psychological ideas, as well as how they find their way into a cooking class.

The selection from Heilman's <u>Defenders of the Faith</u> offers a glimpse into a contemporary Haredi Yeshiva, a vision-driven institution that differs greatly from (and yet in some interesting ways resembles) Dewey's school. The article by Rabbi Lichtenstein describes yet a different kind of vision-driven institution - the modern Zionist, Hesder Yeshiva which he founded (and which we will visit).

These institutions are light-years away from each other in numerous respects; and all of them differ dramatically from secular-Zionist educating institutions which we will also be studying. But as different as they are, these institutions are alike in that all are animated by a coherent and, for their proponents, a compelling vision of what they want to accomplish. As you read these articles, think about what these visions are and about how they are reflected in practice.

The article by Moshe Greenberg offers his views on the kind of Jewish human being toward whom we should be educating. It is one of several essays developed under the auspices of the Mandel Institute's Educated Jew Project. Each of these essays represents a different perspective on the kind of person Jewish education should try to cultivate. We will be examining Greenberg's vision, with attention to the issues that arise in trying to translate a vision into practice.

The essay on Camp Ramah is background to our discussion of the translation of vision into educational design and practice.

The selection from Peter Senge's <u>The Fifth Discipline</u> and Seymour Fox's "Toward a General Theory of Jewish Education" are offered as general background.

We Were as Those Who Dream:
A Portrait of the Ideal Product of an Ideal Jewish Education*

Moshe Greenberg

(*draft of June 1994 - for internal use only;
translated from the Hebrew by Daniel Marom and Marc Rosenstein)

I was asked to suggest aims towards which educators might consider directing their efforts, and for the attainment of which they might plan strategies. When I conceived of the aims which are set forth herein, I did not tailor them according to the measure of the capabilities of the existing system, but rather by what seems to me to be the inherently desirable and necessary aims of a Jewish education (the concept of a Jewish education will be clarified in the next paragraph). The intent of this proposal, and the intent of the discussion of it, should be the elucidation of the direction in which we are headed - are we directed towards the right destination? - and not the elucidation of the ends it happens to be in our power to reach at the moment. He who concentrates only on adapting his aims to the powers he has to achieve them will find his powers dwindling as his fear of failure grows, whereas he who knowingly sets himself an aim which is beyond the powers he has to achieve it will discover that his power is greater than he had originally thought. While despair may arise out of the apparent chasm between the ultimate aim and the power required for its achievement, the following counsel is available: cover the distance to the attainment of the aim by moving towards it one station at a time, each one attainable, and each, with its conquest, serving as a launching point for the effort to reach the next. In any case, we need a distant aim so that we can orient ourselves with reference to it - are we moving closer to it or not?

I want to portray the ideal product of an ideal Jewish education - that is, an education whose purpose it is to cultivate a person with knowledge, values, sensitivities, identification and a sense of belonging which flow from the sources of Judaism. I do not attempt to portray an educated Jew - a sub-species of the educated person, a Jew who has acquired general knowledge as well as knowledge of Judaism. I assume that the person I am portraying will have acquired knowledge, values, identification and sensitivities in addition to those which are Jewish - for example, in the area of science (knowledge of nature and its laws), history (the development of nations and cultures), art (literature, music, painting), thought (philosophy, other faiths, social criticism). An implication of this assumption is that the ideal product of an ideal Jewish education along the lines of my portrait will have to endure the tensions which exist between the two worlds in which he lives - the Jewish and the general. This is an important topic which is worthy of analysis.

What is the Jewish component of the imaginary creature I call the ideal product of an ideal Jewish education? It is the content of the accepted fundamental books of Judaism - the Bible, Talmud, and Midrash, and the body of commentary which has grown up around these fundamental books in the course of the generations, be it commentary in the narrow

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sense of the word (e.g., Rashi), or systematic thought or creative literature seeking to translate the content of the fundamental books to a contemporary vernacular - the languages of philosophy, of morality, of mysticism. These fundamental books contain the axioms which define our relationship to the universe and to our environment - living and inanimate, human, national, and familial; they contain prescriptions for ways of living (proverbs of wisdom, commandments, laws) and archetypes and models for behavior (in tales and legends). The role of Jewish education is to transmit significant portions of these contents to the student, with "significant" having two connotations:

i) having reason and meaning in the eyes of the student, touching his heart, addressing matters which concern him;

ii) sufficiently representative of the entire corpus: a measure which will be capable of providing an authentic taste of the original, to the degree that the student will be impressed by its power.

If the student receives "significant" portions of the fundamental books, in both these senses of the word, he is likely to recognize the moral and intellectual power of Jewish sources and to feel the need to resort to them through the years. The ultimate objective is for the student to be engaged with fundamental existential issues and for him to discover his own Jewish identity while being involved in this activity, through the encounter with Jewish sources. Our aspiration is for the product of ideal Jewish education to feel that his fundamental existential values are derived from the basic books of Judaism (1,2).

Jewish education is to be evaluated according to its success in fostering in its graduates four qualities:

1. Love of learning Torah (i.e., the fundamental books and all that is in them) and love of the fulfillment of the commandments between man and God:

That is, love of experiences and activities which have no material, utilitarian purpose, but which are good in and of themselves. All those who occupy themselves with these obtain satisfaction from the sense of having pursued that which is essentially meaningful. Judaism professes transcendent values above and beyond "this world," values hinted to in the expression "eternal life" (*chayeh olam*), drawing their meaning from their being symbols of a realm which is extra-personal, extra-societal, and extra-human. This love of learning Torah finds expression in the concept of "(the study of) Torah for its own sake" (*Torah lishma*), learning which derives its value and satisfaction from the actual experience of contact with something of essential value - the literary precipitation of the encounter of the Jew with the realm which transcends the visible, the earthly. Fostering a craving for *Torah lishma* bestows upon the student the spiritual pleasure of activity which is of essential value, which involves the activation of his highest intellectual powers and the refinement of his understanding. One who studies Torah for its own sake experiences total self-actualization precisely as he passes through a spiritual world which is beyond his self.

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The commandments between man and God, are a system of symbols which point to the transcendent realm. Observing the Sabbath and taking pleasure in it, reciting the blessings of thanks, prayer, and refraining from forbidden foods - the whole system of sanctification (*kedushah*) - was intended to provide a symbolic representation of the transcendent realm. Our student will minimally understand and respect the value of these symbols (3).

The purpose of Jewish education is to amplify the whisper of conscience which denies that "I am and there is nothing other than myself." It should rather affirm the statement that I stand commanded and will have to account for my actions. This whisper is granted a voice and body in the study of Torah for its own sake and in the performance of the commandments between man and God. In these, the realm which is beyond the concrete and the visible is substantiated, in its glorious countenance, as a reality which grants meaning to life's fleeting moments. In the individual's encounter with this realm, that which is good and worthy in his being are affirmed, as a response to that which stands against him. This experience is the basis for the insight that the visible world is not the be-all and end-all nor is it the measure of all things: the successes and failures and the joys and sorrows of the visible world are transient in comparison with "eternal life He has implanted within us."

2. Acceptance of the Torah as a guide in the area of interpersonal morality, with the recognition that the ethical decrees of the Torah are the fruit of unceasing interpretive activity:

Here I am referring to two concepts:

i) The recognition that in its moral judgements, the Torah can serve as a guide in our day and age. One should begin by pointing out the six last statements in the ten commandments - them, the deeper assumptions upon which they are based, and their subsequent development:

Honoring of parents - as an expression of gratitude and as an obligation which flows from the desire to preserve the family, the basic cell of society;

"You shall not murder," as an obligation which follows from "in His image did God make man;"

"You shall not commit adultery," as an obligation which follows from the "clinging" ("and he clings to his wife so that they become as one flesh") which is to be created in the relationship between husband and wife;

"You shall not steal," which affirms the concept of property and ownership of goods, and the abrogation of which leads to social chaos;

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"You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor," the basis of trust in law and in negotiation, without which social bonds collapse;

"You shall not covet,"a preventive measure for all of the above-mentioned prohibitions.

These are applications of the "larger principles" that the tradition identifies:

> "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18): Rabbi Akiva said: This is a great principle of the Torah. Ben Azzai said: 'This is the book of the descendants of Adam (when God created man [adam], He made him in the likeness of God)' (Genesis 5:1). This is even a greater principle."

> Sifra, Kodashim 4:12

And later on, in the summaries in the Prophets and the Writings of the essence of God's demands of man, as collected by Rabbi Simlai at the end of tractate Makkot (Babylonian Talmud):

> "Rabbi Simlai when preaching said: Six hundred and thirteen precepts were communicated to Moses. . . .
>
> David came and reduced them to eleven principles, as it is written (Psalm 15) 'A Psalm of David, Lord, who shall dwell in Your holy mountain? - [i] He that walks uprightly, and [ii] works righteousness, and [iii] speaks truth in his heart; that [iv] has no slander in his tongue, [v] nor does evil to his fellow, [vi] nor takes up a reproach against one near to him, [vii] in whose eyes a vile person is despised, but [viii] he honours those that fear the Lord, [ix] He swears to his own hurt and changes not, [x] He does not put out his money on interest, [xi] nor takes a bribe against the innocent. He that does these things shall never be moved.'
>
> ...Isaiah came and reduced them to six [principles], as it is written, (Isaiah 33:15-16) '[i] He that walks righteously, and [ii] speaks uprightly, [iii] He that despises the gain of oppressions, [iv] that shakes his hand from the holding of bribes, [v] that stops his ear from hearing of blood, [vi] and shuts his eyes from looking upon evil.'
>
> . . . Micah came and reduced them to three [principles], as it is written, (Micah 6:8). 'It has been told to you, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requires of you: [i] only to do justly, and [ii] to love mercy and [iii] to walk humbly before God.'
>
> . . . Again came Isaiah and reduced them to two [principles] as it is said, (Isaiah 56:1). 'Thus says the Lord: [i] Keep justice and [ii] do righteousness.'
>
> Amos came and reduced them to one [principle], as it is said, (Amos 5:4) 'For thus says the Lord to the house of Israel, seek Me and live.'"

The Sages also stipulated general principles, such as "Her (the Torah's) ways are pleasant ways and all her paths are peaceful" (Proverbs 3:17; cf. Mishneh Torah, Laws of Kings, end of Chapter 10).

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These principles and others like them should be presented to the student, together with the prophetic vision of their fulfillment, so that he will be able to find in Judaism the answer to his aspirations for a good society and for a meaningful and just way of life, and will not turn to foreign sources in order to derive principles of morality.

ii) One of the principal functions of Jewish education is to present the interpretation of the moral laws of the Torah and of their delineation into laws of practice as an ongoing process. In this process, there is a continuous tension, throughout the generations, between the particular-national and the universal-human trends in the Torah; similarly, there is a continuous tension between the emphasis on the mysterious element in sanctity (*kedushah*), which is embodied in symbols used in the worship of God, and the emphasis on its moral element. This tension is already apparent in the prophets' claim as to the primacy of the moral element over the ritual element in the Covenant between God and His people, and it continues through the generations in Biblical commentary and in other Jewish sources. In these tensions, we find an expression of the eternal confrontation of generations of Jews with the obligatory implication of their fundamental books.

There are times when the Biblical source took a broad view and the Sages narrowed it; for example, the requirement of a death sentence for murderers, which in chapter 9 of the Book of Genesis applies to all the descendants Noah, was limited in Israel, by the Sages, so as to include only the case in which the victim is a Jew; at the same time, they deemed a Jew who murders a gentile to be exempt from human judgment and left his fate to heaven (Mechilta to Exodus 21:14; cf. the reservations of Issi ben Yehuda, ibid.). The Sages were divided among themselves with respect to the scope of the term "human" (*adam*) in the Bible: Rabbi Meir included gentiles, basing his position on the text "...[laws] by the pursuit of which humans (*ha-adam*) shall live" (Leviticus 18:5), meaning that "even if a gentile occupies himself with the study of the Torah, he equals [in status] the high priest" (Baba Kama 38a). In opposition to this view, Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai decreed that "You are called *adam* the idolaters are not called *adam*" (Yebamot 61a). The later scholars were divided in their interpretation of the words of R. Shimon bar Yochai: did he mean to distinguish between Jew and gentile, to say that the gentile lacks a human essence which the Jew has (as in the opinion of the mystics), or did he perhaps mean to say only that in the specific system of law in the Torah the term *adam* refers to any person and since in any legal system "person" refers to one who is under its jurisdiction, *adam* in the Torah must refer to Israel, who alone are under the Torah's jurisdiction (as in the opinion of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Chajes in his novellae to Yebamot).

Proper Jewish education will turn the student's attention to the conflicts in the works of Biblical commentators between the conscientious reading of the Bible and the influence of the plain sense of the text. Maimonides ruled (following the Talmud) that the law against cheating does not apply to the cheating of a non-Jew, as it is written: "You shall not wrong [lit. "cheat"] one another [lit. "each one his brother"] - (Leviticus 25:14; see Mishneh Torah, Laws of Sale 13:7). But then Kimchi, in his commentary to Psalm 15 (cited above) taught differently:

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> "'Nor do evil to his fellow (re'ehu), nor take up a reproach against one near to him (krovo).' His fellow and one near to him mean someone with whom one has business, or a neighbor. And in saying, "nor do evil to his fellow," the text does not imply that he did so to others [who are not his fellows or neighbors]; but the text describes ordinary circumstances (i.e., one ordinarily is in a position to do evil - or good - to one with whom he has some business, or to a neighbor). Similarly, "You shall not cheat one another (lit. "each his comrade [amito]," Lev. 25:17) does not mean that one is allowed to cheat he who not his comrade. Similarly, "You shall not bear false witness against your fellow" (rea'ka , Exod. 20:16) does not mean that against another who is not your fellow one is allowed to bear false witness. Rather this applies to [a person with whom one ordinarily has] business and contact; that is the usage of the language in many cases."

One of the obstacles to our students' acceptance of the validity of the tradition is its frozen appearance. They are ignorant of the history of Biblical interpretation and of the conflicting trends within it, and are therefore unaware of the ongoing mutual influence of the text on generations of Jews and of commentators over the generations on the understanding of the text. Authentic Jewish culture can only arise from the dialogue between the source and the members of each generation, a dialogue in which both the loyalty of the people to the text and their participation in the culture of the present find expression (4,5).

3. Living a life-style which creates a community:

Our ideal product will want to live in a Jewish environment, since many commandments in Judaism require a group:

> "These are the things, of which a person enjoys the fruits in this world, while the stock remains for him for the world to come: viz., honoring father and mother, deeds of loving kindness, timely attendance at the house of study morning and evening, hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, dowering the bride, attending the dead to the grave, devotion in prayer, and making peace between man and man, but the study of Torah leads to them all."
>
> (Daily Prayer book, Preliminaries to the Morning Service)

Almost all of these behaviors bind people to one another, and some of them require public-communal institutions; e.g., "acts of loving kindness," which are carried out (for example) by establishing a loan fund; "rising early to attend the house of study," which assumes the existence of a house of study - synagogue; "the study of Torah," which requires the employment of teachers and the maintenance of institutions of learning for adults and children. The more we undertake such behaviors, the more relations of friendship and neighborliness emerge, as well as the sharing of resources in order to establish the institutions needed to carry out commandments such as those referred to here. Thus a community of Jews is created, participating in each other's joys and sorrows, aiding one another in time of need, constituting an environment for the raising of children in a Jewish way of life (6).

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4. A relationship to the Jewish people in all the lands of their dispersion:

A person is attracted to others like himself. In the past, most Jews in the diaspora shared a consciousness of unity as members of a people covenanted to God, a commitment to a traditional way of life (to a lesser or greater degree), and a status of a foreign body in the eyes of the other inhabitants of the lands in which they settled. In the eyes of the Jews, that which was shared among themselves was greater than that which was shared with the other inhabitants of these lands. The scattered Jews were united by a common "language" in relationship to Jew and gentile, a common feeling of oppression in the present and hope for redemption, a common calendar of holidays and a way of life, and a consciousness of common "tribal" origin. Since the holocaust and the establishment of the state of Israel, the unity of the people has been based on the sharing of a common memory of national tragedy, a sense of tribal bond, and a common interest in the building and future of the state. These factors are not a constant element in the consciousness of the individual, nor are they sufficient to insure the continued connections among the various Jewish diasporas. Only a systematically cultivated consciousness (by means of education), of: 1) common origins; 2) a common existential status (members of a people of the Covenant); and 3) a common vision of the future redemption (the role of Israel in the "mending of the world" [*tikkun olam*]) is likely to maintain the unity of the people under present conditions.

These three components of the consciousness of Jewish uniqueness are included in the national-historical saga whose foundation is in the Bible and whose classical development is in rabbinic literature. The internalization of this saga is the crucial factor in the creation of a Jewish identity. The role of Jewish education is to foster this internalization, by means of an educational program which emphasizes these three commonalties.

Fostering among the Jews of Israel the recognition that they are brothers to the Jews of the diaspora is no less important than the cultivation of the consciousness among diaspora Jews that they are brothers to the Jews of Israel. These two camps, each mired in very different problems of existence, are in danger of increasing mutual alienation. The only way to maintain the consciousness of unity among the scattered is to intentionally cultivate a drawing from common sources of inspiration as well as a sharing of identical value laden experiences (the study of Torah for its own sake, sanctity, moral values drawn from the fundamental books in an ongoing process of interpretation). The relationship to the "ingathering of the exiles," and, in its religious formulation, "the commandment to settle the land of Israel," separates the inhabitants of the State of Israel from those of the diaspora. It seems as though the nation is divided between a group which is actualizing a value sacred to the whole people in the past and a group which has abandoned that value, and has thus been torn away from the core of the people who are moving forward to "complete redemption." On the face of it, there was in the past a situation similar to our own today - a Jewish settlement in Israel existed simultaneously with large and creative Jewish communities in the exile. It is not clear to us how the Jews in the Babylonian exile reconciled, over a period of hundreds of years, the contradiction between their prayers for the ingathering of the exiles and their continued residence outside of Israel. Political and

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economic factors probably played a role. The masses once tended to see major changes in their status as the result of divine initiative; in our day, human initiative is not only justified by the majority, it is glorified. Consequently, there has been an intensification of the confusion among us concerning the refraining of most of the nation from joining in the task of building of the state. In the foreseeable future this confusion will not be reduced, because authentic Jewish education will maintain the confusion and the tension. On the other hand, the "portable" basis of Judaism is certainly capable of supplying Jewish content and meaning to the inhabitants of the diaspora. Those who seek to mend the rift between their deeds and their prayers will generate, as in the past, a thin trickle of aliyah.

As was said above, Jewish education will be able to connect the Jewish inhabitants of the state of Israel with the Jews of the diaspora only insofar as it can plant in the hearts of those who live in the land of Israel the recognition that the state is only a means to the higher end of "mending the world in the kingdom of God" (keeping with all interpretation which upholds the principle that the state is only a means for the actualization of universal values); and in the hearts of those who live in the diaspora the recognition that "mending the world" must begin with the internal mending of the deeds of "the people of the Covenant of God." To the extent that Jewish education succeeds in both camps, there will be a coming together of the two: Jewish society in Israel will move toward a way of life which seeks to embody transcendent values, and diaspora Jews will be drawn, by virtue of their identification with the principles of Judaism, to participate in the bold experiment being carried out in the state - the actualization of those principles (7).

Even though it is not my task to discuss the means for the attainment of the product of the education described here, I must comment on one matter which is perhaps means, perhaps educational content: the Hebrew language. This matter is, of course, only relevant to Jewish education in the diaspora. The full Jewish weight of the concepts and values mentioned above cannot be transmitted in translation. For us, translations were meant to serve as an aid in understanding the original; therefore no translation could replace the original, but could only stand alongside it, as an explication of what was read or heard. In this matter, custom has even overruled law: one is permitted, for example, to recite the Shema in any language he understands; however, in practice, throughout all the generations, the "Shema" has been recited only in Hebrew, on account of the full weight stored precisely in the syllables of the Hebrew text.

That it is possible to teach the Hebrew language in the diaspora to a level sufficient for understanding the sources in their original language has been proven by experience - assuming the curriculum allocates sufficient time, resources and skilled personnel to the task. The matter depends on the willingness of the community to recognize the acquisition of the language as an objective which must necessarily be achieved in order for Jewish heritage to be acquired in a meaningful manner. This willingness is in turn dependent on the degree to which the community perceives meaningful Jewish education to be necessary.

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It follows that meaningful Jewish education will draw those who enjoy it and are built by it to deepen their knowledge of the Hebrew language. The more students feel spiritual fulfillment in their studies, the more their willingness to invest effort in them will increase, even at the expense of their full participation in non-Jewish culture. But it is doubtful that such an identification with Judaism can be born without direct nourishment from its sources. On the other hand, shallow Jewish education will not justify itself in the eyes of the students, and will surely give rise to opposition and indifference to the point where it will defeat all the teacher's attempts to pass it on. The students will seek satisfaction from foreign spiritual and cultural sources.

It may seem as if I have made my task easy by ignoring the difficult realities of Jewish education, and that I painted a portrait of a product of education which exists only in the realm of vision, if not fantasy. My hope is that sounding the meditations of a layman-educator like myself to the ears of professionals in the field may help stimulate thoughts which are more directed toward a solution for Jewish education - even if, in the end, my ideas turn out to be useful only as a foil for debate.

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Notes

1.   My intention is to suggest an approach to Jewish content which is not based on any special teaching about revelation, or on   a-priori faith assumptions, or even on an assumption about the uniqueness of Judaism (not to mention the assumption of its superiority over other religions).   I adopted this approach from the scholarly study of religion, which understands religion to be a necessary phenomenon and which views religions as being founded in human nature and the good society.   I have expanded my views on this approach in my essay "Identity, Reason and Religion" (Hebrew) in the anthology "On the Bible and Judaism" (Hebrew), (Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 1984), pages 247-74.   Some of my meditations on the implications of this approach for the teaching of Judaica also appear in this anthology, on pages 275-349.   It is on the basis of this approach that I assume that it is within the capacity of the basic literary creations of Judaism to respond to spiritual needs which are naturally ingrained in the student's soul and consequently that there is no need for a-priori assumptions about these works in order to justify their being studied.

2.   The study of Jewish history in the program which I imagine serves the study of history of Jewish thought and literature - one which was created by a chain of exemplary people. What are the prototypes in Jewish tradition which, when internalized, create a personal Jewish identity?   From one perspective, one could claim that all these prototypes are historical.   The Bible is annotated history, the saga of the development of a nation as an ongoing and crisis-ridden dialogue with God.   Legal compendiums, the establishment of conventional worship, texts of poetry, wisdom and prophecy are integrated into this saga and bound up with its heroes.   The saga embodies a theology, a cosmogony, a political doctrine, ethical practices, and an eschatology - all unfold in the stream of time.   The Oral Torah also passes through the chain of tradition and its outgrowths: Biblical commentary, Halachic literature (responsa and codifications), verse, thought, the literature of legends, the literature of moral proverbs, Jewish mysticism.   All these are included in my conception of the fundamental literature of Judaism and its development [in tradition] which serves as the subject matter for study.   This flow of creativity is the spiritual history of our nation - it is an expression of Judaism.   This conception of Judaism as a continuity of confrontation with eternal ideas, a flowing creativity inspired by timeless prototypes, is what guides my program of study.

   I distinguish between the spiritual history of the Jews (whose literary crystallizations define Judaism) and the material history of the Jews.   The material history is the basis upon which the spiritual history was created and to a certain degree, the former determined the latter's characteristics (for example, its languages).   It is according to this same degree of influence that one must be familiar with the material history, in order to understand those characteristics.   However, the basic assertion of Jewish spiritual creativity is the that the spirit is superior to matter and that it cannot be made subservient to matter.   This assertion is what should guide this program of study as well.   The exemplary spiritual creations of Judaism crossed geographical boundaries and time periods and skipped over obstacles of language; so too must the program of study present them as

of an eternal nature while being given in a temporal framework, an eternal nature which changes as a result of internal developments and of ongoing encounters with foreign worlds in which it situated.

Material Jewish history and Jewish literature broadly defined are within the confines of Jewish education to the extent that they illuminate the fundamental texts, whether by illumination of the conditions under which these texts arose and became widespread, or by providing an account of their development and impact. I do not see the study of Jewish material history in and of itself, nor the study of Jewish literature (and art) in all its formal and historical manifestations as Jewish education, but rather as subject matter through which an ideal Jewish education will motivate and encourage the student to express further interest. These areas certainly have in them the power to deepen national consciousness, to reinforce national identity, and to season the bond to Judaism with the spice of aesthetic pleasure. However, when it comes to giving meaning to Jewish life, when we wish to transmit eternal values which bind the soul to the continuum of the generations, the shelf containing the fundamental books, shared by all the generations, is our primary educational resource.

3. In my article, "Identity, Reason and Religion" (see note 1), I expanded on the necessity for religious symbols; I wrote:

> "How is it possible to portray or to imagine the aspects of that realm, of the invisible? How can one conceptualize these aspects in order to meditate upon them? How can they be expressed so to make it possible for one to share them with others? Only through the medium of symbols - objects, terms, stories, texts or behaviors, the sole purpose of all of which is to point to a reality which is beyond them. Substantial encounters with the transcendent realm can be achieved only through symbols; and only through them is it possible to develop the recognition of the transcendent realm, to ponder upon it, to share it with another and to instill it in his heart. This is because symbols of the transcendent realm have the unique quality not only of being able to intimate and to represent, but also of being able to awaken one to action. The symbols are instruments which sustain the excitement of the soul, and through them it is possible as well to activate the soul.

> "The absolute value of religion's accessories and customs is in their symbolizing the transcendent realm and in their infusion of the recognition of this realm into everyday human life. There is no invention here of a realm which is extraneous to the essence of the human being; rather, these symbols provide an outer expression and manifestation to the invisible realm which every human recognizes. Thus it is made possible for a human to sense, to be awakened and to waken others to this realm. The truth of the religious accessories is in the degree to which they express and expand the transcendent realm. This is a truth which proves itself to the person who utilizes these accessories in that through them, his recognition of this realm continuously grows, continuously deepens. Yet, at the same time, the basis for understanding religious symbols is to recognize that the truth is not in the symbol, but in that which is symbolized by the symbol; the system of religious symbols intimate not only what is beyond the human and what is greater than him, but also what is beyond and greater than the system of religious symbols itself " (pp. 250 - 52).

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4. The shelf of fundamental Jewish books does not stand in isolation. It is possible to derive fundamental values from books found on other shelves as well. The aim of this approach, as was stated, is that the Jewish student will not turn to strangers in order to draw from them fundamental existential values. In all periods, Jews entered into an ongoing negotiation with the cultural world in which they settled. In this negotiation, values originating in external sources were assimilated into Judaism. However, Jews accepted these as obligatory upon them on the basis of Jewish assumptions. For example: the value of democracy was created outside of Judaism, but Jewish thinkers sought out and found a basis for it in Jewish sources (see for example the essay written by my father of blessed memory, Simon Greenberg, "Judaism and the Democratic Idea," in his book "Foundations of a Faith," pp. 113-34). This process of adopting and Judaizing all that is "good and fair" in the culture of the nations is precisely what prevented Judaism from becoming obsolete and fossilized.

5. On matters of the morality of the Bible and of Judaism and its problems see the essay by Haim Roth, "The Moral Shift in Jewish Ethics (Hebrew)", in his book "Religion and the Values of Life (Hebrew)", (Jerusalem, Magnes, 1973) pp. 89-106; also S.H. Bergman, "Extension and Reduction in Jewish Ethics (Hebrew)," in his booklet "Heaven and Earth (Hebrew)," Shdemot (no date) pp. 29-38; and my essays, "You are Called Human (Hebrew)" in "On the Bible and Judaism", op. cit., pp. 55-67; and "How Should the Bible be Interpreted in Our Day (Hebrew)," in "Chosenness and Power (Hebrew)," (Sifriyat Poalim/Hakibbutz Hame'uchad, 1986) pp. 49-67.

6. In a deliberation with Seymour Fox on this section, the following clarification arose (the following is a paraphrase): "Whoever is instilled with Jewish values will want a 'world' to support his values. This 'world' could be an enclave - a community which intentionally develops a way of life which is different than that of its surroundings, a sub-culture, as it were. A difficult question is whether an ideal Jewish education is not contingent upon the development of a sub-culture. It could be that graduates of all educational systems which cultivate defined ideas and values aspire to create an enclave or sub-culture in which they can attain a maximal degree of self-fulfillment. See also the end of the essay.

6. I have expanded on the topic of the Jewish character of the state of Israel in my essay "The Task of Masorati Judaism," in J.S. Ruskay et al., eds. "Deepening the Commitment: Zionism and the Conservative/Masorti Movement," 137 - 146.

Introductory Message from the Roshei Ha-Yeshiva

The goal of the Yeshiva is to mold each and every one of its *talmidim* as a *ben Torah*, in the fullest sense of that multifaceted term. In the spirit of the *mishna's* statement that the world rests on three things, *al haTorah, al ha-avoda ve-al gemilut chasadim*, we strive to develop three facets of a *talmid's* character during this critical juncture in his life. It is our hope that our *talmidim* will come to love and master the Torah. To resist the tide of a predominantly secular world, we aim to inculcate religious depth that leads to true *avoda she-be-lev - be-she'at tefilla* and beyond. Finally, we strive to instill within our *talmidim* a refined moral sensitivity. To this multiple end, the focus of learning at the Yeshiva in all areas of Torah, is on learning *be-iyun*. At the same time, in the classic yeshiva tradition, we emphatically hold that growth as a *ben Torah* is not purely intellectual but part of a total and integrated spiritual experience. Torah and its values are not only to be understood but appreciated and absorbed.

This process is demanding and a *talmid* must bring to it seriousness, dedication, and a readiness to transcend simplistic modes while striving to think and feel in depth. We aim to inculcate awareness of the complexity of religious life. This means a profound commitment to the centrality of Torah. But it also means a measure of openness to the world - through recognizing the value of *yishuvo shel olam* and appreciating the best that has been thought and created in other cultures. It means that we strive to recognize both the timeless dimension of Torah and the historical nature of our existence. Finally, it means educating our *talmidim* to strike a balance between personal growth and public responsibility.

By its nature, a *talmid's* stay at the yeshiva is concentrated and inner-directed. However, it is also a preparation for what lies beyond -a life of service to *klal Yisrael*, in either a professional or lay capacity. The Yeshiva is committed not only to molding individuals but to developing communal leadership by stimulating both the ability and desire to serve. This dual message is inherent in the very structure of the yeshiva as a *yeshivat hesder* and is much stressed within it.

The opportunity to become a *ben Torah* presents both a privilege and a responsibility. As both *zekhut* and *chova*, the choice beckons to those ready to respond to the challenge.

Rav Aharon Lichtenstein   Rav Yehuda Amital

THE IDEOLOGY
OF HESDER:
THE VIEW FROM
YESHIVAT HAR ETZION

Aharon Lichtenstein

In memory of the following students and graduates of Yeshivat Har Etzion who have fallen in defence of the State of Israel.

Asher Yaron
Sriel Birnbaum
Avner Yonah
Rafael Neuman
Daniel Orlik
Moshe Tal
Amatzia Ilani
Binyamin Gal
BenZion Leibowitz
Nachum Fenigstein
Yitzchak Lavi
Ramy Buchris

The Ideology of Hesder: The View From Yeshivat Har Etzion

By Aharon Lichtenstein

Half a dozen years ago, advocacy of the cause of yeshivot hesder before the American Jewish public would have seemed largely superfluous. The impact of the Yom Kippur War was then still strong, the memory of hesderniks' role within it still vivid, the halo of the heroic student-soldier yet fresh. The religious community, in particular, took great pride in a clearly perceived *kiddush hashem*. Almost everyone had seen some striking picture or heard some moving story: of boys (they really were not much more) who had gone into battle wearing *tefillin*; of a group which had stunned its brigadier by inquiring, during a nocturnal lull in the Sinai campaign, whether and when they would be provided with a *lulav* and an *etrog*; of another which, after a disheartening day on the battlefield, improvised *Simhat Torah* dancing and *hakafot* by the banks of the Suez Canal. Almost everyone had read comments of leading Israel Defence Forces commanders praising the courage and commitment of *bnei yeshivot*, noting both the inspirational qualities

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A hesder yeshiva is one in which the students combine military service with traditional yeshiva studies. In Israel today there is a universal draft for young-men with service required for three years. Students in a post-secondary yeshiva with a hesder program (hesder means arrangement) must agree to a five year program during which a minimum of fifteen months, usually divided in two periods of nine and six months, is devoted to military training. Following completion of the program the young men enter the reserves and are subject to all its regulations. In non-hesder yeshivot the students are completely exempt from military service.

The term 'hesdernik' is 'Israeli' for a hesder student.

which had done so much to boost collective morale and their vital role in the forefront of the actual fighting. And there was, of course, the litany of suffering, the grim statistics of the yeshivot's highly disproportionate casualties, to attest to that role. Within the context of pervasive sadness and pride, the ideological presentation of hesder seemed largely unnecessary. The reality spoke for itself.

Today, thank God, such a presentation is in order. Time has healed many wounds and dimmed many memories. Above all, it has opened fresh vistas and posed new challenges, these hopefully unrelated to the battlefront. We have seen the first glimmers of peace; and, for the moment at least, the country appears relatively secure. And as our sense of danger is dulled, as our roseate hopes lull us into a sense of imagined security, as the perception of just how close Syrian armored columns had come to swooping down upon the Galil and beyond becomes blurred—hesder and its cause evidently needs, if not an advocate, at least an expositor. This brief essay is therefore presented as a modest exposition of the essence of hesder and its significance—at least as viewed from the perspective of Yeshivat Har Etzion.

The typical graduate of an Israeli yeshiva high school is confronted by one of three options. He can, like most of his peers, enter the army for a three-year stint. Alternatively, he can excuse himself from military service on the grounds that *torato umnuto*, "Torah is his vocation," while he attends a yeshiva whose students receive the Israeli equivalent of a 4-D exemption. Finally, he can enroll in a yeshivat hesder, in which case, over roughly the next five years, he will pursue a combined program of traditional Torah study with service in the Israeli army. While at the yeshiva, he will learn full-time (hesder is not an Israeli R.O.T.C.), but there will be two protracted absences from it, one of nine months and the other of six months, for training and duty.

Of these three courses, hesder is, in one sense, perhaps the easiest. Properly speaking, however, it is also the most arduous. The advantages, judged from a student's perspective, are fairly clear. Most obviously, the tour of actual army service is shorter. While a student is tied down by hesder for almost five years, he only spends, unless he becomes an officer, about sixteen months in uniform. Most important, however, hesder provides a convenient framework for discharging two different—and to some extent, conflicting—obligations. It enables him, morally and psychologically, to salve both his religious and his national conscience by sharing in the collective defence burden without cutting himself off from the matrix of Torah. Socially—and this of course has religious implications as well—hesder offers him a desirable context as, even while in the army, he will often be stationed with fellow hesderniks. And hesder enables him, pragmatically, to keep his future academic and vocational options open. Unlike his peers at non-hesder yeshivot, he can, upon completing the hesder program, legally pursue any course of study and/or employment within the mainstream of Israeli society.

These are legitimate and even important considerations. But they are not what hesder, ideally considered, is all about. Properly understood, hesder poses more of a challenge than an opportunity; and in order to perceive it at its best we need to focus upon difficulty and even tension rather than upon convenience. Optimally, hesder does not merely provide a religious cocoon for young men fearful of being contaminated by the potentially secularizing influences of general army life—although it incidentally serves this need as well. Hesder at its finest seeks to attract and develop *bnei torah* who are profoundly motivated by the desire to become serious *talmidei hachamim* but who concurrently feel morally and religiously bound to help defend their people and their country; who, given the historical exigencies of their time and place, regard this dual commitment as

both a privilege and a duty; who, in comparison with their non-hesder confreres love not (to paraphrase Byron's Childe Harold) Torah less but Israel more. It provides a context within which students can focus upon enhancing their personal spirutal and intellectual growth while yet heeding the call to public service, and it thus enables them to maintain an integrated Jewish existence.

To be sure, the two aspects of hesder, the spiritual and the military, are hardly on a par. The disparity is reflected, in part, in the unequal division of time. Primarily, however, it concerns the realm of value, within which two elements, each indispensable, may yet be variously regarded. When the *mishnah* states, "If there is no flour, there is no Torah; if there is no Torah, there is no flour," it hardly means that both are equally important. What it does mean is that both are, in fact, equally necessary, although, axiologically and teleologically, flour exists for the sake of Torah and not vice versa. *Il faut manger pour vivre, il ne faut pas vivre pour manger.* ("One should eat in order to live, not live in order to eat"), declaims one of Moller's characters; and so it is with hesder. The yeshiva prescribes military service as a means to an end. That end is the enrichment of personal and communal spiritual life, the realization of that great moral and religious vision whose fulfillment is our national destiny; and everything else is wholly subservient. No one responsibly connected with any yeshivat hesder advocates military service *per se*. We avoid even the slightest tinge of militarism and we are poles removed from Plato's notion that the discipline of army life is a necessary ingredient of an ideal education. No less than every Jew, the typical *hesdernik* yearns for peace, longs for the day on which he can divest himself of uniform and uzzi and devote his energies to Torah. In the interim, however, he harbors no illusions and he keeps his powder dry and his musket ready.

In one sense, therefore, insofar as army service is alien to the ideal Jewish vision, hesder is grounded in necessity rather than choice. It is, if you will, *b'dlavad*, a *post facto* response to a political reality imposed upon us by our enemies. In another sense, however, it is very much *l'chathillah*, a freely willed option grounded in moral and Halachic decision. We—at Yeshivat Har Etzion, at any rate—do not advocate hesder as a second-best alternative for those unable or unwilling to accept the rigors of single-minded Torah study. We advocate it because we are convinced that, given our circumstances—would that they were better—military service is a *mitzvah*, and a most important one at that. Without impugning the patriotism or ethical posture of those who think otherwise, we feel that for the overwhelming majority of *bnei torah* defence is a moral imperative.

Hence, to the extent that the term hesder, "arrangement," connotes an accommodation arrived at between conflicting sides, it is somewhat of a misnomer. Hesder is not the result of a compromise between the respective positions of *roshei yeshiva* and the Ministry of Defence. It is rather a compromise with reality. We do occasionally argue with the generals over details and they do not always sufficiently appreciate the preeminence of the spiritual factor. The basic concern with security, however, is ours no less than theirs.

Of course, that concern must be balanced against others. *Knesset Israel* needs not only security but spirituality—and ultimately, the former for the sake of the latter. Those who, by dint of knowledge and inspiration, are able to preserve and enrich our moral vision and spiritual heritage, contribute incalculably to the quality of our national life; and this must be considered in determining personal and collective priorities. Hence, while we of yeshivot hesder, feel that training and subsequent reserve status for men should be virtually universal—spiritual specialization being reserved at most for a truly elite cadre—the length of post-training service should be justifiably briefer than that of those unable or unwilling to make

a comparable spiritual contribution. The military establishment, I might add, generally understands this. Junior officers, currently concerned with keeping good soldiers in their units, sometimes complain about what they regard as this inequity. However, higher level commanders, more keenly aware of the total picture and the longer term, recognize the value of the spiritual aspect of hesder as inspirationally significant, for *bnei yeshiva* as well as their comrades, in the event of war. It should be emphasized, however, that from a Torah perspective, the justification for abbreviated service does not rest solely or even primarily upon the yeshiva's stimulus to bravery. It is grounded, rather, in the intrinsic and immeasurable value of Torah per se—indeed, in the faith and hope that it moves us toward the realization of the prophetic vision, "Neither by force nor by might but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

The case for hesder rests, then, upon several simple assumptions. First, during the formative post-secondary years, a *ben torah* should be firmly rooted in a preeminently Torah climate, this being crucially important both for his personal spiritual development and for the future of a nation in critical need of broadly based spiritual commitment and moral leadership. Second, the defence of Israel is an ethical and Halachic imperative—be it because, as we believe, the birth of the state was a momentous historical event and its preservation of great spiritual significance or because, even failing that, the physical survival of its three million plus Jewish inhabitants is at stake. Third, in light of the country's current military needs—and these should admittedly be reassessed periodically—yeshiva students should participate in its defence, both by undergoing basic and specialized training, thus becoming part of the reserves against the possibility, God forbid, of war, and by performing some actual service even during some period of uneasy peace. The need for such participation is based upon several factors. By far the most important is the fact that in the eventuality of war the Israeli ar-

my may very well need every qualified soldier it can muster. And lest one think that the number is militarily insignificant, let it be noted that, while indeed they may not seem all that many, nevertheless the boys currently enrolled in hesder, not to mention those who have moved on to the reserves, can man over four hundred tanks—surely no piddling figure. This factor relates to training more than to peacetime service but with respect to the latter as well both common fairness and self-respect dictate that the Torah community make some contribution even if it be justifiably smaller than others'. Moreover, the ethical moment aside, such a contribution is a matter of self-interest as well—and not only because it is, after all, our own home that we are defending. Service enables the individual soldier to avert the moral and psychological onus of the drone and it enables the religious community as a whole to avoid both the reality and the stigma of parasitism. It helps build personal character, on the one hand, and opens channels of public impact on the other, by producing potential leaders attuned to the pulse and the experience of their countrymen. To be sure, the prospect of secular criticism should not routinely be the decisive factor in determining religious policy. Nevertheless, it cannot be totally ignored. *Hazal*, at any rate, did not regard *hillul hashem* and *kiddush hashem* lightly.

If the rationale underlying hesder is relatively simple, its implementation is anything but. I described it at the outset as the most difficult of the options open to a yeshiva high school graduate; and, seriously taken, it is precisely that. The difficulty is not incidental. It is, rather, grounded in the very nature and structure of hesder; and it is threefold. First, there is the problem of dual commitment per se, the possible loss of motivation and momentum and the division of time, energies, and attention inherent in the fusion of the study of Torah with any other enterprise, academic, vocational, or what have you. "If I had been present at Mount Sinai," said Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai, "I would

have asked of the Merciful One that two mouths should be created for every person, one with which to study Torah and one with which to attend to all his [other] needs" (Yerushalmi, Berachot, 1:2). His wish is deeply shared by hesdernika and their masters.

With reference to hesder, specifically, there is, however, an additional problem: the conflict of values, life style, and sensibility between *bet midrash* and boot camp, especially in a predominantly secular army. The danger is not so much that students will lose their faith and become non-observant. On this score, *yeshivot hesder* have a track record at least as good as their immediate Eastern European predecessors'. It is, rather, a problem of possible attrition—the loss of refinement and the dulling of moral and religious sensitivity which may result from exposure to the rougher aspects of a possibly dehumanizing and despiritualizing existence. As the Ramban (Devarim, 23:10) noted, the qualities of aggressiveness and machismo which are so central to military life naturally run counter to the Torah's spiritual discipline, and a genuine and conscious effort is needed in order to avoid moral corruption and spiritual corrosion.

Probably the greatest difficulty, however, concerns neither the practical ramifications of the diffusion of effort nor the grappling with potentially inimical influences. It concerns the very essence of hesder: the maintenance of a tenuous moral and ideological balance between its two components. At issue is a conflict of loves, not just of labors. At one level, this is simply the problem of religious Zionism writ large. On the one hand, a yeshivat hesder seeks to instill profound loyalty to the State of Israel. On the other hand, it inculcates spiritual perspectives and values which are to serve as the basis for a radical critique of a secularly oriented state and society. The problem acquires another dimension however, when that loyalty includes the readiness to fight and die. Moreover, it involves, at a second level, issues which are specifically related to a student-soldier per se. Like all yeshivot, a yeshivat hesder seeks to instill a love for Torah so profound and so pervasive as to render protracted detachment from it painful—and yet it demands precisely such an absence. It advocates patriotic national service even at some cost to personal development, and yet prescribes that students serve considerably less than their non-yeshiva peers. These apparent antinomies are the result of the basic attempt to reconcile conflicting claims and duties by striking a particular balance: one which should produce an aspiring *talmid hacham* who also serves rather than a soldier who also learns; one which perceives military service as a spiritual sacrifice—we don't want students to be indifferent to their loss—but which proceeds to demand that sacrifice; one which encourages a hesdernik to excel as a soldier while in the army but prescribes his return to the *bet hamidrash* before that excellence is fully applied or perhaps even fully attained. From the yeshiva's perspectives, these antitheses are fully justified. Indeed, they constitute the very essence of hesder as a complex and sensitive balance. However, preserving that balance, with its multiple subtle nuances, entails traversing a narrow ridge—and here lies the primary difficulty, existential and not just practical, of hesder. Small wonder that many only achieve the balance imperfectly. It is, however, in those who do succeed in attaining the balance and who, despite the difficulty, are genuinely at peace with themselves, that hesder at its finest can be seen. And it is inspiring to behold.

These problems are very real. They pose a formidable educational challenge; and while they are by no means insuperable—the history of yeshivot hesder can attest to that—we ignore them at our peril. Moreover, it is precisely the adherents of hesder, those of us who grapple with its sophisticated demands on a regular basis, who are most keenly aware of the problems. Nevertheless—although stateless centuries have tended to obscure this fact—hesder has been the traditional Jewish way. This is not

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the place for the exhaustive analysis of proof-texts. But what were the milieux of Moshe Rabbenu, of Yeshoshua, of David, of Rabbi Akiva, as Hazal conceived and described them, but yeshivot hesder? Indeed, on the Ramban's view, the institution can be traced back to our very fountainhead. In explaining why Avimelech was so anxious to conclude a treaty with Yitzchak, he conjectures that it may have been due to the fact "that Avraham was very great and mighty, as he had in his house three hundred sword-wielding men and many allies. And he himself was a lion-hearted soldier and he pursued and vanquished four very powerful kings. And when his success became evident as being divinely ordained, the Philistine king feared him, lest he conquer his kingdom . . . And the sons emulated the fathers, as Yitzchak was great like his father and the king feared lest he fight him should he banish him from his land." (Ramban to Bereshit, 26:29). This account of lion-hearted avot and their sword-wielding disciples may fall strangely upon some ears. Although we don't like to admit it, our Torah world, too, has its vogues, and, in some circles, much of the Ramban on Bereshit—the real Ramban, honestly read and unflinchingly understood—is currently passé. The fact, however, remains: the primary tradition is hesder.

The reason is not hard to find. The Halachic rationale for hesder does not, as some mistakenly assume, rest solely upon the mitzvah of waging defensive war. If that were the case, one might conceivably argue that, Halachically, sixteen months of army service was too high a price to pay for the performance of this single commandment. The rationale rather rests upon a) the simple need for physical survival and b) the fact that military service is often the fullest manifestation of a far broader value: g'milut hasadim, the empathetic concern for others and action on their behalf. This element, defined by Hazal as one of the three cardinal foundations of the world, is the basis of Jewish social ethics, and its realization, even at some cost to single-minded development of Torah

scholarship, virtually imperative. The gemara in Avodah Zarah is pungently clear on this point: "Our Rabbis taught: When Rabbi Elazar ben Prata and Rabbi Hanina ben Tradion were arrested [i.e. by the Romans], Rabbi Elazar ben Prata said to Rabbi Hanina ben Tradion, 'Fortunate are you that you have been arrested over one matter, woe is to me who have been arrested over five matters'. Rabbi Hanina responded, 'Fortunate are you that you have been arrested over five matters but are to be saved, woe is to me who have been arrested over one matter but will not be saved. For you concerned yourself with both Torah and g'milut hasadim whereas I concerned myself solely with Torah'. As Rav Huna stated; for Rav Huna said, 'Whoever concerns himself solely with Torah is as one who has no God. As it is written, "And many days [passed] for Israel without a true God" (Divrei Hayamim II, 15:3). What is [the meaning of] "without a true God?" That one who concerns himself solely with Torah is as one who has no God' (Avodah Zarah, 17b). The midrash (Kohelet Rabbah, 7:4) equates the renunciation of g'milut hasadim with blasphemy; and the gemara in Rosh Hashanah states that Abbaye outlived Rabbah because he engaged in both Torah and g'milut hasadim whereas Rabbah had largely confined himself to the former. When, as in contemporary Israel, the greatest single hesed one can perform is helping to defend his fellows' very lives, the implications for yeshiva education should be obvious.

What is equally obvious is the fact that not everyone draws them—and this for one of several reasons. Some (not many, I hope) simply have little if any concern for the State of Israel, even entertain the naive notion that, as one rosh yeshiva put it, their business could continue as usual with Palestinian flags fluttering from the rooftops. Others feel that the spiritual price, personal and communal, is simply too high and that first-rate Torah leadership in particular can only be developed within the monochromatic contexts of "pure" yeshivot. Still others contend that, from the perspective of

genuine faith and trust in God, it is the yeshivot which are the true guardians of the polity so that any compromise of their integrity is a blow at national security. These contentions clearly raise a number of basic moral, Halachic, and theological issues with respect to which I obviously entertain certain views. However, I do not wish, at this juncture, to polemicize. These are matters on which honest men of Torah can differ seriously out of mutual respect and I certainly have no desire to denigrate those who do not subscribe to my own positions. What I do wish to stress minimally, however, is the point that, for the aspiring *talmid hacham*, hesder is at least as legitimate a path as any other. It is, to my mind, a good deal more; but surely not less.

In making any assessment, it is important that we approach the subject with full awareness of the military ramifications—a point not always sufficiently heeded. The story is reliably told of a leading *rosh yeshiva* who, at the height of the controversy over *giyus banot*, "the drafting of women," back in the fifties, attended a wedding near the Israeli-Arab border in Jerusalem. At one point, gunfire was suddenly heard and he scurried under a table, exclaiming passionately, "*Ribono shel olam*, I want to live! There is much Torah which I yet wish to learn and create!" Whereupon a rather insensitive observer approached him and asked, "*Nu, rebbe, was sagt ihr itzer wegen giyus banos?*" (Well, rabbi, what do you say now about *giyus banot?*") And he kept quiet. I cite the story not because I favor the induction of women—under present circumstances, I very much oppose it—nor to impugn the memory of a truly great person but in order to point out that, at a certain distance, one can lose sight of the simple truth that a Jewish soul can only exist within a Jewish body.

That nagging truth persists, however, and its appreciation is central to the understanding of an institution designed to reconcile the conflicting claims of spirituality and security, of *talmud torah* and *g'milut hasadim*, of personal growth and public service. The present

dilemma posed by these claims is not of our choosing. The response, however, is; and, in this respect, yeshivot hesder are a conspectus of our collective anomaly: a nation with outstretched palm and mailed fist, striving for peace and yet training for war. For the foreseeable future, this is our situation. While, as previously noted, our position appears more promising than in the past, we are far from being genuinely secure and can hardly afford to weaken our defenses complacently. Hence, within the context of our "station and its duties" (to use F. H. Bradley's term), hesder is, for *bnei torah*, the imperative of the moment. May God grant us a better station. In the meantime, however, if it is to become no worse, we must keep both our spirits and our guard up. Animated by vision and yet chary of danger, we, of yeshivot hesder, pray that He may grant us the wisdom and the courage to cope with the challenges of the time.

Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein has been Rosh Yeshiva of Yeshivat Har Etzion since 1971. He was ordained at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, is a recipient of the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard University and for some years taught Talmud and English Literature at Yeshiva University. He is a son-in-law of the revered Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik of Boston. Rabbi Lichtenstein and his family moved to Israel in 1971.

Yeshivat Har Etzion, located in the area of Gush Etzion just 12 miles south of Jerusalem, was founded in 1968 immediately following the Six Day War by Rabbi Yehuda Amital who has been co-Rosh Yeshiva together with Rabbi Lichtenstein. Its hallmark is the high caliber of its program in Bible, Talmud and other Jewish studies combined with a strong involvement with the concerns and progress of the State of Israel. It is a post-secondary school and there are presently 385 students enrolled. Over sixty are from abroad, mostly from the States, and will remain for one to three years in a program devoted exclusively to Jewish studies.

JOHN DEWEY.

JOHN DEWEY, ABOUT 1890

The Dewey School

The Laboratory School
of the University of Chicago
1896-1903

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN DEWEY

Katherine Camp Mayhew
and
Anna Camp Edwards

An Atheling Book

CHAPTER XIV

PRINCIPLES OF GROWTH GUIDING SELECTION OF ACTIVITIES

IN the school, education was recognized as a maturing process, in which the young child grows in body and mind and in ability to handle himself in his physical environment and in his social relationships. The conditions for healthy bodily growth had long been recognized, but the idea that power to think depends upon the healthy growth and proper functioning of the mechanism of thought and its expression was, at that time, quite new. The bearing upon education of psychological science as a study of this mechanism, and of the conditions that minister to and promote its normal development in mental power and intelligent action was still for the most part unrecognized.

Two psychological assumptions of the school's hypothesis, basic to its theory and controlling its practices, were radically different from those that underlay the prevalent educational theory and practice. The first of these recognized a psychological and biological distinction between the child and the adult, as a result of which it is neither physiologically nor mentally possible to describe children as "little men and women." The adult is a person with a calling and position in life. These place upon him specific responsibilities which he must meet. They call into play formed habits. The child's primary calling is growth. He is forming habits as well as using those already formed. He is, therefore, absorbed in making contacts with persons and things and in getting that range of acquaintance with the physical and ideal factors of life which should be the background and afford the material for the specialized activities of later life. Recogni-

tion of this difference, therefore, conditioned the selection and arrangement of all school materials and methods in order to facilitate full normal growth. It also required faith in the results of growth to provide the power and ability for later specialization.

The second assumption was that the conditions which make for mental and moral progress are the same for the child as for the adult. For one, as for the other, power and control are obtained through realizing personal ends and problems, through personal choosing of suitable ways and means, and through adapting, applying and thereby testing what is selected in experimental and socially acceptable action.

ACTIVITIES OF THE CURRICULUM

The studies in the curriculum, the physical and social set-up of the school building and classrooms, the type of equipment, and the method of instruction all had to be chosen with the idea of the growing child in mind. His changing interests and needs and his ideally increasing power to act, to initiate, to judge, and to accept responsibility for the consequences of his action had to be considered. In selecting studies, it was accepted that a child's present living contains within itself elements, facts, and truths of the same sort as those that enter into the various formulated studies such as geography or other sciences. To constantly develop the possibilities inherent in the child's immediate crude experience was an important problem of the curriculum. It was also recognized as more important, that the attitudes, motives, and interests of the growing child are identical with those that operate in developing and organizing the subject-matter of these studies. In other words, specialized studies were thought of as outgrowths of present forces that are operating in the child's life. The problem of instruction was to help the child discover for himself the steps that intervene between his present experience and these organized and classified bodies of facts known as chemistry, physics, history, geography, etc. Subject-matter was not thought of as something fixed and ready-made in itself, outside the

child's experience; nor was the child's experience thought of as hard and fast, but as something fluent, embryonic, vital.

[1] "The child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process. Just as two points define a straight line, so the present standpoint of the child and the facts and truths of studies define instruction. It is a continuous reconstruction, moving from the child's present experience out into that represented by the organized bodies of truth that we call studies.

"On the face of it, the various studies, arithmetic, geography, language, botany, etc., are themselves experience--they are that of the race. They embody the cumulative outcome of the efforts, the strivings, and the successes of the human race, generation after generation. They present this, not as a mere accumulation, not as a miscellaneous heap of separate bits of experience, but in some organized and systematic way—that is, as reflectively formulated.

"Hence, the facts and truths that enter into the child's present experience and those contained in the subject-matter of studies are the initial and final terms of one reality."

Specialized studies are the systematized and defined experience of the adult mind. While not parts of the immediate life of the child, they define and direct the movement of his activities. They are far-away objectives, but are, nevertheless, of great importance, for they supply the guiding method in dealing with the present. As part of the experience of the adult mind of the teacher, they are of indispensable value in interpreting the child's present life and in guiding or directing his activities. Interpretation of the present in terms of the past for use in future activities, and guidance in the performance of these activities are the two essential elements in the instruction process.

[2] "To interpret a fact is to see it in its vital movement, to see it in its relation to growth. But to view it as a part of a normal growth is to secure the basis for guiding it. Guidance is not ex-

[1] John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1902).
[2] *Op. cit.*

ternal imposition. *It is freeing the life-process for its own most adequate fulfilment.*"

STAGES OF GROWTH

It was necessary to keep in mind that the various stages of a child's growth are transitional, blend into one another, and over lap. His present experience is but an index of certain growth-tendencies. It cannot be isolated from his developing experience. His development is a definite process having its own law which can be fulfilled only when adequate and normal conditions are provided.

The teacher's part in this coming-to-maturity process is that of interpreter and guide as the child reënacts, rediscovers, and reconstructs his experience from day to day. The teacher sets the stage for the moving drama of the child's life, supplies the necessary properties when needed, and directs the action both toward the immediate goal of the child and also toward the direction of that far-away end which is clear in her mind, but as yet unseen by the child.

It was essential that the activties selected for a school life providing this sort of growing experience should be, first of all, *basic;* that is, those that provide for fundamental needs such as food, clothing, or shelter. Such activities are genuine and timeless. Their reality excites the interest of the child and enlists his effort, for they are what his elders do, have done, and must continue to do.

In the second place especially for young children these activities should be *simple.* The early modes of occupations and industries when primitive tools and machines were used such as the child can rediscover, reinvent, and reconstruct or the present small, general farm furnish activities that are both interesting to the child and within his constructive powers. They also introduce the child to raw materials which must be made over by him into the finished product of his imagination. Fear of raw material has been a great handicap of the educational past, in the laboratory, in the manual training shop, the Montessori House of Childhood, the Froebelian Kindergarten.

The demand has been for ready-made toys and materials, which other minds and hands or machines have produced. This is true in academic book-learning as well as in the subject-matter of active occupations. It is true that such material will control the child's operations so as to prevent mistakes, but the idea that a child using such materials will somehow achieve without effort the intelligence that originally shaped or stated this material is false.

Furthermore, these activities are not merely things a child is interested in doing; they typify social situations and involve the relationships which he can feel and understand. A child can no more enter into or understand the present social organization without experiencing the simpler stages of living than he can appreciate a musical symphony without having shared in the simpler forms of music. Man's fundamental common concerns center about food, clothing, and shelter, household furnishings and the appliances connected with production, exchange and consumption. They represent both the necessities of life and the adornments and luxuries with which necessities have been amplified. They tap instincts at deep levels. They are full of facts and principles having scientific, social, i. e., moral qualities and implications. Gardening, weaving, construction in wood, manipulation of metals, cooking, etc., have much more than a bread-and-butter value, and it is for education to reveal their scientific implication and social worth. Gardening gives an approach to knowledge of the place farming and horticulture have had in the history of the race and which they occupy in the present social organization. Scientifically controlled gardening thus becomes the means for studying facts of growth, chemistry of soil, rôle of light, air, and moisture, etc., or elementary botany. These facts are thus seen as a part of life and have intimate correlations with facts about soil, animal, and human life. As the child matures he himself discovers problems of interest which he will want to pursue and thus pass over into more and more adult intellectual investigations.

When the subject-matter of the elementary curriculum is made up of these play and work activities, a child becomes familiar, during his formative period, with many aspects of

knowledge in relation to living. With increasing maturity he sees how the sciences gradually grow out from useful occupations, *physics* out of the use of tools and machines, chemistry out of processes of dyeing, cooking, metal smelting, etc. Mathematics is now a highly abstract science. Geometry, however, means literally earth-measuring. The use of number to keep track of things is far more important to-day than when it was invented.

"The most direct road for elementary students into civics and economics is found in the consideration of the place and office of industrial occupations in social life."

Furthermore, social occupations of this fundamental type enable the child to discover and become skilled in the use of the scientific method. They lead his thought and experimental action farther and farther afield. Concrete experiences in living and discovering as he lives, multiply. Horizons lift. Possibilities beckon. Skills improve. Knowledge put to use becomes wisdom, the woof of the web of living. What has proved helpful in a number of situations is drawn off (abstracted) and used in others. Abstraction thus becomes an instrument for intelligent action by which useful knowledge is fed into experience. Facts of knowledge are enlarged in significance, are seen in their human as well as their physical, technical or economic aspects. Little by little the social becomes identified with the moral interest.

This sort of growing experience was possibly best illustrated, in the school, in those groups of children who followed from the beginning the steadily developing course in cooking which was part of the program of all the elementary years. Year after year, as they cooked their luncheons, they tested their foods—cereals, vegetables, meats—for the presence of starch, proteins, fats, and other constituents. At the end of this continued course, in making a summary of these years of experimenting, great was the children's delight to find that they themselves could classify all foods ("a great number") into three great classes, in accord with the presence or absence in varying degree of

a John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 236.

carbohydrates, protein, and fat. Without knowing it, by successive, carefully interpreted, and guided steps, they had come to a realization that their kitchen was a laboratory, and that a certain phase of their cooking was a study of the chemistry of food. Thus appreciation grew of the efforts of the past which had given them a heritage of finesse in the science and art of cooking.

TYPES OF SUBJECT-MATTER

In an article, "The Place of Manual Training in the Elementary Course of Study," Mr. Dewey summarized six years' experimentation with the school program and these types and groupings of subject-matter. He placed the studies under three heads, finding this arrangement both clarifying and of some philosophic value. In the first group are those which are not so much studies as active pursuits or occupations, modes of activity, play and work, which appeal to the child for their own sake and yet lend themselves to educative ends. This sort of play and work gives the pupil command of a method of inquiry and experimental action, leads to inventive and creative effort and gradually to an understanding of the abstract sciences. In the second group is the subject-matter which gives the background of social life, including history and geography, history as the record of what has made the present forms of associated life what they are, geography as the statement of the physical conditions and theatre of man's social activities. In the third group are the studies which give the pupil command of the forms and methods of intellectual communication and inquiry, understanding *inquiry* to include science as the organ of social progress. Such studies as reading, grammar, and the more technical modes of arithmetic are the instrumentalities which the race has worked out as best adapted to further distinctively intellectual interests. The child's need of command of these, so that, using them freely for himself, he can appropriate the intellectual products of civilization, is so obvious that they constitute the bulk of the traditional curriculum. Mr. Dewey points out that in the more advanced stages of education it may be desirable to specialize these subjects in such a

way that they lose this direct relationship to social life, but in elementary education he finds that they are valuable just in the degree in which they are treated as furnishing the social setting or background of life.

"Along the lines of these three groups there is a movement away from direct personal and social interest to its indirect and remote forms. The first group represents to the child the same sort of activities that occupy him directly in his daily life, and with which he is thoroughly familiar. The second group is still social, but gives the background rather than the direct reality of associated life. The third group—such studies as reading and grammar and the various forms of arithmetic—is also social, not in itself or in any of its immediate suggestions and associations, but because of its ultimate motives and effects. The purpose of these latter is to maintain the continuity of civilization."

FIRST GROUP OF ACTIVE PURSUITS

In the school, the studies of the first group included all plays and games, the forms of bodily exercise usually classified as *physical culture*, and the various kinds of manual training or constructive work. There were also a variety of school resources not usually included under this head, such as the out-of-door excursions, and much of the more active observational and experimental work in nature study. In the latter, it was not so much the objective facts, much less the scientific laws, that concerned the child, as it was the direct manipulation of materials and the application of simple forms of energy to produce interesting results. Wide use was made of the various kinds of activities belonging to this first group of studies with children of all ages. It was recognized that physical activity, the use of the bodily organs, is a large part of whatever interests and absorbs a child.

A sound body is a first concern for normal, wholesome growth. Consequently, the play and physical culture program of the school was the result of much thought and careful planning.

John Dewey, "The Place of Manual Training in the Elementary Course of Study," *Manual Training Magazine*, Vol. II. No. 4 (July, 1901).

Even with the older children, because of the active life carried on at all times, the gymnasium was not thought of as a place to exercise; it was, rather, a place to play in when the weather did not permit play outdoors. It was also the place to deal with the particular weaknesses of children, either as groups or as individuals. A teacher of physical culture in charge of the work for a time describes the work with the various groups: [*]

The work with the young children (Groups I, II, III, ages 4-6) was confined chiefly to marching steps, when posture and rhythm were emphasized. Games came next, in which running played a large part. These served to develop the child's ability to coördinate and control himself, and prepare him for more difficult games requiring alertness, dexterity and strength. . . . It was some time before they learned how to play—how to follow rules and regulations and restrain their whole-hearted eagerness, and it still seems a question, after some months of work with all ages, as to how soon regular gymnastic work should begin with the younger children. The educational value of systematic games and plays for children under eight or nine years is far greater. These, however, should be developed systematically, from the simpler to the more complex, and would then be a great factor in developing the child's sense of coördination and control. This after all is the main object of physical training.

With the older groups (IV and V) more stress was laid on correct posture and regular gymnasium work. The plays, a great proportion of them ball games, were made more and more difficult, thus requiring increased coördination and self-control. Drills took up part of the time, the length of the drill increasing with their capacity, and some apparatus work had a marked effect upon the standing position of the children. Each week, fifty minutes was spent on gymnastic drill, forty to fifty on games, and twenty minutes on marching, running, and similar exercises.

The children of Group VIII spend much time learning to work together. Through their games a great deal was accomplished toward promoting a class spirit, and a certain amount of coöperation in their sports was soon noticed, especially when one part of the class was pitted against the other. Added to this there was a dawning realization that in order to win, it was not so much what each individual did that counted, but what they did as a whole. With the coming of warm weather, baseball revived, and both boys and girls were enthusiastic about it. The boys organized a team, elected officers, collected dues to pay for the outfit, and began practice. The girls took up fencing.

[*] Clark Peterson, Head of Department of Physical Culture, 1900-1902.

In Group X (age 13) the emphasis was laid on posture, and a visible improvement in the carriage and general control of the body was noticed, which seemed to show that more should be done in the way of applied gymnastics.

So many of the school's activities involved the child's whole body in such a controlled way that he developed physically as well as mentally. As before stated the limitations of the school's equipment and environment and financial resources handicapped the amount of dramatic and rhythmic expression important to a well-rounded development.

In the spring of 1900 the bad posture of many children resulted in a plan to give each child a thorough examination for physical defects. The age at which such an examination would be of help seems to have been discussed thoroughly. Some specialists held that, as the percentage of children under eight years with slight spinal deviations is great, such examinations under that age would be impracticable. The records show that all the children above Group III (age six) were individually examined. Of the forty-three girls, slight spinal curvatures were discovered in twenty; three cases seemed serious; seven were in poor physical condition irrespective of spinal curvatures. Fifty boys were examined; thirteen were found to have spinal curvatures; five cases were serious; and twelve were in poor physical condition. The examination was a rigid one, and all the slight deviations of the spine were noted, which accounts for the large number of curvatures. The cases were reported to the parents, and when necessary, special exericse was advised. The general conclusion was that a curvature is not a normal condition at any age and needs remedial measures.

In planning the program, preference was given to those physical activities which gave additional control over the child's whole organism through enlisting his social interest in the end or purpose of the activity, whether climbing a ladder, walking a beam gracefully, or playing a game well. The ulterior purpose of the teacher, however, was the development in the child of control, skill, quick thinking, and social attitudes. It is scarcely necessary to add that an essential element in all this health promotion program, and one recognized by all the de-

partments of the school, was the intelligent coöperation of the child himself through his interest in what contributed to his own well-rounded development and the proper functioning of his bodily organs. The place on each group's program for the periods of free bodily movement and play was planned with reference to the type of work that preceded and followed it, but the test of a satisfactory period of play and physical exercise was a quiet, poised, happy child. Such a child went to his next class with a contented spirit, ready and interested to enter into the work.

The department of physical education in this school never fully carried the finer extensions of its meanings to their expression in the art of rhythmic movement as now developed in the esthetic and interpretative dance. In the last year of the school, after it had moved into the School of Education buildings, and there was adequate and suitable space for such experimentation, the first steps toward such a development were taken.

Many of the activities of this first group of studies are part of daily life and minister to daily needs, such as the buying and preparation of food, the making of clothing, and the construction of shelter. They represent to a young child the familiar and yet mysterious and, therefore, intensely interesting things that adults do. They are the present; they suggest the past, and point to the future. They thus provide a thread of continuity in any situation, at any time, which links the child to his present no matter how far afield he may have gone—imaginatively.

* "No one any longer doubts the educational value of the training of hand and eye and, what is of greater importance, of hand and eye coördination. Nor is it necessary any longer to argue the fact that this training of hand and eye is also directly and indirectly a training of attention, constructive and reproductive imagination, and power of judgment. For many years the manual training movement has been greatly facilitated by

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* John Dewey," The Place of Manual Training in the Elementary Course of Study," *The University Record*, Vol. I, No. 31. (Address by Mr. Dewey before the Pedagogical Club, October 31, 1896.)

its happy coincidence with the growing importance attached in psychological theory to the motor element. The old emphasis upon the strictly intellectual elements, sensations and ideas, has given way to the recognition that a motor factor is so closely bound up with the entire mental development that the latter cannot be intelligently discussed apart from the former. Even more necessary in present-day society is the social understanding gained by every child who shares, emotionally as well as actually, in all forms of physical labor. . . .

"It is legitimate, therefore, to inquire whether there is not also something peculiarly appropriate upon the social side in demanding a considerable part in elementary education for this group of activities. We must go even deeper in our conception of the educational position of these activities. We ought to see where and how they not only give formal training of hand and eye, but lay hold of the entire physical and mental organism, give play to fundamental aptitudes and instincts, and meet fundamental organic necessities. It is not enough to recognize that they develop hand and eye, and that this development reacts favorably into the physical and mental development. We should see what social needs they spring out of and what social values, what intellectual and emotional nutriment they bring to the child which cannot be conveyed as well in any other way. . . .

"A child is attentive to what relates to his activities, in other words, to what interests him; hence the senses get their stimulus from the motor side, from what the child wishes to do. It is not necessary to make up a set of stimuli to hold his attention or to get him interested when he is using the saw or plane. His senses are on the alert, since he must use them to do something. This is the psychological reason for beginning with the child's activities. On the social side they introduce him to the world of human relationships; on the individual side they reveal him to himself as a factor in those relations."

The carpentry shop of the school was one of its main laboratories. The work there brought the children into relation with the occupations of the outside world. The study of the source of the materials for this work led the children to many coun-

tries; its tools and methods were linked to past ways and means, inventions and discoveries. These activities led to study of the sciences, of physics as the study of applied energy and of the methods of commerce and distribution. Much of the constructive work which was necessary and related to the development of the major activities of all the groups was carried on in the shop. For a number of years the head of the carpentry shop contributed more than many others to the worth of this form of manual training in the school's curriculum. From his experience he claims for manual training, as for all other occupations in the school, that it is not just an attempt to teach a child a trade, but is a part of the whole educational process.

[1] Because we teach a child to saw or plane, it does not follow that we expect the child to be a carpenter. What we do wish is to make the child think—to question—to wonder. One day a child was pushing a plane straight on a piece of wood and remarked to his neighbor how hard the plane worked. The small boy thus addressed said: "If you put your plane so (showing how to place the plane at an angle and yet be perfectly level with the edge of the board) it will work easier." When questioned why it worked more easily, he said it was because all of the plane was not on the board at once. The child, knowing almost nothing of friction, had discovered its principle in a concrete applied case, through his own efforts and experimentation.

It is more and more commonly recognized that the best place for manual training is in the lower grades, that the child gets more from it between the ages of four and fourteen than afterwards. Girls profit just as much as boys from this training in the early grades and are often as expert and more painstaking. . . .

Number work is an important skill and is closely allied to the shop-work. Even the making of a simple box calls for a variety of processes. In laying out the five or six parts of a box from a long piece of wood, multiplication and division of inches and fractions of an inch must be used. Subtraction of fractions enters into the cutting of the ends to fit the sides of the box. Addition of inches and fractions of inches is also brought out. In fact, there is no part of manual training that does not use the number processes, and mental arithmetic in various forms is often necessary. . . . Much of the work calls for practical geometry, and a set of small articles to help in demonstrating geometry was designed and made by the children, including protractors, squares bisected diagonally and cut to make

[1] Frank H. Ball, "Manual Training," *The Elementary School Record,* Vol. 1, No. 7.

forty-five degree triangles, certain forms to demonstrate kinds of angles and to show that opposite angles are equal . . .

In building the club-house, from the carpenter's point of view, many ideas new to the children were brought out. They were interested to find that in house construction as in textile work, we have warp and filling, and that we tie the parts to give strength. The various types of joints were discussed in detail, and models were made in the shop. The bill of lumber for the house involved much calculation and use of number processes. The number of feet of flooring, of drop-siding, the number of square feet to be covered by shingles, the number and length of rafters, sills, and corner posts were all calculated by the children. . . .

It has been said, "Manual Training is a distinct branch of education." Such is not the case. It is part of the whole education of the child, and by working in harmony with the other departments it becomes more so. . . . None of the other branches of the school lose dignity because they are made to dovetail into the other subjects. Why should manual training? Weaving is more interesting to children because they can make their own looms and spindles in the shop, and the shop work is more interesting because they can use their own products. History does not become dull because they have made in miniature the same things the people they have been studying about made. They encounter and appreciate the difficulties that primitive peoples met with, and understand better the labor and cost that has gone into the comforts and conveniences of the present. When a group of children came last year with eager faces and asked if they might make backs for the thermometer bulbs they had just finished in the science department, to them the shop-work was of vital importance for there they could make an essential part of those thermometers. Without the back it would have been simply a glass tube, filled with mercury. . . .

This correlation of manual training with other departments is in a state of evolution and will not be accomplished in one year, nor by one man. The results must be accomplished by the coöperation of all the teachers. When the group teacher submits articles necessary in her work and the manual training teacher helps the children to put them into form, bringing out in the process the principles of construction, elements of geometry or of tool practice which the child needs, good results will be reached. Formal number work is put to the test of practical use in the shop, and in countless other ways too numerous to mention, the work of the shop is a part of the complete whole.[*]

[*] Mr. Ball found that ordinary tools were much too heavy for the younger children. He planned and had made a lighter set of tools most frequently used, consisting of a hack-saw, chisel, plane, claw-hammer, and a special

Playing house or building houses and playing at house-keeping in them, after the manner of peoples being studied by the class, were constantly recurring activities of interest to each age in turn. The four- and five-year-olds built houses of blocks and then of boxes or cardboard and furnished them to take home. Much of the constructive work of the children in Groups I and II was carried on in their own room. When they came to work with wood, however, the need for skilled direction sent them to the carpenter shop for help. One year a group of eight-year-old boys, of their own choice and on their own initiative, constructed a large playhouse for the younger children to paint and furnish. Even at this self-centered age the pleasure of working for the kindergarten children carried them through the continued effort necessary to complete the house, to roof it properly, and to leave it in shape for the younger children to finish.

In the succeeding years of their school life, as they relived the story of developing civilization, the children studied the housing people of early times had found suitable to various physical environments. Some of the projects proved too long and repetitious to be worth while. Others were most successful and led the children on into further and related undertakings. When Group VI (9 years) were studying the early settlement of Chicago, they undertook the construction of a model of Fort Dearborn. This proved a long and arduous term's work, but was finally carried through and completed on the last day of the quarter. The next year these same children by mutual agreement planned and furnished the inside of a colonial room.

The building of the club-house, elsewhere described, was the peak-point in the development of the shelter activity program. What was accomplished seemed small even then in the light of what might have been done had there not been so many lacks in the way of equipment, time, and space. Its story, like that of any pioneering in any field, is the story of the blazing of a trail. It is difficult to tell in retrospect to what degree those

saw-bracket. These, with the pencil-compass, were all used successfully by the lower grades. There were no serious accidents, and the children gained in strength, skill, and accuracy.

children[1] or teachers who participated in the project realized the possibilities for its extension into the fields of architecture and house decoration, and thence into the world of artistic values and spiritual meanings.[a] It remains to-day only a hint of what might be.

The other activities used in the school were determined on the basis of what would be most constructive in broadening and deepening the child's daily experience into well-rounded wholes from which expression through language and other forms of communication would naturally evolve. Farming, forestry, pottery-making, basket-weaving, gardening, the smelting of metals such as copper, tin, gold, silver, and many other activities carried on sometimes in miniature held the children's interest and gave them a keener appreciation of raw materials, their sources and possibilities, the part they had played with peoples of the world, and their value in our present social organization.

SUMMARY

Technique was not stressed with the younger children. With them the chief interest was in the process. If the result, however faulty, served the purpose they had in mind, it satisfied them. Much of the meaning of the work in the graphic and auditory arts would have been lost if this had not been true. Painting in the early years is merely a putting on of color. If the surfaces of a box, a chair, the wall of a toy house, or just sheets of paper are thus covered, the end of the process, the application of color, for a little child, is a realized idea. He is expressing in color his idea of grass, of sky, of a dog or a man. To enable him by helpful and timely direction to increase his skill that it might be proportionate to the growth of his idea was an ideal that taxed to the utmost the skill of the art teacher.

[a] An alumna of the school writes as follows: "The building of the club-house, more than all the books I have read, than all the beautiful buildings I have seen, more than any other experience in my life, has helped me to see and appreciate architecture. I got far more out of helping with my own hands in this real and practical work than out of books." Josephine Crane (Mrs. H. C. Bradley).

Little by little, also, in response to need, desire awoke for skill in the more difficult arts of communication, and activities involving the use of the skills of reading, writing, or of commensurable numbers, took their place and time in the curriculum. Thus the list of the needful and useful activities of daily living multiplied. Their educational import became more and more apparent, demonstrated as it was, hour by hour, day by day, year by year. On the basis of this proof by practice of the educational and social value of activity, it is possible to draw certain generalizations which are in turn but a restatement of the original hypothesis.

Social occupations such as these appeal to the interest and powers of little people and at the same time typify to them in simplified and understandable form the general kinds of social activity of their gradually enlarging world. Children willingly enter into the sort of activity that occupies the adults of their world, for they recognize that they are genuine and worthy of effort. Such activities are capable of the utmost simplification to suit the powers of any age; they can also be amplified and extended to meet increasing interests and growing powers. The stream of developing conscious life in a child thus occupied becomes, as it were, a solvent for the absorption of useful information. Interest and effort reënforce one another in the process of learning how to do with increasing skill the things which occupy his larger world and are always just ahead of him, luring him on to better individual effort to meet individual and social needs.

The developing program thus opened up infinite 'possibilities for the extension of meanings. It aided the child to gain an intellectual constructiveness and a socialized disposition. The play of the first two years gradually took on the character of work, motivated as both were by the same social interest in purposeful activity directed to desired ends. The only appreciable difference between the two was in the child's own idea of the larger result of his work. These occupations of both play and work became direct instrumentalities for the extension of meaning. They became magnets for gathering and retaining an indefinitely wide scope of intellectual considera-

tions. They became avenues along which and by means of which the feeling, thinking, acting child grew into greater power, ability, and sympathetic understanding of himself in relation to his physical and social world; they led to the discovery of the spiritual quality of value that attaches itself to things that are of use and to relationships that are held dear.

for further planning. There was for them no danger of a too narrow specialization in any subject, for with such training no subject could be tightly boxed off from life. In general, it was felt that the school's use of experimental and observational science accomplished in some measure the training of a constructive and inquiring mind and thus fully justified its place in elementary education. The most important result of all was that these children felt no fear when entering a new environment or attacking a new field of work.

SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL USE OF COOKING

The activity of cooking is in itself its own reason for being. It constantly furnishes incentives to attempt new problems and can, therefore, be used to great advantage with children. The choice of the subject-matter for cooking in the school was always in direct relation to an occasion of great importance to every one—the group luncheon. The occasion thus became a natural opportunity to show hospitality to others. The motive for each child's learning how to cook was, therefore, a genuinely social one—to achieve a result which was palatable not only to himself but to others. The clear proof of social gain lay in success as a pudding maker. Moreover, because a good pudding was a desideratum for all, a spirit of free interchange of ideas, suggestions, and results in failure and success, imbued the embryo cooks.

What was cooked was always chosen with a view to its connection with the other activities of the program. Cooking involved fundamental relations to the physical and social environment and gave a reason for the study of geography, of plants and animals. It was the activity around which the child saw all the simple social and economic relationships organize and centralize themselves in his study of primitive ways of living. From a scientific point of view also, cooking as the use of heat and water on food and the physical and chemical changes which result proved a rich source of material illustrative of the various transformations of energy from sunlight to that necessary to human needs and uses. In addition it gave

unexcelled opportunities for the use of the experimental method. The necessary facts, technical skills, and ways of doing, charged with an organic emotional interest, were imbedded in experience through continuous use in more and more complicated operations. While cooking was something the child could do in company with others, through the laboratory-like arrangement of the kitchen, he was individually responsible for the success of his own portion, and the social end was not permitted to overpower or befog his joy in discovery by actual performance. Each time he cooked he was guided to find that his method was general to all kinds of cooking. This method lay in the order of the technical steps or was discovered in some principle, such as solution, necessary as a means of control, and which, still later, he found himself using in a more complicated process. With children of six, seven, and eight years, the cooking of cereals was progressively educational in so many ways that it developed into a continuous course of study throughout these three years with no sense of monotony on the part of either pupils or teacher.[10]

"As used in the Laboratory School the activity of cooking supplied the child with a genuine motive and the medium for its expression; it gave him a chance for first-hand experience; and it brought him into contact with realities. It did all this, but in addition it was liberalized throughout by translation into its historic and social values and scientific equivalencies. With the growth of the child's mind in knowledge and power it ceases to be a pleasant occupation merely and becomes more and more a medium, an instrument, and an organ of understanding, and is thereby transformed."[11]

Therefore, cooking held a distinctive place in the curriculum of the school. Its successful use was primarily due to the fact that its program was planned and directed by two teachers [11] whose training in the scientific and practical aspects of household arts was coupled with wide teaching experience. The program began in the kindergarten, and the work was adjusted to the different psychological age periods. At the end of seven

10 John Dewey, *The School and Society*, p. 20.
11 Althea Harmer and Katherine Camp.

years it was an adequate working program. A complete series of materials to be used in the program was listed, together with the accompanying and correlating scientific experiments which clarified and illustrated the general principle or process central in any lesson. A great help to this success was the fact that some time previous to this experiment, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards of the Massachusetts' Institute of Technology had worked out in theory as well as in practice what was afterwards called "the free-hand method of teaching cooking." This method presupposed a knowledge of the constituents of food, of the effect of controlled application of heat, and of the processes of solution and fermentation, which should make any housekeeper independent of recipes and creative in her cooking. Through Pratt and Drexel Institutes, where the teachers had been trained, much information and material, as well as detailed results of work with large classes of older girls and teachers, were available. In both, the work had been organized on the technical side and in its bearings on health, hygiene, dietetics, and sanitation. No experiments, however, with children of elementary age had been made. The problem in the school, then, became one of adapting to little children the successful courses already planned and in practical use with older girls. Many persons in the field of household economics were intensely interested in the experiment and were most generous with their suggestions and advice. The experience at Pratt Institute, especially in the adaptation of the equipment to the needs of younger children, can hardly be overestimated.

From the point of view of the teacher of general science, the course in cooking afforded more opportunity for the development of the scientific method than any other activity carried on in the school, with the possible exception of gardening, the general geography of the earth and atmosphere, and some of the textile processes. The equipment, although planned with an emphasis upon economy, was complete and practical. The cooking tables were of the sort that could be adapted by means of stools to the heights of the children.

The experience of the first year brought out certain points on the basis of which the succeeding year's experiment was

altered and improved. It was found there was no need to stimulate the child's interest by allowing him to choose the particular things to be cooked. Some of the things attempted were beyond the technical capacities of the children to realize. It is difficult for one who has not shared such an experiment to appreciate how great is a child's interest in the simplest processes in the preparation of food, and how keen is his observation of them. Even the ordinary preparation of food, however, proved so complicated that it was necessary in the succeeding years to progressively simplify the things which each child did in order to preserve in him a sense of an effective control of the process.

During the first three years the cooking was done as far as the child consciousness was concerned for the sake of the immediate product or end. The children prepared some one thing, each child contributing his proportion to the whole. In this way each felt the responsibility of the result not only for himself but for the whole class, so that the social end reinforced the immediate one. This interest in the immediate result so overshadowed the steps in the processes he was watching that very little use could be made, from a scientific point of view, of the important physical and chemical changes going on. Observation was incidental to securing good results, and the reasons for certain indications received little attention until after the first year and a half, when a few general principles were worked out while the actual cooking was going on. The children during this period spent most of their time in "science" work on the materials used in cooking.

Somewhere between the ages of eight and ten a change in the interest takes place, and the thing is done with more conscious reference to technique and to what might be termed the intellectual side. The child comes to see that if he understands the reasons for what he is doing, he can carry on a number of other operations of the same general class. This made necessary a change in the way in which the work was given. Even the simplest operation in cooking has so many conditions that it is impossible for the child to select those bringing about a certain result that is important for him. So at this stage simple experiments were introduced where con-

ditions were so controlled that he was able to draw a needed inference and get hold of a general principle. For example, the effect of heat on albumen was worked out by first finding out the way in which the temperature of the water could be determined from its appearance—thus were worked out the scalding, simmering, and boiling points. The next step was to subject a little white of egg to each temperature for varying lengths of time—drawing thence such inferences as the following: "The egg albumen had a very few threads in it at 140, at 160 it is jelly-like, and at 212 it is tough." "When albumen is boiling, it is very hard, and at simmering, it is very nice and tender." After these underlying principles were grasped, the work became more deductive, so to speak. It was treated more as applied science. Extracts from a simple clear account of the way this course was taught, written by the teacher who was mainly responsible for its success follow: [13]

For the youngest children foods such as cereals and fruits were selected since these required the simplest preparation and little variation in the manipulation of materials. The children's real interest was in the active work, the luncheon which they prepared and served, after receiving careful direction either in words or by demonstration. The value of the work was in the nice handling and careful use of materials and in the forming of habits of neatness and order. All this helped to create order not only in doing things of a practical nature, but also in their thinking and planning. It was similar to the organized play of the kindergarten in its influence on the social organization of the group. The observations made during the progress of the work were valuable as emphasizing a few regularly recurring phenomena.

In the interests of simplicity, part of the luncheons were brought from home in the form of sandwiches, and a drink of hot dilute cocoa was generally served. The clearing away and dishwashing were as much enjoyed as any other part of the process. This once-a-week school luncheon was the result of close coöperation of the parents with the teacher. In this way the lacking vegetables and meat were supplemented at home on these days.

The cooking had particular educational value for the younger children in giving opportunity for individual work, initiative, and

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[13] Althea Harmer, "Elementary Cooking in the Laboratory School," *The Elementary School Teacher*, Vol. III, No. 10, 1903.

independence. It also called for group work and encouraged a spirit of helpfulness and nice adjustment of personalities to the work of the group as a whole. It made an appeal to children which was immediate and direct and was of such a nature that it could be arranged in orderly sequence. Beginning with the simple preparation of food to be served for luncheon, the children became interested in the material used and in the processes involved in the preparation of these materials. This made it possible to introduce simple experiments previous to the cooking and enabled them to work out the formulae and steps used in the preparation of the food. The logical sequence of this work formed simple and direct habits of thinking and acting. These were built upon and developed in later work where processes were more involved, where the interaction of the work among the children required a finer adjustment of each individual to the social life of the group.

The work as given to six-year-old children changed somewhat in character as regards the manner of its presentation. This change was in accord with the corresponding change in the attitude of the children. The materials were the same, that is, cereals and fruits. Grains were selected on account of their relation to the course on Present Occupations, which began with the study of a typical grain farm. The interest in the cooking started with the desire the child has to carry farther the work of the farmer and the miller and follow the food from its preparation to its final use. The grains also furnished the simplest illustration of the effect of heat and water on the starch and cellulose in preparing them for digestion.

At the beginning of the cooking period the class with the teacher gathered in a semi-circle at a blackboard. The various preparations of cereals were examined, and the methods of preparation considered. By means of actual experiments the children compared the different preparations as to difference in time required for their cooking. The reasons for this difference were developed. In cooking each preparation they worked out some new point in the application of heat and water. The work started with the simplest use of fire and water and their effect on the starch granules of the cereal grain. The points brought out were the effect of the mechanical breaking up of the cellulose and of water on the starch granules, so that mastication, taste, and all other processes of digestion were more easily accomplished. The idea that grinding the grains shortens the process of cooking was then introduced. Experiments were made to show in a general way the composition of the grain, the difference in the relative amounts of starch and cellulose in the various grains, and the different preparations of grain found in the market, such as the hulled, cracked, ground, or flaked varieties.

Fruits and vegetables were selected the following year because

the problems involved in their preparation grew naturally out of the material as used. From experiments suggested by actual work and formulated in class discussion, the children were led to solutions of the problem as they arose.

The starch and cellulose found in the cereals studied the previous year were now found in varying conditions in fruits and vegetables. The value of water as a food constituent was brought out, as were the flavoring principles, such as the essential oils, vegetable acids, sugar, and mineral salts. These were considered, of course, with the younger children more in the part they have in giving character and flavor to the vegetable than in any nutritive value they possess.

In the experiments made in this year the interest was in seeing what happened and in making discoveries. The purpose of the experiment was often lost in the interest of the immediate program. Therefore the connection was made by the teacher between the purpose of the experiment and the problem to be solved. Though only a phase of the work, this formed a new problem for the children. For example, the potato was to be cooked. The child was led to compare it with the cereals previously studied. This led to an analysis of the potato which completely engrossed him for the time being. After he had discovered all he could about the potato, he was thrown back to the original problem of how to cook it. This at once called for an application of the facts discovered in the experiments. The fact that such experimentation was continuous throughout the year, and that results were always made use of to some practical end, gave added value to each experiment. Each became part of a larger whole. The original problem thus grew larger and showed many sides.

In these practical activities the child also came to have some idea of the real value of number. He used parts of a cup, as units; he then got the relation of these units to a larger whole; and he began to have an idea of simple fractions. From the manipulation of materials, and comparison of these by weight and measure, he got, in a concrete way, a definite idea of proportion which later on was made use of in his study of abstract number. In connection with the balancing of the grains

to obtain the amount of water required by each, recipes were made for their cooking. He discovered the practical importance of the recipe: just what it is used for, namely, to give the materials and quantities required.

In connection with the history the children took up primitive modes of cooking out-of-doors. In this connection they considered primitive methods of applying of heat, such as roasting in hot ashes, on hot metal or stones, boiling by means of hot stones in water or buried in the ground. The children had two or three primitive feasts where they cooked potatoes, corn, apples, chestnuts, and some sort of meat. Application of heat under these new conditions served as an occasion for the child to abstract the principle he had been using in connection with modern methods and apparatus. This abstraction was a necessary step in the control of the primitive fireplace.

With the older children the preparation and cooking of proteins was taken up. The cooking of eggs, meats, and fish was followed by a review of the milk and vegetable soups and was concluded with the preparation of batters and doughs by means of the various raising agents.

During 1898-1899 and 1899-1900, the cooking program developed to such an extent that the practical work was turned over to an assistant.[19] The attention of the directing teacher was then devoted to relating the processes of cooking to physiology and especially to nutrition and hygiene. This course was with the older children and, in its experimental approach, was developed and carried on with the collaboration of the science teachers.

Since experience showed that cooking was the activity in which the children most easily learned the use of the scientific method, a detailed account of the way they thought through for themselves the necessary steps in their daily procedure follows. At the beginning of a lesson the proper utensils were gotten out and arranged in order of use and suitability to the cooking to be done. Then, with a view to softening and developing the flavor of the grain cooked, they developed, by

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[19] Mary Tough.

discussion, the relation of amount or mass cooked to the unit of liquid needed, and of the form of cereal to the time required. Next, through measuring and weighing, volume and mass, or bulk, became practical working conceptions. It was phrased thus by one of the children: "We took two cups of flaked rice to one cup of water because it is so light; one-quarter a cup of whole rice takes one cup of water." Then they learned to distinguish between the different factors which controlled the amount of water needed, the length of time for cooking, the extent of surface of pan exposed to air, and the amount of heat to be applied. Each member of the group followed a different way of preparing the same food. The variable factors were thus sifted out. In one case this would be the amount of water, in another the character of the cereal, or in another the way of applying heat. In all the type of utensil was kept the same.

The technical sequence was worked out by the children as a group. Individual variations from the group plan were made by original children and were recognized and welcomed by both teacher and children. Group discussion clarified the part each one took in the experimental process. The class was held as a group until each individual felt confident that he knew what to do. It was found by observation of the teachers that with the younger children, attitude and expression indicated when the moment had come to cut short the talking and proceed to work. With the older children, the interest in the form of expressing what they were about to undertake increased very rapidly as they became more and more conscious of the need for clarity of method in recording the results of their experimental work. Perfectness of detail came first in acquiring the technique of procedure. This was the same in all classes. For example, two small boys worked out a coöperative scheme of work which enabled them, through elimination of useless motions and combination of effort, to finish ten to fifteen minutes ahead of the others. This time they proceeded to use either in writing up what they had done, or in acquiring skill in number work in which they felt themselves deficient.

The teacher's part was to answer questions and by a skilful

refreshing of the children's memories to insure that plans for the day were workable and also different enough in character to furnish a new experience involving a problem for the group. This was only possible when the teacher's experience already held in conscious readiness the general principles underlying the course. She shared the enterprise of discovery with the child. She functioned in bringing together various results and in assisting the children to trace back effects to causes. She thus helped each child to become conscious of the general principles, however concretely stated, resulting from their combined efforts.

This more or less uniform plan of classroom procedure developed into a method during the second year of the school. The time given to cooking varied from one and a half to two hours a week. The period was always divided into two parts, a half-hour of which was spent in planning and experimentation. With the younger children, this half-hour was on the same day as the luncheon and just before it. With the older children, especially toward the end of each three months, the period was used for formulation of the principles of cooking, which served as a practical review of the quarter's work. The luncheon was never omitted with children under eleven or twelve.

In the four older groups the care and serving of the table was assigned individually, strict rotation being observed, as the privilege of inviting guests was a part of this duty. It was found that children of six and under rarely have ability to converse freely at a table of eight or ten, so that very often a story was told during lunch by the teacher or visiting guests.

One of the outstanding results of the experience with the cooking program was its value in teaching even the youngest children to use fractional parts as easily and intelligently as they did whole numbers. Supplemented as it was by the use of the fractional parts of the foot and yard in their other constructive activities, this work seemed to furnish the needed concrete experience in multiplication and division of whole numbers and fractions. Because it was important to use a third of a cup instead of a fourth, in order to get more to eat,

there was no muddle or confusion in the child's mind as to which fraction was the larger. It was easy to understand that if each child needed a third of a cup of cereal, twelve children would need four cups. The use of arithmetical symbols as the way of putting this down for future reference became natural and easy.

The questions of marketing and keeping accounts were frequently discussed. Because of the isolated position of the school little of this work was done except as children nine, ten, and eleven helped keep the school accounts and so covered the cost of the food for the cooking. The children of this school were not cut off from shopping experience at home. With children who lack such experience because of their method of living, it would seem that it might profitably be made a part of the teaching program.

Cooking involves a series of such more or less complex processes that it was often difficult to enable the youngest children to develop independence and initiative in their laboratory periods for they were apt to become far too dependent on direction. The children in consequence were held to a persistent use of general principles in all their preparation of food and cooking. Additional experiments were made which illustrated the kind of processes used and the fact that the amount of time needed for cooking any food was dependent upon its nature. They were taught for example the coagulation of albumen, the character of cellulose and why it should be softened, and how the flavor of food can be developed. This rendered the children confident when confronted with the cooking of unknown foods. They knew how to discover just how tough cellulose of the new food was and the approximate amount of starch in it or of albumen. They were able to judge whether the food was to be used for flavor, for roughage, or as a source of energy. They knew the fundamental proportions for batters and doughs of different consistencies and their relation to the different raising agencies. Such daily experience freed them from a helpless dependency on recipes, which teaching in cooking often gives. When one knows how much baking powder the use of one egg replaces, cakes are no mystery.

When one knows that the principle of making white sauce depends on the separation of the grains of starch by the proper method, that thorough mixing and an even heat will prevent the formation of lumps, and that the addition of one third of the total quantity of liquid needed insures the uniform quality of the product, lumpy gravy and soups never appear on the menu.

To those who saw the alert and vital interest of these younger children in this activity the lack of attention and the usual bored attitude of adult or college students in household economics, even when taught by an expert chemist, stood out in great contrast. It is probable that the college teacher would not find so many inhibitions and would be able to carry her ideal of research in cookery further, had her students had an elementary experience such as that of the children in this school.

To see a class of eight-year-old children produce perfect omelets, using small covered sheet-iron saucepans over gas burners was a revelation of what experimental work could do to curb the natural desire to poke in and see what is happening. They had seen what happened in class test, and their confidence in the control of the heat and knowledge of the correct length of time gave them success in practical application. No failure was ever passed by or covered up. It was critically reviewed to ascertain what conditions had affected the result. Endowed with an unusual combination of scientific and intellectual appreciation and an artistic temperament the teacher, who carried this course to its completion, was able to give the children an unconscious feeling for the artistic side of preparing and serving food and high ideals of efficiency in planning and handling utensils.

The pressure of college preparatory examinations made it necessary to eliminate from the program of the older children the course that had been planned for them in the less used techniques of cooking. Some of the children, however, worked these out at home and became experts in the preparation of certain foods. Almost all of the children used what they had learned with great pride and joy in the preparation of Sunday night suppers for the family. The preparation and

serving of luncheons for distinguished visitors went through very successfully. The reports from the alumnae indicate that the understanding and use of cooking principles culminated in surety, dexterity, and confidence in meeting the demands of adult life. This was especially true of the two older classes who had been six or seven years in the school.

MATHEMATICS

Because of the fundamental character of mathematical science the development of that tool was one of the main concerns of the planners of the school's curriculum. During the first stages and the transitional years the problem was to see that the children had appropriately simple occasions to use number so that they saw in it a way to get order and effectiveness into their occupations, whether games or constructions. Measuring of all kinds played its part. It was never assumed that mathematics can be so developed as to control social situations, for mathematical expressions are only of use as formal tools in a special limited kind of experience. Hence number is discussed not primarily as one of the sciences but as a form of communication (see Chapter XVII). In Chapter XVII also is the account of how some children with this practical background were able to think out, to express fundamental mathematical relations such as ratio and proportion and to use freely algebraic symbols and geometric construction.

SUMMARY

The development of the ability to plan ahead, to test, to evaluate results, and to deduce from them the help needed for future action or testing became fully conscious in only a few classes, and in these not with all the children. However, the mental attitude of being objective in sizing up a problem, a willingness to try to see and ability to direct that seeing effectively was so characteristic of the majority of the children who had been in the school for five years that this result seemed to fulfil the hopes with which the science work had been

planned. The general use of the scientific method in all lines of the school work had exceeded the early expectations. While the fields of future experimentations have been barely indicated, there is hope that the present crisis will induce educators to experiment scientifically in socially coöperative schools.

Sharing in planning was the secret of the successfully social spirit of this school community. Social experiments must be planned. All concerned must enter into the planning to insure the success of any social undertaking, and all must accept their plan as tentative, to be tested by events. Only in this open-minded coöperative spirit can groups of individuals meet the problems of the shifting scene so as to insure the continuity and therefore the security of experience. Were the present Homestead experiments animated by the same spirit of coöperative adventure in the field of social living as was this school of some thirty years ago, there would be hope of an ever-increasing number of genuine indigenous communities, gaining social security through coöperation.

APPENDIX II

THE THEORY OF THE CHICAGO
EXPERIMENT

THE gap between educational theory and its execution in
practice is always so wide that there naturally arises a doubt as
to the value of any separate presentation of purely theoretical
principles. Moreover, after the lapse of some thirty years, there
is danger that memory will have done its work of idealization,
so that any statement that is made will contain a considerable
ingredient of the conclusions of subsequent experience instead
of being faithful to the original conception. In the present in-
stance, the latter danger is avoided because the exposition of
the underlying hypothesis of the educational experiment is
drawn from documents written during the earlier years of its
existence.[1] Irrespective of the success or failure of the school in
approximating a realization of the theory which inspired its
work and which in some directions unexpectedly exceeded an-
ticipations, there is some value in setting forth the theory on
its own account. It will assist the reader in interpreting the re-
port of the actual work of the school, lending it a continuity,
not wholly specious, for that continuity did obtain; it will aid
in evaluating the failures and successes of its practices, what-
ever their causes; and whatever there is of lasting value in the
theory itself may suggest to others new and even more satisfac-
tory undertakings in education.[2]

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[1] "Pedagogy as a University Discipline," *University (of Chicago) Record,*
18 and 25 (September, 1896), Vol. I, pp. 353-355, 361-565. Brochure pri-
vately printed in fall 1895.
[2] This experiment had the backing of an exceptional group of University
experts, a fact which accounts largely for its daring invasion with suggestive
results into so many fields new in elementary subject-matter. See adapta-
tions of experiments made by pupils of A. W. Michelson for Group X, also
of John M. Coulter's material later published by him in *Plant Relations.*

There is a specific reason for setting forth the philosophy of the school's existence. In the University of Chicago, at the outset, the Departments of Philosophy, Psychology, and Education were united under a single head. As that head was trained in philosophy and in psychology, the work of the school had a definite relation in its original conception to a certain body of philosophical and psychological conceptions. Since these conceptions had more to do, for better or worse, with the founding of the school than educational experience or precedent, an account of the actual work of the school would be misleading without a frank exposition of the underlying theory. The feeling that the philosophy of knowledge and conduct which the writer entertained should find a test through practical application in experience was a strong influence in starting the work of the school. Moreover, it was a consequence of the very philosophy which was held. It was intellectually necessary as well as practically fitting that the lecture and class instruction in the department of pedagogy (as the department of education was at first called) should be supplemented and tested in a school which should bear the same relation, in a broad sense, to theory that laboratories of physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., bear to university instruction in those subjects. The combination of the various departments in one afforded the opportunity.

Reference to the article printed under the title of "Pedagogy as a University Discipline" (in September, 1896) will show that the school by intention was an experimental school, not a practice school, nor (in its purpose) what is now called a "progressive" school. Its aim was to test certain ideas which were used as working hypotheses. These ideas were derived from philosophy and psychology, some perhaps would prefer to say a philosophical interpretation of psychology. The underlying theory of knowledge emphasized the part of problems, which originated in active situations, in the development of thought and also the necessity of testing thought by action if thought was to pass over into knowledge. The only place in which a comprehensive theory of knowledge can receive an active test is in the processes of education. It was also thought that the diffused, scattering, and isolated state of school studies provided

an unusual situation in which to work out in the concrete, instead of merely in the head or on paper, a theory of the unity of knowledge.

Under the title of the *Plan of Organization* (a document privately printed in the autumn of 1895) there is a schematic outline of the main bearings of the philosophic theory upon education. The account, contained in the preceding chapter of this appendix, may be extended further by a summary of the leading points of this document. First in importance is the conception of the *problem* of education. In substance this problem is the harmonizing of individual traits with social ends and values. Education is a difficult process, one demanding all the moral and intellectual resources that are available at any time, precisely because it is so extremely difficult to achieve an effective coördination of the factors which proceed from the make-up, the psychological constitution, of human beings with the demands and opportunities of the social environment. The problem is especially difficult at the present time because of the conflicts in the traditions, beliefs, customs, and institutions which influence social life to-day. In any case, it is an ever-renewed problem, one which each generation has to solve over again for itself; and, since the psychological make-up varies from individual to individual, to some extent it is one which every teacher has to take up afresh with every pupil.

The formula of a coördination or balance of individual and social factors is perhaps more current today than it was a generation ago. The formula which then had the widest currency was probably that of the harmonious development of all the powers—emotional, intellectual, moral—of the individual. It was not consciously asserted that this development could be accomplished apart from social conditions and aims. But neither was the importance of social values consciously stated. And, especially in progressive schools, the emphasis today is often so largely upon the instincts and aptitudes of individuals as they may be discovered by purely psychological analysis, that coördination with social purposes is largely ignored. Moreover, a doctrine of individual economic success is often pursued in schools as if that were the only significant side of social life. On

the other hand, the doctrine of "social adjustment" is preached as if "social" signified only a fitting of the individual with some preordained niche of the particular social arrangements that happen to exist at the time.

In the theory of the school, the first factor in bringing about the desired coördination was the establishment of the school as a form of community life. It was thought that education could prepare the young for future social life only when the school was itself a coöperative society on a small scale. The integration of the individual and society is impossible except when the individual lives in close association with others in the constant and free give and take of experiences and finds his happiness and growth in processes of sharing with them.

The idea involved a radical departure from the notion that the school is just a place in which to learn lessons and acquire certain forms of skill. It assimilated study and learning within the school to the education which takes place when out-of-school living goes on in a rich and significant social medium. It influenced not only the methods of learning and study, but also the organization of children in groups, an arrangement which took the place occupied by "grading." It was subject-matter, not pupils, that was thought to need grading; the important consideration for pupils was that they should associate on the terms most conducive to effective communication and mutual sharing. Naturally, it also influenced the selection of subject-matter for study; the younger children on entering school engaged, for example, in activities that continued the social life with which they were familiar in their homes. As the children matured, the ties that linked family life to the neighborhood and larger community were followed out. These ties lead backward in time as well as outward in the present, into history as well as the more complex forms of existing social activities.

Thus the aim was not to "adjust" individuals to social institutions, if by adjustment is meant preparation to fit into present social arrangements and conditions. The latter are neither stable enough nor good enough to justify such a procedure. The aim was to deepen and broaden the range of social contact and

intercourse, of coöperative living, so that the members of the school would be prepared to make their future social relations worthy and fruitful.

It will be noted that the social phase of education was put first. This fact is contrary to an impression about the school which has prevailed since it was founded and which many visitors carried away with them at the time. It is the idea which has played a large part in progressive schools: namely, that they exist in order to give complete liberty to individuals, and that they are and must be "child-centered" in a way which ignores, or at least makes little of, social relationships and responsibilities. In intent, whatever the failures in accomplishment, the school was "community-centered." It was held that the *process* of mental development is essentially a social process, a process of participation; traditional psychology was criticized on the ground that it treated the growth of mind as one which occurs in individuals in contact with a merely physical environment of things. And, as has just been stated, the *aim* was ability of individuals to live in coöperative integration with others.

There are, of course, definite reasons which account for the notion that the school was devoted to personal liberty and that it advocated rampant individualism. The more superficial cause was the fact that most visitors brought with them an image of the conventional school in which passivity and quietude were dominant, while they found a school in which activity and mobility were the rule. Unconsciously, such visitors identified the "social" element in education with subordination to the personality of the teacher and to the ideas of a textbook to be memorized. They found some things quite different and, accordingly, thought there was a riot of uncontrolled liberty. A more basic reason was the fact that there was little prior experience or knowledge to go upon in undertaking the experiment. We were working in comparatively unbroken ground. We had to discover by actual experimentation what were the individual tendencies, powers, and needs that needed to be exercised, and would by exercise lead to desirable social results, to social values in which there was a personal and voluntary interest. Doubtless, the school was overweighted, especially in

its earlier years, on the "individualistic" side in consequence of the fact that in order to get data upon which we could act, it was necessary to give too much liberty of action rather than to impose too much restriction.

In leaving behind the traditional method of imposition from above, it was not easy for teachers to hit at once upon proper methods of leadership in coöperative activities. At the present time there is much known which was then unknown about the normal acts and interests of the young. Methods of insight and understanding have reached a point where the margin of uncontrolled action which was demanded by the experiment at that time is no longer required. It is still true, however, that while some schools have gone to an extreme in the direction of undirected individual action, there are more schools in which artificial conditions prevent acquaintance with the actual children, where fictitious beings are treated on a fictitious basis, and where genuine growth is made difficult. Our schools have still much to learn about the difference between inspiring a social outlook and enthusiasm, and imposing certain outward social conformities.

The reader of the early documents will find that next after the idea of the school as a form of community life came that of working out a definite body of subject-matter, the material of a "course of study." As a unit of the university, it had both the opportunity and the responsibility to contribute in this direction. Custom and convention conceal from most of us the extreme intellectual poverty of the traditional course of study, as well as its lack of intellectual organization. It still consists, in large measure, of a number of disconnected subjects made up of more or less independent items. An experienced adult may supply connections and see the different studies and lessons in perspective and in logical relationship to one another and to the world. To the pupil, they are likely to be curiously mysterious things which exist in school for some unknown purpose, and only in school.

The pressing problem with respect to "subject-matter" was accordingly to find those things in the direct present experience of the young which were the roots out of which would grow

more elaborate, technical, and organized knowledge in later years. The solution of the problem is extremely difficult; we did not reach it; it has not yet been reached and in its fullness will never be reached. But at all events we tried to see the problem and the difficulties which it presented. There are two courses which are easy. One is to follow the traditional arrangement of studies and lessons. The other is to permit a free flow of experiences and acts which are immediately and sensationally appealing, but which lead to nothing in particular. They leave out of account the consideration that since human life goes on in time, it should be a growth and that, otherwise, it is not educative. They ignore continuity and treat pupils as a mere succession of cross-sections. It is forgotten that there is as much adult imposition in a "hands off" policy as in any other course, since by adoption of that course the elders decide to leave the young at the mercy of accidental contacts and stimuli, abdicating their responsibility for guidance. The alternative to the two courses mentioned is the discovery of those things which are genuinely personal experiences, but which lead out into the future and into a wider and more controlled range of interests and purposes. This was the problem of subject-matter to which the school was devoted.

This work also involved the searching out of facts and principles which were authentic and intellectually worth while in contrast with wooden and sawdust stuff which has played a large part in the traditional curriculum. It is possible to have knowledge which is remote from the experience of the young and which, nevertheless, lacks the substance and grip of genuine adult knowledge. A great deal of school material is irrelevant to the experience of those taught and also manifests disrespect for trained judgment and accurate and comprehensive knowledge. In the earlier days of our country these defects of school material were largely made good by the life of the young out of school. But the increase of urban conditions and mass production has cut many persons off from these supplementary resources; at the same time an enormous increase of knowledge in science and history has occurred. Since no corresponding change has taken place in the elementary school, there was the need

for working out material which was related to the vital experience of the young and which was also in touch with what is important and dependable in the best modern information and understanding.

The thirty and more years which have passed since the school in Chicago undertook the development of a new type of subject-matter have seen great improvements in the content of studies. The latter are not so dead nor so remote as they once were. They still show, however, the effect of modern increase in knowledge by way of sheer quantitative multiplication, resulting in congestion and superficiality. The "enrichment" of the curriculum has often consisted in the further introduction of unrelated and independent subjects or in pushing down into the "grades" topics once reserved for high-school study. Or, in the opposite direction, there are introduced under the name of projects disconnected jobs of short time-span in which there is emotional stimulation rather than development into new fields and principles, and into matured organization.

It was an essential part of the conception of proper subject-matter that studies must be assimilated not as mere items of information, but as organic parts of present needs and aims, which in turn are *social*. Translated into concrete material, this principle meant in effect that from the standpoint of the adult the axis of the course of the study was the development of civilization; while from the standpoint of those taught, it was a movement of life and thought dramatically and imaginatively reënacted by themselves. The phrase "development of civilization" suggests something both too ambitious and too unified to denote just the materials actually used. Since some forms of social life have made permanent contributions to an enduring culture, such typical modes were selected, beginning with the simple and going to the complex, with especial attention to the obstacles which had to be met and the agencies which were effective, including in the latter new inventions and physical resources and also new institutional adaptations.

The details corresponding to the central principle are found in the story of the experiment. But some interpretative comments are here included, based particularly upon objections

most frequently raised and misconceptions entertained. Perhaps the most fundamental one of these was the notion that the material was merely "historical" in a sense in which history signifies the past and gone and the remote, that the material used was too far away from the present environment of children. I shall not stop here to engage in a justification of the educational value of history. What is to the point is that the material was historical from the standpoint of the adult rather than of the children, and that psychological and physical remoteness have little to do with one another, until a considerable degree of maturity has been reached. That is, the fact that certain things exist and processes occur in physical proximity to children is no guarantee that they are close to their needs, interests, or experience, while things topographically and chronologically remote may be emotionally and intellectually intimate parts of a child's concern and outlook. This fact is recognized in words at least whenever the importance of play for the young child is emphasized—to say nothing of glorification of fairy tales and other more dubious matters.

Such terms as primitive life, Hebrew life, early American settlements, etc., are, therefore, mere tags. In themselves they have no meaning. They may signify material of antiquity quite outside the range of present experience and foreign to any present interest and need. But they may also signify perception of elements active in present experience, elements that are seeking expansion and outlet and that demand clarification, and which some phase of social life—having for the adult a historical title—brings to the focus of a selective, coherently arranged, and growing experience.

The word *imagination* has obtained in the minds of many persons an almost exclusively literary flavor. As it is used in connection with the psychology of the learner and there treated as fundamental, it signifies an expansion of *existing* experience by means of appropriation of meanings and values not physically or sensibly present. Until the impulses of inquiry and exploration are dulled by the pressure of unsuitable conditions, the mind is always pressing beyond the limits of bodily senses. *Imagination* is a name for the processes by which this extension

and thickening of experience take place. Such imagination naturally finds outward and active manifestation; instead of being purely literary, it uses physical materials and tools as well as words in its own expanding development. Subject-matter that to the adult is remote and historical may supply the intellectual instrumentalities for this constant pushing out of horizons and internal deepening within the child's present experience.

Superficially, there was a similarity to the "recapitulation" theory in this method of enlarging the intrinsic experience of the children by means of subject-matter drawn from the development of the culture of mankind. In reality, there was no adoption of the notion that the experience of the growing human being reproduces the stages of the evolution of humanity. On the contrary, the beginning was made with observation of the existing experience of a child, his needs, interests, etc., and then some selected phase of cultural life in a generalized and idealized form was looked to for material which would feed and nurture the needs and do so in a way that would give the child a greater understanding and increased power over his own present life and environment. Moreover, there was always an attempt to secure a rhythm of movement, beginning with conditions already familiar to the child, passing through something more remote in time and space, and then returning to a more complex form of existing social surroundings.[*]

Moreover, the entire process of the school was subject to the condition which has already been emphasized:—the need for a *present* community life in which the pupils, along with the teachers, should be sharing, emotionally, practically—or in overt action—and intellectually. Physical materials and constructions, implements, tools, dramatization, story-telling, etc., were used as resources in the creation and development of this immediate social life, and with the younger children—or until the social sense was linked to a sense for history as temporal sequence— "historical" material was subordinated to the maintenance of

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[*] Thus, present family life was studied before "primitive" life; the setting of Chicago before the earlier Colonial settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts, etc.

community or coöperative group in which each child was to participate.[4]

The misunderstanding which is most likely to arise in connection with the idea of the "ways of civilization" concerns a seeming exclusion of science and scientific method from the picture. Schools are habituated to a sharp separation of social subject-matter and that which is labeled scientific. The latter thus becomes technical and lacking in humane quality and appeal. But at the same time the social and historical subject-matter becomes far-away and literary and of value as a means of escape from the troubles and roughnesses of the present.

It is more than probable that the only genuine solution of the question of the place of social guidance and indoctrination in education will be found in giving a central place to scientific method as the key to social betterment.

The importance which is attached—both in the statement of theory and in the actual work of the school—to preparation of food, to clothing, rugs, etc., and to means of shelter, is to be understood, accordingly, by being placed in the context just mentioned. Socially, these give a fairly constant framework of fundamental activities of humanity and a concrete, definite center from which the enlargement and deepening of culture could be approached. Psychologically, they give opportunity for the exercise and satisfaction of all the impulses of construction, manipulation, active doing and making. Through the divisions of labor and the coöperations involved, they fit naturally and almost inevitably into the life of the group as a directly present, appealing, and controlling social form.

It follows that the importance that was attached to the practical and motor activities, spinning, weaving, cooking, woodworking, etc., was not because of so-called utilitarian reasons, whether the importance of mastery of the processes involved in the future life of the pupils or that of tangible material products and results.[5]

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[4] From the first, the name *group* was deliberately substituted for the traditional word *class*.

[5] Coming as the children did mainly from professional families, there was little prospect of any utility of this sort.

The reason for the activities, on the contrary, was the fact that on one side they conformed to the psychological hypothesis that action (involving emotional and imaginative as well as motor elements) is the unifying *fact in personal development,* while on the social side they furnished natural avenues to the study of the dynamic development of human culture and afforded the children opportunities for the joy of creation in connection with their equals. In the working hypothesis of the school the idea of "occupations" was central in the survey of human development; and occupations as engaged in by the pupils themselves were means of securing the transformation of crude and sporadic impulses into activities having a sufficiently long time-span as to demand foresight, planning, retrospective reviews, the need for further information and insight into principles of connection. On the moral side, this same continuity demanded patience, perseverance, and thoroughness—all the elements that make for genuine as distinct from artificially imposed discipline.

In 1895, the Illinois Society for Child Study sent out a questionnaire in which it was asked, "What principles, methods, or devices for teaching, not now in common use, should in your opinion be taken as fundamental and authoritative, and be applied in school work?" A reply, from the pen of the present writer adds nothing new to what has been said, but because of its early date, and because it was definitely written from the standpoint of application of theory to a new school practice, it is here inserted.[a]

In stating the following principles, it is taken for granted that there are no results that are "foregone" in the sense of being beyond further investigation, criticism, or revision; but that what is wanted is a statement of results sufficiently assured to have a claim upon the parent and teacher for a consideration as working hypotheses.

(1) The radical error which child study would inhibit is, in my judgment, the habit of treating the child from the standpoint of the teacher or parent: i. e., considering the child as something to be

[a] John Dewey, *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study,* Vol. 1 (1895), No. 4, p. 18.

educated, developed, instructed, or amused. Application of this particular principle will be found in connection with the positive statement following:

(2) The fundamental principle is that the child is always a being, with activities of his own, which are present and urgent, and do not require to be "induced," "drawn-out," "developed," etc.; that the work of the educator, whether parent or teacher, consists solely in ascertaining, and in connecting with, these activities, furnishing them appropriate opportunities and conditions. More specifically: (a) sensory and motory activities always are connected; (b) ideational activity is perverted and cramped unless it has a motor object in view and finds a motor outlet; (c) the sensory-motor and idea-motor coördinations tend to ripen in a certain order; (d) the larger, coarser, and freer coördinations always mature before the finer and more detailed ones; (e) all normal activities have a strong emotional coloring—personal, characteristic, dramatic deeds and situations, moral, and esthetic; (f) curiosity, interest, and attention are always natural and inevitable concomitants of the ripening of a given coördination; (g) finally and fundamentally, a child is a social being, hence educationally

THE FOLLOWING METHODS

(1) Reading, writing, drawing, and music should be treated as ways in which a given idea under the influence of its own emotional coloring find its own expression. The work of the teacher is to see that the mental image is formed in the child, and opportunity afforded for the image to express itself freely along lines of least resistance in motor discharge. Reading is psychologically dependent upon writing and drawing, needs observation for stimulus, and the stirring of the social instinct—the demand for communication—for object.

(2) Number arises in connection with the measuring of things in constructive activities; hence arithmetic should be so taught and not in connection with figures or the observation of objects.

(3) Nature study, geography, and history are to be treated as extensions of the child's own activity, e. g., there is no sense psychologically in studying any geographical fact except as the child sees that fact entering into and modifying his own acts and relationships.

(4) Minute work is to be avoided, whether it is (a) mainly physical as in some of the kindergarten exercises, in many of the methods used in drawing and writing, or (b) mainly intellectual, as starting with too much analysis, with parts rather than wholes, presenting objects and ideas apart from their purpose and function.

(5) The intellectual and moral discipline, the total atmosphere, is to be permeated with the idea that the school is to the child and to the teacher the social institution in which they *live*, and that it is not a means to some outside end.

This summary of the philosophy upon which the work of the school was to be based may be concluded with an extract from a writing of a later date, but one which was based upon the earlier theory as that was developed by the experiences gained in the School itself: "All learning is from experience." This formula is an old one. Its special significance in this particular connection is derived from the conception of the act as the unit of experience, and the act in its full development as a connection between doing and undergoing, which when the connection is perceived, supplies meaning to the act.

¹ Every experience involves a connection of doing or trying with something which is undergone in consequence. A separation of the active doing phase from the passive undergoing phase destroys the vital meaning of an experience. Thinking is the accurate and deliberate instituting of connections between what is done and its consequences. It notes not only that they are connected, but the details of the connection. It makes connecting links explicit in the form of relationships. The stimulus to thinking is found when we wish to determine the significance of some act, performed or to be performed. Then we anticipate consequences. This implies that the situation as it stands is, either in fact or to us, incomplete and hence indeterminate. The projection of consequences means a proposed or tentative solution. To perfect this hypothesis, existing conditions have to be carefully scrutinized, and the implications of the hypothesis developed—an operation called reasoning. Then the suggested solution—the idea or theory—has to be tested by acting upon it. If it brings about certain consequences, certain determinate changes, in the world, it is accepted as valid. Otherwise it is modified, and another trial made. Thinking includes all of these steps—the sense of the problem, the observation of conditions, the formation and rational elaboration of a suggested conclusion, and the active experimental testing. While all thinking results in knowledge, ultimately the value of knowledge is subordinate to its use in thinking. For we live not in a settled and finished world, but in one which is going on, and where our main task is prospective, and where retrospect—and all knowledge as distinct from thought is retrospect—is of value in the solidity, security, and fertility it affords our deal-

¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 164 and 177.

ings with the future. . . . To learn from experience is to make a backward and forward connection between what we do to things and what we enjoy or suffer from things in consequence. Under such conditions, doing becomes a trying, an experiment with the world to find out what it is like, the undergoing becomes instruction—discovery of the connection of things.

Two conclusions important for education follow. (1) Experience is primarily an active-passing affair; it is not primarily cognitive. But (2) the *measure of the value* of an experience lies in the perception of the relationships or continuities to which it leads.

A child or an adult—for the same principle holds in the laboratory as in the nursery—learns not alone by doing but by perceiving the consequences of what he has done in their relationship to what he may or may not do in the future; he experiments, he "takes the consequences," he considers them. If they are good, and if they further or open other ways of continuing the activity, the act is likely to be repeated; if not, such a way of acting is apt to be modified or discontinued. Whichever it may be, there has been a change in the person because of the meaning which has accrued to his experience. He has learned something which should—and which will if the experience be had under educative conditions—open up new connections for the future and thereby institute new ends or purposes as well as enable him to employ more efficient means. Through the consequences of his acts are revealed both the significance, the character of his purposes, previously blind and impulsive, and the related facts and objects of the world in which he lives. In this experience knowledge extends both to the self and the world; it becomes serviceable and an object of desire. In seeing how his acts change the world about him, he learns the meaning of his own powers and the ways in which his purposes must take account of things. Without such learning purposes remain impulses or become mere dreams. With experience of this kind, there is that growth within experience which is all one with education.

Camp Ramah:
The Early Years, 1947-1952

Shuly Rubin Schwartz

Introduction

A new chapter in the history of the Conservative movement began in 1947 with the founding of Camp Ramah. Located in Conover, Wisconsin, Ramah was operated by the Chicago Council of Conservative Synagogues, the Midwest Branch of the United Synagogue, in cooperation with the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. While Ramah was the first camping venture of the Conservative movement, it was a pioneer neither as an educational camp nor as a Hebrew-speaking camp; successful camps of both types were already in existence.[1] Yet, Ramah's fame soon spread. From one hundred campers in Wisconsin in 1947, Ramah grew until, by 1987, it included a network of seven camps in which 3,200 youngsters were enrolled, in addition to programs in Israel in which an additional 450 were registered; staff numbered 1,400.[2]

Why was Ramah founded in 1947? Why did the Conservative movement enter the camping business? What forces in the American and Jewish environments came together to shape its inception? How was the camp established? What were its goals and ideology? What was the camp like in its early years? What is the importance of Camp Ramah in the history of Conservative Judaism, Jewish camping, and American Jewry? This essay seeks to explore these questions and offers some preliminary answers.

Research into the history of Camp Ramah, while fascinating, was exceedingly difficult. Records were not systematically preserved. While certain files were found which illuminated specific areas of research, other materials were difficult to locate. This is especially true of files stored in the attic of The Jewish Theological Seminary which were kept under numerous headings in various places. I suspect that materials on Ramah were not carefully preserved at the Seminary until the camps became a national concern. Since the early camps were local ventures, records were kept in the local offices. Yet, here, too, there were problems, particularly with regard to Camp Ramah in Maine, which was open for only two seasons (1948-49), then closed permanently; many of its records have disappeared. Some were transferred to the Camp Ramah in the Poconos office when that camp opened in 1950. That office moved from Philadelphia to New York and then back to Philadelphia, and many of the Maine records were probably lost or discarded at that time. Another valuable source of written information is the personal collections of yearbooks, educational outlines, and camp rosters saved by staff and campers.

Needless to say, then, the selective nature of the preserved materials required much oral research. The number of people involved in Ramah even during its early years is so large that I was forced to limit my interviewing to specific figures—directors, division heads, local rabbis, lay people, and Seminary representatives—as opposed to choosing general staff and campers.

In conducting research, an attempt was made to avoid the major pitfall of such a method, that of selective or inaccurate recall. Stated camp policies, stories, and descriptions of events were verified whenever possible by posing each question to at least two people. In the case of a conflict, I chose to be the judge of which person's account was more accurate. For example, a Seminary representative may have an excellent perspective on the ideology of a proposed camp, but a distorted view of the actual events of a camp season. The personal testimony of those who were present in the camps often contradicts the "official" view of camp events. Where possible, oral interviews were taped to maximize the accuracy of quotations and to minimize misinterpretation. While certain gaps of information still remain, a wealth of material was uncovered, allowing a surprisingly vivid impression of the period to emerge.

Conservative Judaism in the Aftermath of World War II

In order to understand the founding of Camp Ramah in 1947, attention must first be focused on the state of American Jewry at the close of World War II. Knowledge of the enormous tragedy of the Holocaust has just begun to penetrate the minds of American Jews. As Dr. Gerson D. Cohen, now Chancellor Emeritus of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, expressed it, "I suppose unconsciously it began to seep into us that we are the last Jewish community of any sizable proportion."[3] At the same time, the Zionist idea moved closer to fruition. American Jews accepted the responsibility for this burden as well, and many worked for its realization through their own uniquely American form of Zionism.

Even as external forces heightened the sense of responsibility of American Jews, internal ones served to intensify a mood of expansion

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Jewish servicemen, returning home to make a life for themselves in America, became part of the move to suburbia where they would climb still higher on the ladder of social and economic mobility. New synagogues were built to accommodate this upsurge of Jewish population. This growth caused a tremendous shortage of qualified Jewish leadership at the time when it was most needed. The national demand for leadership could not be met by the organized bodies of Conservative Judaism.[4] In response to this need, the component bodies of the movement, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Rabbinical Assembly, and the United Synagogue, while remaining fully autonomous, decided to pool forces and resources.[5] At the same time, the United Synagogue began to expand its regions, departments, and personnel to meet these needs.[6]

As a result of the cry for leadership, the Jewish Theological Seminary became painfully aware of its failure to recruit and train new leaders. In 1946, Dr. Moshe Davis, then Associate Dean of the Teachers Institute, articulated the problem most clearly:

> We do not train our own people. We rely virtually exclusively on the students that are prepared—and I would say ill prepared—in other institutions. The orthodox group leads this Seminary and every other Seminary. Unless we start preparing our own leadership, the time may come when we will not have that leadership.[7]

The Teachers Institute mirrored this problem most acutely; its 1946 graduating class consisted of two students.[8] The Register of 1944–45 reports that "during the past few years, because of war conditions, the Freshman class of the Teachers Institute has been discontinued."[9] Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan, the founding Dean of the Teachers Institute, relinquished his post in 1947 in what Davis described as "despair." In addition, Davis stated that the Teachers Institute was in serious danger of being closed.[10] Their despair was related to the larger problem of the failure of Conservative Jewish education. Davis observed:

> We alone of the three religious groupings have not established a system of Jewish schooling which will both meet our needs and satisfy our point of view.[11]

Yet, at the same time as the Seminary was beset by these problems, circumstances were combining to allow for their solution. First, the growth of the Conservative movement increased the fundraising potential of the Seminary. In 1944 Chancellor Louis Finkelstein said: "The growth of the Seminary's support and the number of its contributors enables us for the first time to engage in long-range planning."[12]

This practical consideration was bolstered by Kaplan's vision of an organic Jewish community. His plans for the reconstruction of American Jewish life influenced a generation of Seminary students. His proposals were neatly attuned to the realities of the time. A prime example is the

synagogue-center which was intended to restore the sense of community that had been lost in the move to suburbia. Equally influential was his plan for a University of Judaism to help solve the leadership problem. He once outlined the principles upon which the educational patterns of such a school would have to be based: 1. the primacy of scholarship; 2. the necessity for Judaism to be Hebraic; 3. the belief that Jewish life must have plenitude, e.g., through a maximum of observance; 4. gracious acceptance of the American environment.[13] These principles, incorporated into the thinking of Conservative rabbis and educators, found expression in the various programs initiated during the era of growth, one of which was Camp Ramah.

Leadership Training Fellowship, a program launched during this period, illustrates the coming together of the varied concerns mentioned above. Again it was Kaplan, in an address to the 1944 Rabbinical Assembly Convention entitled "The Training of Teaching and Leadership Personnel," who inspired the program.

> If we confine ourselves to the raising of money we have failed entirely in our objective. Unless we go out with the same determination for the winning of souls, the winning of personnel for our cause, all our efforts are in vain . . . We ought to engage in a campaign for two hundred young people by the end of two years.[14]

Leadership Training Fellowship (LTF) Would be a national fellowship of high-school-age students committed to Jewish study. It was hoped that they would form an elite which would be inspired to study later at the Seminary, especially in the Teachers Institute. From this cultivated group of young people would emerge the next generation of leaders.

LTF was created also in reaction to the lack of Jewish education on the high school level. Davis noted:

> Jewish high school education is virtually non-existent in our congregational life . . . It is in the high school age that we should begin to seek our future lay and professional leadership. These teenagers will be our immediate successors. Moreover, if we are serious about organizing a Halutziut for American Judaism, this is the age group with which to start. . . . The Leadership Training Fellowship is a small step in the right direction.[15]

This was no isolated attempt on the part of Jewish educators, but a link in a larger plan to rebuild Jewish education from nursery school up. Both Kaplan and Davis were deeply committed to this goal. Davis presented his ideas in "The Ladder of Jewish Education," a paper delivered at the Second Annual Rabbinical Assembly Conference on Jewish Education held in December 1947.[16] Atid (a nursery school project), LTF, and Camp Ramah were three elements of this plan.

In 1945, a plan for the fellowship was presented to and approved by the Rabbinical Assembly.

> RESOLVED, that the Rabbinical Assembly adopt the plan for a Leadership Training Fellowship which will have as its primary objective to direct the

study and thinking of our best young people, to the end that they may he prepared for professional and lay leadership.[17]

Within two years, membership in LTF had grown to 270 young people from fifty congregations.[18]

This LTF project is crucial not only because it illustrates the priorities of the Seminary at the time but also because Camp Ramah benefited from these same priorities and emerged concurrently with the Leadership Training Fellowship. As Dr. Simon Greenberg, Vice-Chancellor of the Seminary, stated,

It is no coincidence that the Leaders [sic] Training Fellowship and the Ramah movement both came into being at the same time. They were both conceived as possible answers to this pressing question [of how the Conservative movement could find and train future leaders].[19]

The idea of a summer camp was mentioned as early as 1944, in response to Kaplan's plea before the convention. Rabbi S. Joshua Kohn commented:

I think in order to implement a proposition like the one we have, it might be a very good idea to have a permanent proposition where all of our young people could be sent for a summer's education, and then we can choose the most available and the best candidates for training, specific training. It might also be combined with the idea of a regular summer camp for the Rabbinical Assembly.[20]

As LTF developed, the idea of providing its members with an intense educational experience during the summer became more and more appealing. In the summer of 1946, a small group of LTFers studied at the Teachers Institute, but it soon became clear that a camp location was needed.[21]

Camp Ramah, then, was intended to serve as a laboratory for leadership training of high school youth. Simultaneously, some rabbis and educators, aware of the potential of camping for Jewish education, were interested in a camp for children of all ages to improve Jewish education. In 1947, Greenberg observed:

For decades now, we have been conscious of the fact that the summer months hold many blessings for Jewish education, if properly utilized. . . . What can we as a group point to as our achievement in the realm of Jewish education through camping? Unfortunately, nothing. Is it not high time that we have some summer camps for the members of our Young People's groups and for our school children?[22]

Moshe Davis saw the study camp as another rung in the ladder of Jewish education: "Concurrent with the afternoon week-day school and high school, a chain of study camps, local and country[-wide], should be organized."[23] Davis hoped to capture more time for Jewish education by utilizing the summer.[24] By 1946, it was clear that a national youth camp

was "a project which is no longer a luxury" for the Conservative movement, leadership training, and Jewish education in general.[25]

Thus, the original conception of Camp Ramah grew out of the varying needs of the different branches of Conservative Judaism. It was not suggested by individuals committed to camping *per se* but by those who saw camping as one vehicle to further the goals of the Conservative movement as a whole.

Jewish Educational Camping

The idea for Camp Ramah grew out of a specific blend of ideals and needs within the Conservative movement and the Jewish Theological Seminary in particular, but it clearly drew heavily on earlier models of Jewish educational camping in the United States. The first Jewish educational camp was begun by the brilliant Jewish educator, Dr. Samson Benderly, Director of the New York Board of Jewish Education. Benderly experimented in the summer of 1913, teaching children of families who vacationed in Arvenne, Long Island. The experiment succeeded, and his first real camp, Achvah, was established as the summer climax of a year-long training program.[26] Classes were its essence, and the language of the camp was Hebrew. Achvah began operation in 1926 and remained Hebrew-speaking until 1931. Benderly's experiment is crucial to an understanding of the history of Ramah. First, Benderly and Kaplan shared a close association and similar concerns about Jewish education.[27] Benderly's experiment undoubtedly influenced Kaplan's concept of a summer camp. Second, some people who were involved with Ramah in its early years were veterans of Benderly's experiment. Levi Soshuk is one example. Director of Ramah in the Poconos beginning in 1952, he served for many years as director of Ramah in the Poconos and later Ramah in Canada. Soshuk was involved in Achvah from 1926 to 1934 and felt that

I was influenced very much in my approach to Camp Ramah by my experience in Camp Achvah which had a very profound effect Jewishly and Hebraically on many of my friends and contemporaries.[28]

Cejwin was the first Jewish camp set up by an individual institution. Established in 1919 by the Central Jewish Institute, Cejwin successfully combined recreation and physical exercise with communal Jewish living. Informal Jewish education was stressed at Cejwin: by participating in Jewish life, campers would increase their Jewish commitment.[29] Formal study was not part of Cejwin's program; neither was the camp Hebrew-speaking. As Mrs. Sylvia Ettenberg noted: "Some of us who were in [Cejwin] saw the enormous possibilities of building this kind of society where we really could intensify Jewish life."[30] While other Jewish camps existed at the time, these two early ventures were especially influential in alerting Jewish educators to the potential of using the summer months for intensive Jewish education through study, Hebrew, and Jewish living.[31]

The Noar Haivri Organization also left its mark on the development of Camp Ramah, though indirectly. Begun in the 1930s, it grew from the following convictions:

> 1. That the Hebrew movement must serve as the foundation and guide for an organized Jewish community in America. 2. That the Hebrew language is not only a means for imparting knowledge but is the very soul of Jewish culture. 3. That the instruction of our children in Hebrew cultural values, past and present, through the medium of Hebrew language, is a prime essential in building a generation of Jews capable of preserving and enriching the cultural treasures of the Jewish people. 4. That the establishing of Hebrew cultural institutions in America in no way negates the Zionist idea; on the contrary, such cultural organizations are fundamental to its fulfillment.[32]

The group met regularly and became involved in a number of projects; a dance group; an orchestra; and a Hebrew newspaper, *Niv*.[33] One such project was a Hebrew camp where all of the above values might find expression. The spearhead of the project was Shlomo Shulsinger; the camp he founded was Massad. Moshe Davis and Sylvia C. Ettenberg, who helped him establish Massad, were later among those primarily responsible for the founding of Camp Ramah. Together, they determined the goals of Massad, its educational philosophy, and the actual program that would best reflect those goals. Opened in 1941 as a day camp in Far Rockaway, New York, Massad quickly grew into a successful venture, until, in 1945, it purchased its first summer camp in Tannersville, Pennsylvania.[34]

According to Shlomo Shulsinger, the main aim of Massad was

> to create a Hebrew environment and to provide the children with those elements which are lacking in the Hebrew school. This aim is achieved through the medium of diversified cultural activities and through the normal daily life at camp without recourse to formal classroom studies.[35]

The educational program at Massad was guided by the following principles:

> 1. That the Zionist idea . . . should be the backbone of all cultural work. 2. That religious traditions should be observed in a positive spirit . . . 3. that the Hebrew language . . . should be used throughout the camp . . . 4. That American cultural values be reflected in camp life. 5. That the Halutz spirit be emphasized and that a nucleus for Aliyah be prepared at camp. 6. That the need for an organized Jewish community life in America, bolstered by Hebrew educational institutions, be emphasized in the program. 7. That the fervent hope of instituting justice and righteousness in society find expression in the daily life of the camp.[36]

A great majority of those involved in Ramah in the early years—founders, staff members, and parents—developed their first conception of and experience with Jewish camping at Massad. It was the only Hebrew-speaking summer camp at the time; many committed Conservative Jews worked at or sent their children to Massad.[37] Thus, Massad had a profound effect on the development of Ramah on all its levels.

The Sollel experiment of 1947 deserves special mention. An outgrowth of Massad sponsored by the Histadruth Ivrith, Sollel was a work-study, Hebrew-speaking camp which brought together seventeen-year-olds of different Zionist ideologies. Some early Ramah staff members deeply inspired by the Sollel experience were Rabbi Alexander Shapiro and the late Rabbi David Mogilner. Run by Gerson D. Cohen and Naomi Weiner (Later Dr. Naomi W. Cohen), both of whom also took part in Ramah in later years, Sollel influenced Cohen's concept of camping as well. "I became firmly convinced by the Massad and Sollel experiences of the educational value of living together, working together, and studying together."[38]

In many ways an outgrowth of Massad, Ramah was geared to an American Conservative constituency rather than a *yeshivah* group with a good grounding in Hebrew. Shlomo Shulsinger himself acknowledged the need for a camp that would serve supplementary school children, though he himself did not wish to accept campers from that milieu.

> If children with poor Hebrew background make such excellent progress at Massad, why do we require adequate Hebrew training of 90% of the children? Because the primary aim of Massad is to create a richly Hebraic atmosphere. . . . If we do not insist on this principle, the entire project *would lose its Hebrew character and become devoid of Hebrew content*. Nevertheless, there is no denying the great need of establishing school-camps which would cater to children with weak Hebrew backgrounds.[39]

Sylvia C. Ettenberg championed the cause of this other type of camp.

> We felt that there were many students who did not have a chance at day school education. . . . Though many were good students in their supplementary schools, we didn't feel that these schools would ever bring them to the point where they could feel truly at home in a Jewish environment. There just wasn't enough time in the curricula of the supplementary schools, and we believed that if we could find these people, bring them to camp, and increase their knowledge and experience, they would surely become an asset to the Jewish community.[40]

Spurred on by the success of Massad, Conservative Jewish leaders were inspired to found a camp to meet the needs of their movement, needs which Massad was never meant to satisfy. They hoped to adapt the Massad program to fit a more American, Hebrew-school population, to meet the pressing needs of Jewish education and leadership and insure the future of Conservative Judaism, as described above. In many ways, Ramah was an offshoot of Massad, yet it also represented a parting of the ways. As Massad began to take on more and more the character of its director, disagreements multiplied. Sources of conflict centered around the following issues: 1. American v. Jewish nationalistic orientation: Massad was a very Zionist-oriented camp.[41] Some people wanted an American camp with Americanized campers and counselors. 2. Hebrew: Hebrew as an end in itself was the preoccupation at Massad. Sylvia Ettenberg recalls: "A

number of us felt that although Hebrew should be the language, Hebrew was only an instrument. It couldn't be *the* goal."[42] 3. Religion: Some people desired a camp where Conservative religious ideology would prevail. They were put off by what they saw as the hypocrisy of Massad, Orthodox in theory yet with many staff members who were not religiously committed.[43] 4. Discipline: There was disapproval of the rigid discipline and thoroughgoing authoritarianism of Massad.[44] Many people felt that the total program should be an integrated one in which religion and education would stem from the same ideology.[45] Many of these people later constructively channeled their discontent with Massad by founding and working in Ramah.

Ramah's genesis, then, was heavily influenced by Massad, both positively and negatively. The negative elements may have loomed large at the time, thus providing one impetus to embark on a new venture. Ultimately, however, the positive aspects of Massad had an equal if not more important effect. They played a crucial role in shaping the early educational philosophy and program of the camp.

In sum, many forces within American Jewry at large, the Conservative movement in particular, as well as the Jewish camping scene combined in the founding of a Conservative Hebrew-speaking educational summer camp. Yet, influences alone did not a camp create. Months of work on many fronts were needed to transform the Ramah ideology into reality.

The Founding of Camp Ramah

While the idea of a Conservative summer camp was crystallizing on the East Coast, similar efforts were launched in the Midwest. Rabbi Ralph Simon was the pivotal figure who introduced the idea of such a camp to the Chicago area and then closely supervised its development. His original impetus for forming a camp was personal:

> Like so many ideas . . . we respond to the needs of our own family. My children were the first campers in Massad, and when we moved to Chicago [in 1943], the question was what to do with them in the summers. . . . There was no camp that had an Hebraic character in the Chicago area, so for several years my children would travel to Massad.[46]

First, Rabbi Simon turned to the Chicago Board of Jewish Education for support. Yet, he soon realized that any camp run by the Board would be dominated by the Orthodox in order to satisfy the greatest common denominator. Rabbi Simon, negatively influenced by what he saw in Massad, insisted on a Conservative emphasis for the camp he envisioned. He consequently turned to the Chicago Council of Conservative Synagogues, one of the strongest branches of the United Synagogue at the time, and presented the idea to them.[47] Most members, particularly the Council chairman, Reuben Kaufman, were receptive to the idea, for they were committed to meeting the needs of Chicago's Jewish youth.[48] At a meeting in August 1946, the same year as the Rabbinical Assembly passed its resolution to initiate efforts to create a national youth camp,[49]

> Mr. Kaufman announced that the Council officers were in agreement on the need for an intensification of the program of youth activities in the Conservative Movement, with particular attention to the establishment of a summer camp in 1947. . . . This camp will be for children of parents affiliated with a Conservative Congregation and will be sponsored by the Council only; that is not in connection with the Board of Jewish Education.[50]

The Council heartily supported this venture. Yet, who would supervise the project? Rabbi Simon was friendly with Moshe Davis and knew of Davis' feelings about Jewish education and the state of the Conservative movement. Simon proposed to the Teachers Institute an arrangement whereby the Chicago group would operate the camp while the Teachers Institute would hire and supervise the educational staff.

As has been shown above, the Seminary, for reasons of its own, was simultaneously investigating the possibility of running a summer camp. The Teachers Institute in particular had an interest in its success. Yet, despite Seminary efforts to undertake this type of venture, opposition began to surface when the concrete opportunity arose. Certain people at the Seminary expressed reservations about Simon's proposal.[51] Chancellor Finkelstein's reservations were primarily financial, for he feared that Ramah would involve the Seminary in a great deal of expense. Also, a summer camp would be a grave responsibility. For example, what if there were an accident in camp? Would the Seminary be sued?[52] However, these reservations were eventually overcome. Perhaps the poor condition of the Teachers Institute at the time encouraged even risky experimentation in order to save it. Also, since the Teachers Institute was the branch of the Seminary devoted to training Jewish educators, it was the department that was best able to staff and supervise the camp in addition to benefiting most directly from its success.[53] It was decided that the Teachers Institute would respond to Simon's proposal by offering to undertake the educational supervision of this camp. As Dean of the Teachers Institute, Moshe Davis became the guiding genius of Ramah.

In January 1947, Sylvia Ettenberg, Administrative Secretary of the Teachers Institute, was sent to Chicago by Davis to describe to the Council how such a camp would be run. She was sent by virtue of her position, but also because of her camping experience: at Cejwin, as one of the founders of Massad, and as Massad's head counselor in 1945.

The details of the camp's program were as yet undetermined, but Sylvia Ettenberg made clear the general principles that would guide the camp's program. Her description of the camp as a Jewish living experience with Hebrew and formal study as major elements in the program met with some opposition. Council members were particularly skeptical of the possibility of recruiting campers for a study camp. "Some of them suggested to me that when I meet with those potential campers, I shouldn't mention it [the

study aspect]."[54] Ettenberg strenuously disagreed with this approach. Personally interviewing many potential campers, she found few who refused to come because of the study program. Vindicated, Ettenberg returned to New York and began to hire staff for the camp. Hiring quality staff, she felt, was the most important guarantee of a successful summer.[55] Thus began Sylvia Ettenberg's long association with Ramah. Now the Seminary's Dean of Educational Development, she is the one person whose guidance has nurtured Ramah throughout all the years of its existence.

Both the Teachers Institute and the Camp Ramah Committee of the Chicago Council worked feverishly for the opening of camp. [In October 1947, the Committee was abolished in favor of a separate Camp Ramah Commission.[56]] One important point to note here is the crucial role played by laypeople. Reuben Kaufman is an outstanding example of such a person; he was instrumental in the physical and financial aspects of the founding of Ramah. Louis Winer, later chairman of the Commission, recalls:

> This camping movement was an important laymen's movement. People got involved in this camp and worked for and helped develop it. The funds for this camp were practically all raised locally.[57]

This was a fine example of the coming together of different elements of the Conservative movement for a common goal. According to Winer,

> The Ramah committee [of Chicago] . . . developed a close relationship with the educators in all matters relating to camp, and a deep interest in the camp's welfare was always upon the minds of those who were instrumental in its operation.[58]

Needless to say, all was not idyllic. Policy disagreements arose at all times; some of these disagreements will be discussed presently.

It was impossible to pinpoint how the name "Ramah" was chosen. The Chicago Council minutes report that " 'Kinneret' could not be used because it was a duplication of other camps. The name 'Camp Ramah' was decided upon."[59] It seems that the name was chosen by Sylvia Ettenberg based on a number of suggestions provided by the late Hebrew poet Hillel Bavli, then Professor of Hebrew in the Teachers Institute of the Seminary.[60]

The purpose of the camp was clear. Hoping to satisfy the needs of the Chicago community, the Seminary, and the movement as a whole, Ramah "was to train an indigenous Conservative leadership—both lay and rabbinical—and thereby insure the perpetuation of the movement."[61] This is borne out by the report of the late Henry Goldberg, the first director of Camp Ramah, after the 1947 season.

> Aware of the fact that the Conservative Movement should and must draw its future leaders from its own ranks, Camp Ramah should serve as a laboratory for preparing a select group of boys and girls for leadership in the American-Jewish community.[62]

Ramah, therefore, was to be a hothouse environment, designed to cultivate leadership. Many people—rabbis, Teachers Institute representatives, Jewish educators, and laypeople—contributed their views as to which elements were pivotal to the development of leadership. Though complex in nature and varied in scope, Ramah ideology does generally fall into three major categories: Jewish living, Hebrew, and study. These values were at once both intertwined and separate, rooted in reality and transcending it.

The relationship of each facet of the ideology to the abstract goal of leadership was self-evident: in order to train Conservative Jewish leaders, one must first immerse the young people in Jewish living and teach them the basics of Judaism and the Hebrew language, for knowledge is a prerequisite to leadership. The experience will propel these youngsters to become committed to Jewish life, to observe its rituals, and to continue to study on a higher level. Note how beautifully this ideology meshed with the various needs of the time.

Jewish Living

First and foremost, Ramah would allow a child to live Jewishly. This was a crucial concept. Most children whose families were affiliated with Conservative synagogues had never experienced intensive Jewish living. Ramah hoped to supply that atmosphere. Ralph Simon explains:

> It put a child in a total Jewish environment and enabled him to live the so-called ideal Jewish life from the time he got up until he went to bed. . . . And that was of tremendous value. Most children had never lived a complete Jewish life. Here they not only lived it, but they lived it without tension. It was the normal way.[63]

For Ramah's ideologues, Jewish living meant both ritual observance such as kashrut, daily prayer, Shabbat observance, blessings before and after meals, and moral behavior. Thus, Ramah ideology stressed Jewish living at all times, not merely during religious ceremonies. "We were also concerned," recalls Chancellor Emeritus Cohen, "with teaching values on the ballfield. We spoke a great deal about that."[64]

Conservative Jewish living was stressed by those whose previous experience had been shaped by Camp Massad. Implicit in this was that Ramah would be noted for its Conservative religious practice and for tolerance of those whose observance level was different from the camp's norm. By "Conservative," these ideologues also had in mind a camp that would successfully synthesize the American and the Jewish environments. Ramah was to be an American camp with American staff and campers who chose to live Jewishly together, not a European-run or Palestine-directed venture.[65]

Hebrew

Educators hoped Ramah would become a summer arm of Jewish education. Since Hebrew was central to the curricula of the afternoon schools, it naturally assumed a role in its summer counterpart. Yet, Hebrew in Ramah was to do more than this. Educators were convinced that Hebrew would be learned much more easily in a camp setting. By creating a Hebrew-speaking camp, these ideologues had in mind the improvement of both the campers' Hebrew and the quality of the supplementary schools as a result of the higher Hebrew level of the returning students. Hebrew speaking was crucial in yet another way, for it was considered fundamental to the background of any knowledgeable Jew. Since knowledge was a prerequisite for leadership, Hebrew would have to play an important role in Ramah. Clearly, one can see the mark left by the work of both Benderly and the Noar Haivri Organization on these Ramah ideologues.

Study

Study was the third pillar of the ideology. It, too, was rooted in the reality of Ramah's potential constituency. First, since the potential campers would not be fluent in Hebrew, formal study was essential to teach them the language. In class, campers could first learn the basic vocabulary without which no Hebrew-speaking environment could succeed. Second, many campers lacked basic knowledge of Judaism. In order to live a Jewish life, they would first have to learn some fundamental skills. Finally, the ideological base for study was rooted in traditional Jewish values. "Living a full Jewish life meant studying every day."[66] As such, study of Judaism became an ideal for all. Built into the Ramah ideology was the notion that everybody, including the staff, would study in camp.

While there was general agreement on the importance of these values to Ramah, different people stressed one or another of the values in accordance with their individual philosophies. Conservative rabbis stressed the fact that Ramah would be "Conservative in conception and in execution, and it would be open to anyone who shared our point of view."[67] Educators, on the other hand, were less concerned about the religious ideology of the camp than with Ramah's potential as a place to teach children a maximum of Judaism. According to Solomon Feffer, a former Ramah director:

> [We wanted] to give them in those eight weeks of the camp the equivalent of at least a year or two of the typical Conservative Hebrew school education.[68]

A smaller though influential group of committed Hebraists hoped that the camp would teach youngsters enough Hebrew to create a vibrant Hebrew atmosphere, perpetuating the Hebrew movement in America.

Not to be forgotten amidst this emphasis on Ramah's unique ideology are the features common to summer camps which were central to Ramah ideologues as well. Their philosophy did not preclude swimming, physical exercise, adventure, sports, and games. Rather, they firmly held that Ramah's particular ideology would best flourish in a total camp setting.

Ramah in Wisconsin, 1947

Despite severe hardships on all levels, the summer season of 1947 was an undeniable success.

> The writer [Henry Goldberg] believes that all who have had ample time to observe the camp in action and who were objective in their judgment would agree that despite the many handicaps under which we labored, we achieved many of the goals that we set up for ourselves.[69]

The camp's director, the late Henry Goldberg, was principal of the East Midwood Jewish Center Hebrew School and one of the most respected, innovative Jewish educators of the time. In October 1946, Goldberg had assumed the directorship of LTF. Evidence of the intertwining of Leadership Training Fellowship and Camp Ramah is the fact that one part of Goldberg's LTF responsibilities was the running of its summer camp, Ramah.

Staff

The staff of 1947 consisted primarily of counselor-teachers, specialists, a swimming counselor licensed by the Red Cross, a division head, a professor-in-residence, a secretary, a hostess, plus some non-Jewish cooks and dishwashers. It was a small but very devoted staff, most of whom had had previous camping experience at Massad, Yavneh (the school-camp of what was then called the Hebrew Teachers College of Boston), or other Jewish camps.[70] David Lieber, then a rabbinical student and now President of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, was the head counselor. It was he who set the program, though most decisions during the summer were made by the staff as a whole.

The position of professor-in-residence was an innovation embodying the value of study in Ramah. Dr. Abraham Halkin, then Associate Professor of Jewish History at the Teachers Institute-Seminary College of Jewish Studies, held this position in 1947. For the campers, he served as a model of a Jew who continues to study.[71]

The staff in general seems to have been very competent. Counselors were responsible for their bunks as well as for teaching campers one-and-a-half hours a day. Specialists led activities in their area of expertise, e.g., arts and crafts, drama, and music. The Director reported that

> in evaluating the work of the counselors, the writer can wax enthusiastic because in his opinion it would be difficult to find anywhere else a staff that could be matched in their sense of idealism, devotion, conscientiousness,

Campers

Campers, too, were generally of a high caliber. According to the Director's
report, enrollment in 1947 was one hundred campers, ranging in age from
8 to 19 (though the camp was intended for those age 10 through high
school). There were 65 regular campers and 35 trainees (LTFers). The
camp drew these individuals from eighteen communities; only one fourth
came from the East. In keeping with the Ramah ideology, campers were
required

> to have a minimum of two years of Hebrew education for the ten year olds,
> three years for the eleven to fourteen year olds and four years for the fifteen
> year olds and above.[73]

Goldberg made it clear in his report, however, that in reality quite a few of
the campers were unqualified in this respect.[74] Tuition for the eight-week
session was $350 for the children's camp and $200 for the leadership
group.[75] Notable among the campers that first season were Burton Cohen,
now National Ramah Director, and Yochanan Muffs, now Seminary
Professor of Bible.

Program

The camp's program closely reflected its goals. Mornings were devoted not
only to prayer and study but also to breakfast, cleanup, and a general
swim. In the afternoon, campers went as a bunk to various activities
including sports, arts and crafts, and music. Evening activities consisted
of campfires, social dancing, movies, and vaudeville night for the
children's camp. The Leaders Training group had similar activities plus
discussions and lectures.[76]

Jewish Living

Intensive Jewish living was an integral part of the program. Yet, in the
translation of this aspect of Ramah ideology into practice, many problems
arose. Central to the debate were the basic questions of who determines
ritual policy for the camp and the specific nature of Conservative Jewish
ritual. While its ideology made some aspects of Jewish living givens in a
Ramah environment, other areas were open to question. Daily prayer,
kashrut, blessings before and after meals, and general Shabbat observance
were basics, central to the camp's program. Problems arose in deciding the
details of such concepts: how much to include in the prayer service, how
it would be run, what constituted Shabbat observance.

Some decisions were made by the Teachers Institute without much
disturbance. For example, swimming was permitted on Shabbat but
swimming instruction was not given; boating, on the other hand, was
forbidden. Mixed seating was permitted at services. Other issues, however,
caused a furor. Notable among these was the issue of the use of electric
lights on Shabbat. The Seminary's policy for the camp was cautious. Since
tolerance was one element in their ideology, the Teachers Institute
representatives wanted to offend neither traditionalists nor liberals, and
decided that the camp should officially refrain from using electric lights
on Shabbat though individuals could turn lights on and off if they wished.
Some local rabbis, more liberal in their orientation than the Seminary,
pointed to this as evidence of violation of Ramah ideology. To them,
Conservatism was implicitly more lenient. They were most annoyed with
this and other policies which, in their eyes, typified the Orthodox leanings
of the camp. Debate over issues of this sort started with the 1947 season
and continued for many years to come.[77]

Disagreements, however, rarely burst into open confrontation. They
were an undercurrent, disturbing but not seriously disruptive. Since the
problems were not unique to Ramah—they were ones that plagued the
movement as a whole—debate was never focused on the camp alone.
Nonetheless, it served to heighten the sensitive points of Conservative
ideology.

Other aspects of the Ramah ideology of Jewish living translated more
easily into practice. Rituals such as grace after meals and daily prayer were
scheduled as a normal part of the day. Both staff and campers participated
in them, and group spirit was stressed. In addition, rituals were height-
ened by a sense of ceremony; for example, campers all wore white clothing
on Shabbat.

Hebrew

The camp was officially conducted in Hebrew. Yet, since quite a number
of campers were deficient in Hebrew, it was necessary to teach them the
language quickly so that they could participate more comfortably in camp
life. Goldberg felt:

> It was only because of the zeal of the staff and the presence among the
> campers of a sufficient number of students who were "at home" in Hebrew
> that we were able to carry out most of our plans.[78]

In this area of Hebrew speaking, ideologies invariably clashed with each
other and with reality. Committed both to enrolling supplementary school
children and to speaking Hebrew, ideologues were forced to compromise
their views in light of reality. Hebrew was central to camp activities. Camp
routine and all public announcements were conducted primarily in
Hebrew. Nonetheless, campers rarely spoke Hebrew among themselves.
Many could not do so even had they wanted to. Others gave in because of

peer pressure and convenience.[79] Inevitably, Hebraist ideologues were disappointed with the campers' progress in this area.

Despite the difficulty of the task, staff took Hebrew-speaking quite seriously; a maximum was accomplished during the first season. Staff made a conscious effort to speak Hebrew and served as Hebraist models to which the campers could aspire. Incentives were given for speaking Hebrew. At the lineup, the counselors announced the names of people who spoke Hebrew all day.[80] Campers received Hebrew letters (analogous to an athlete's earning a college "letter") for this accomplishment. Having accumulated a certain number of letters, campers were rewarded.

Study

The value of formal study was easily incorporated into the camp program in the form of one and a half hours of classes five days a week. Study time was considered sacred.[81] Classes were divided according to age and background. The first few weeks were devoted to teaching the vocabulary necessary to everyday camp life. Once competence was attained, the study of Bible, Hebrew literature, grammar, Talmud, and Palestine was introduced.[82] Hebrew was the language of instruction.

In reality, study sessions did not work out this smoothly. Teachers tried to incorporate sophisticated concepts, and Jewish texts and Hebrew language, in their lessons, but often found that these goals were mutually exclusive. They did not want to sacrifice Hebrew for the sake of ideas. Yet, depending on the particular expertise and interest of the teacher, one aspect of instruction was often compromised for the other.[83]

The highlight of the summer was the Maccabiah. Competition was intense as campers strove to gain points for their teams in athletics, arts and crafts, spoken Hebrew, music composition, songwriting, and other creative endeavors. At this point in the summer Palestine was stressed: songs and dances of the *halutzim* were taught. Zionism, however, was generally not stressed at other times during the summer.

It should be understood by the reader that since the emphasis of this paper is on the ideology of Ramah and its translation into reality, problems in these areas have been stressed. However, in the summer of 1947 these difficulties were much less significant than the physical problems of the campsite. Located on swampy, uneven land, with no ballfields and no electricity except that provided by one temperamental generator, infested by bugs and mosquitos, Ramah in Wisconsin was indeed "very wild country."[84] Moreover, educational staff was often called upon to wash dishes and cook. According to Winer,

the major problem encountered in the first year was not in the area of Hebrew instruction but in feeding the campers. Lack of a cook who quit mid-season . . . forced educational staff to become directly involved in cooking and in other activities which they were not hired to do.[85]

Because of this combination of factors, staff morale fell very low. Fortunately, a deep sense of pioneering and idealism inspired these people to accomplish a great deal despite these serious handicaps.

At the end of the 1947 season, Camp Ramah was hailed as a tremendous success. In many ways, it was. The summer's end brought tears to campers' eyes, and Lieber recalls that many staff and campers "went away having a tremendous sense of elation."[86] Yet, Camp Ramah's ultimate goal had not yet been fulfilled, as, of course, it could not be in a single season.

Because of the camp's unparalleled short-range success, Ramah's continuation and expansion were made possible. Plans were made for a second season in Wisconsin and for a second camp in Maine. In fact, the idea of expansion was part of Ramah's planning from its very inception.

> Significantly, Camp Ramah [in Wisconsin], being the first camp to be established in the Conservative Movement, was to serve as a model and to pave the way toward the establishment of several other camps in the next few years in other parts of the country.[87]

Only in this way could Camp Ramah hope to provide leadership and improve Jewish education on a wide scale. The Teachers Institute, by committing itself to this one season in Wisconsin, had simultaneously accepted the responsibility of eventually supervising a network of summer camps.

Expansion: From One Camp to a Movement

"Ramah offers the privilege of a new and thrilling experience to those selected! . . . Ramah is the acme of summer living."[88] As this excerpt indicates, the brochure of 1948 exuded both confidence and excitement. Ramah's program was being expanded by the addition of a second camp located in the Belgrade Lakes of southern Maine. Operated by the New England Region of the United Synagogue of America, Camp Ramah in Maine was closely patterned after its Wisconsin counterpart. The program was to be identical; in fact, David Lieber, head counselor in 1947, was to direct this new experiment.

The administration of the Teachers Institute was enthusiastic about the prospects for a second site where they could affect the lives of more young people. Davis felt that the success of a second camp was crucial. "One camp is an experiment; two camps are a movement. I knew that if we would have two successful camps, the rest would follow."[89]

Unfortunately, Camp Ramah in Maine was a disaster. "Just as we ended Wisconsin on a terrifically high note," observed Lieber, "Maine ended . . . on a very low note."[90] Much of the problem stemmed from the arrangement made between Ramah and the camp's owner who retained control over the business aspects of the camp. As both owner and business manager, his primary concern was maximizing the profit margin, while the director was more interested in the quality of the program. Since, under

this contractual arrangement, the ultimate authority in Maine was the camp's owner and not its educational supervisor, the Ramah input was secondary to the owner's input.[91]

Relations between the owner and Lieber were extremely tense, and problems constantly plagued the camp. Lieber spent most of his time trying to resolve these conflicts, leaving head counselor Bernard Lipnick, a young rabbinical student, with much of the responsibility for implementing the program. (Lipnick is now rabbi of Congregation B'nai Amoona in St. Louis.) Problems reached such proportions that Lieber was ready to resign. Moshe Davis came to Maine and convinced Lieber to finish the season.[92]

As if these tensions were not enough, Ramah in Maine had a problematic physical layout. The site had two levels; in order to reach the athletic fields, it was necessary to climb a steep incline. Lipnick had to drive campers up to the ballfields every time a group was scheduled to play. Besides the constraints on spontaneity and scheduling, this also presented impossible supervisory problems. There is evidence, as well, that the staff was younger and less experienced than that of Wisconsin in 1947.[93]

Despite the many problems in Maine in 1948, the camp opened for a second season. Lieber, disgusted with his experience, left Ramah for several years. Once again, a director was brought from Wisconsin, Solomon Feffer. He had run the Wisconsin LTF group for the previous two years. As word of the camp's physical condition spread, it became increasingly difficult to recruit campers even from supporters of the Ramah idea.[94] After strenuous efforts, the camp was filled; yet, the same problems confronted Feffer, his staff, and campers.

Ramah in Maine is a perfect example of how a good idea can be crippled by poor implementation.[95] The camp was closed after two seasons. In addition to the unworkable relationship with the owner and the physical limitations of the site, the enrollment from New England was small.[96] The Philadelphia area, on the other hand, had sent a large contingent to Ramah beginning in 1947, primarily because of the enthusiastic support given Ramah by Rabbi David Goldstein of Har Zion Temple in Philadelphia. This community, through its Board of Jewish Education, had made several attempts to establish a camp.[97] None of the plans materialized, and as early as December 1948, inquiries were made about the feasibility of establishing a third Ramah camp in the area.[98] The Philadelphia Branch of the United Synagogue, whose executive Director was Rabbi Jerome Labovitz, formed a committee chaired by David W. Niesenbaum, Esq.

After the Maine fiasco, it became clear that a campsite must be purchased or, at the very least, leased with an option to buy. After investigating various sites, the committee learned that Rabbi and Mrs. Grossman, long-time directors of Camp Tabor, were looking to sell their camp. Rabbi Bernard Segal, representing the interests of the national United Synagogue, David Niesenbaum, and Jerome Labovitz were instru-

mental in working out the negotiations. The original plan was to sell the camp to the Philadelphia Branch of the United Synagogue. However, the branch had insufficient funds. Abraham Birenbaum saved the project by personally buying the camp and leasing it to the Philadelphia Branch.[99]

Camp Ramah in the Poconos was much more successful than its predecessor in Maine. Like Wisconsin, it enjoyed the support of a devoted committee.[100] Its director in 1950 was Feffer, who opened the camp in its new location. He ran a strict camp and was concerned primarily with furthering the learning and Hebrew aspects of Ramah ideology. A member of the faculty of the Seminary's School of Jewish Studies, Feffer was especially interested in encouraging older campers to continue their studies on a higher level.

There is evidence that Feffer, by stressing these elements of Ramah's program, may have neglected other areas of camp life. The details of the situation are not clear, though it is certain that many problems existed. Bernard Lipnick, returning from Israel in the middle of the season, was sent to camp to stabilize the situation. Lipnick, arriving as an outsider after the season had begun, failed to have a major impact that summer, and in fact could never quite determine what the problem was, though he and others recalled tensions between the staff and Feffer.[101] In addition, Feffer incurred the wrath of some local rabbis because of his religious policy which was, in their eyes, too Orthodox.[102]

The Camp Ramah Committee minutes echo this dissatisfaction. Some members did not want to rehire Feffer for the following season.[103] According to Feffer, representatives of the Teachers Institute asked him to run the Wisconsin camp in 1951. Not wanting to change camps again, he refused and left the Ramah movement. He was replaced as director of the Poconos camp by Rabbi S. Gershon Levi, then rabbi of the Jamaica (New York) Jewish Center. Rabbi Levi directed the camp for only one year. That he was a Conservative rabbi made him more acceptable to local rabbis.[104] Yet he, too, had problems running the camp. In 1952, Levi Soshuk was appointed director. An experienced Jewish educator with a background in Jewish camping dating back to Camp Achvah, Soshuk ran the Poconos camp until 1960, when he was asked to open Camp Ramah in Canada. He stressed the three pillars of Ramah ideology and raised their implementation to new levels.

While Ramah was attempting to establish a second camp on firm footing, its original camp in Wisconsin continued to do well. With the help of a concerned lay committee, notably Louis Winer, the late Daniel J. Glasser, and the late Maxwell Abbell, this camp was well provided for both monetarily and in terms of moral support and concern. It took a number of years to build a solid constituency, though, and an intensive recruitment program continued to be necessary.

Henry Goldberg continued to serve as director of Ramah in Wisconsin in 1948, providing needed stability during the second season. Upon ordination from the Seminary in 1949, Hillel Silverman assumed the

directorship. (Silverman is now rabbi of Temple Shalom, Greenwich, Connecticut.) Young, handsome, and athletic, Silverman presented a glamorous image to the campers. He ran the camp in a manner similar to that of his predecessor but with a greater stress on athletics and competition. Silverman fondly recalled the athletics and competition in which he had participated as a child in Camp Mohican and wished to add this element to Ramah. In addition, his experience in Yavneh and Massad firmly convinced him of the importance of using the informal summer setting to study and learn Hebrew. As director of Ramah, Silverman hoped to combine these elements—study, Hebrew, and Jewish living—with athletics and competition.[105]

Silverman ran a structured camp, believing that campers appreciated knowing the program and feeling at home with the routine. For him, this was a sign of a well-organized camp. His stress on healthy competition—color wars, leagues, and other activities—stemmed from his feeling that we live in a competitive world. By providing a proper outlet for aggression, he could prevent its improper manifestations.[106]

The quality of the staff remained high at Ramah in Wisconsin. The 1950 staff list included Gerson Cohen, waterfront counselor; Naomi Cohen, counselor; Norman Podhoretz, dramatics specialist; Moshe Greenberg, head counselor; and Shalom Spiegel, professor-in-residence.

One major issue during this period was the attitude of Ramah toward Zionism. The State had been declared and Zionism took on new meaning. American Jewry was largely pro-Zionist, and the question became: To what extent would Ramah reflect this outlook? Since Ramah was to be an American camp and not an Israel-oriented one, many staff members felt that there was no reason to raise the Israeli flag at the morning ceremony. Yet several Zionists among the staff strongly wished to do so. Some people at the Seminary were ambivalent about Zionism; this ambivalence, too, was mirrored in the camps.[107] Different solutions were attempted, but it is difficult today to determine what actually occurred in the camps. One interesting compromise was reached in the Poconos in 1950. According to Feffer, older campers raised the question of dual loyalty; they felt that the raising of the Israeli flag was un-American and perhaps illegal. Finally, a silhouette of the ten commandments was superimposed on an Israeli flag, forming a "Jewish people flag" rather than the flag of the Israeli nation. A postscript to this incident is the reaction of some Massad staff to the decision. Furious at this compromise in Ramah, some Massad staff members piloted a plane and dropped leaflets on Ramah in the Poconos, denouncing both Ramah and Feffer as anti-Zionist. A second, ground infiltration at night left the camp plastered with Israeli flags. In any case, the controversy dissipated as the camps eliminated the flag-raising ceremony.[108]

By the end of 1950, it was clear that the Ramah idea was working. Necessary now was an apparatus to facilitate the growth of a national Conservative network of camps by planning and coordinating policy. This void was filled by the National Ramah Commission, organized during the winter of 1950–1. Representatives of the United Synagogue, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Rabbinical Assembly made up the commission. The founding of the National Ramah Commission marked an organizational turning point of Ramah's early history. First, its creation signified the recognition of Ramah as being a concept larger than its two campsites. Second, it also meant accepting the responsibility that accompanied that recognition.

The Newman Years

While the organizational evolution of Ramah is marked by the founding of the National Ramah Commission, its first ideological revolution began in Wisconsin in 1951. Until this time, the individual style, personality, or predilections of each director left its personal imprint on the camp: one director stressed study while another combined study, Hebrew, and Jewish living in an outdoor, athletic milieu. Yet these differing nuances were but variations on the original Ramah theme and ideology. None attempted to radically to shift either this ideology or its translation into reality.

Louis Newman, who retired in 1985 as Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Boston, directed Camp Ramah in Wisconsin from 1951 to 1953. Newman was considered perfect for the job, for he was a man with deep Jewish commitment who spoke Hebrew fluently and an educator with a background in camping at Yavneh, Massad and Ramah in the Poconos. During the year, Newman had been teaching psychology at the Herzliah Teacher's Seminary and working for a doctorate in clinical psychology. He had expressed an interest in buying a summer camp where he could try out some of his educational ideas. When this became known, he was offered the directorship of Ramah in Wisconsin.

Though Newman had never before run a camp, he had some highly developed theories of education to guide his new undertaking. His ideas were strongly influenced by those of John Dewey, and the Progressive approach to education permeated many elements of his thinking. Committed to participatory education and to a democratic environment, Newman was noted for his dual belief in respect for the individual and individual respect for the group. Most important, since he believed that camp could affect character, he wanted to create an atmosphere to build it, not only one which would teach Hebrew and provide "a good time."[109]

As a Ramah director, Newman became the first to introduce this approach into Ramah and to attempt a synthesis of Progressive and Ramah ideology. Newman was so devoted to both of these sets of goals that he was often depicted with Dewey in one hand and Torah in the other. Rarely one to put his ideas on paper, Newman did write one statement of his thoughts in June 1951. In it, he included his vision of the aims of Ramah.

In camp, we want (1) to create living situations through which all people, campers, counselors, and all workers will become better human beings. . . . We want (2) to transmit to our campers the knowledge of traditional Jewish values. . . . We believe that the experiences of our people as a whole, and of outstanding Jews individually, offer criteria to aid anyone choosing among alternate ways of behaving. We want (3) to teach a working knowledge of the Hebrew language both in reading and conversation.[110]

This stress on personal growth, while understood in the early Ramah ideology and by each of the preceding directors as being part of growth as a Jew, had never before occupied so prominent a place in the Ramah constellation.

Newman faced a lack of available models; no other Jewish camps in Newman's experience had tried this synthesis before. Thus, on a practical level, Newman had only concrete examples of what he did *not* want; he had seen enough activities managed from above by staff which ended up highlighting the talents of the leaders at the expense of the campers. Furthermore, not only were the child's needs often neglected but Newman also felt that certain areas of camp were patently harmful; for example, raids, stealing food, competition, and incentives. These were anathema to him, and he wished to structure an environment which would eliminate the need to perform useless or destructive acts. That a child may enjoy such activities is not a sufficient criterion for encouraging their continuation. Newman was convinced of the necessity of hiring older, married, mature staff capable of dealing with the emotional problems of children and adolescents and serving as role models. He felt that younger staff who had not yet found their emotional—particularly sexual—identities could not properly guide their young, impressionable campers.[111]

The closest Newman could get to a successful camping model from which to learn was the National Experimental Camp of Pioneer Youth of America. A record of its first six summers was published as a book, *Creative Camping*, by its director, Joshua Lieberman. Describing this experiment in actualizing Progressive ideology, the book deeply affected Newman's thinking. Earlier in his career, Newman had even considered working at the Pioneer camp and had met with Lieberman. However, the book did not incorporate the traditional elements of a Ramah camp—study, Hebrew, and intensive Jewish living. Thus, by attempting this integration, Newman was embarking on a pioneer adventure.[112]

Newman understood both his strengths and weaknesses. While he was a good theoretician, he was limited as an actualizer of ideas. Therefore, he selected Bernard Lipnick as head counselor. The two met regularly on weekends during the winter and spring of 1950–1. Lipnick would read and listen as Newman conveyed his ideas; Lipnick became persuaded by the approach. The two were well-suited complements to each other—Newman the idea man and Lipnick the executor.[113]

Most other members of the staff met with Newman individually once during the year when he came to Chicago. There, he shared a few of his ideas.[114] While they expected the summer to be different, no one, including Newman, knew exactly how it would be different.

At the beginning of the summer of 1951 Newman created a furor by announcing that there was no schedule. No longer would campers go by bunk to prescribed activities. It was now up to the individual camper. Specialists and counselors were available and eager to help, but staff would not enforce a schedule or push campers to participate in an activity. Their example, and not their directive, would be the best teacher.[115]

The first week was chaotic. Campers wandered around doing very little.[116] Slowly, though, things began to take shape. Classes remained a set part of the day, since this part of the program was fixed by the Seminary. In the afternoon, campers were given a choice of activities. Bernard Lipnick devised a method whereby individuals could create their own schedules based on their interests. This was an extremely difficult method to actualize, yet it was essential as a way of giving structure to this open environment. In working out the mechanism, Lipnick had to reconcile the theory of giving children a truly free choice with the reality of scheduling activities. The availability of facilities, the number of participants required for certain team activities, and the age and sex of the campers involved were just a few of the variables that had to be built into a schedule of free choice; all of this had to be done each week. Together with the staff, Lipnick offered the campers a wide range of activities including sports, arts and crafts, music, drama, and even more study. He made it possible for the campers to choose any of these and also to be able to schedule a free period during the day if they so desired.[117]

Scheduling difficulties, however, were only half of the burden placed upon the staff by this new arrangement. The other part, more subtle, was in a sense more demanding. First, it was the counselor's responsibility to meet with each camper to determine his needs and help him make the choices which would be best for him. A child could conceivably spend the whole day in arts and crafts and never engage in sports activities. In general, such a child would be encouraged to diversify his interests, but such a program might be right for the given child. Only personal contact with and concern for the child could determine which was indeed the case. Second, counselors had to keep abreast of their campers' weekly schedules in order to know if the children were participating in activities. Clearly, this need to know each camper and his weekly program placed an enormous burden upon the staff.[118]

Other areas of camp life were equally affected by the new ideology; since campers spent most of their day pursuing individual interests, a conscious effort was made to encourage bunk projects which would foster group feeling. There were frequent bunk meetings and votes to decide what to do and how to do it. When the time for the Maccabiah arrived, Newman put the question of whether or not to have color war up for a vote. Newman was very much opposed to having a Maccabiah; the competitive spirit and adult management of the event ran counter to

everything he stood for. Yet to impose his bias, however strong, upon the group, Newman felt, would cause hostility and anger. Newman feared that he would lose in the long run though he might attain a short-range goal. "There are many cases where when you win you lose."[119] Newman announced to both campers and staff that he would abide by the outcome; it would not be an empty vote. Everyone in camp, including the director, had one vote. The decision to eliminate color war passed by majority vote. Newman had gambled and won.

Social dancing, held on Saturday nights for the older campers, was another controversial issue. Newman and his staff were sensitively attuned to the shy campers for whom the activity was potentially humiliating. In this case, though, the issue was not put up for a vote. First, it did not affect the whole camp. Second, Newman knew that there was nothing inherently wrong with dancing; the problem lay in the social pressure accompanying such an activity. It was decided by the staff to undermine this Saturday night ritual by offering a choice of other attractive options at the same time. Alternatives were emphasized, draining campers away from the socials. Slowly, the strategy began to work, until the socials were eventually destroyed from without.[120]

Newman's ideas changed other aspects of camp. The bugle was eliminated, and counselors began to wake their campers individually. Group received special attention as staff strove to talk out and resolve difficulties with their bunks.

By remaining true to his philosophy, Newman ended up eliminating many traditional summer camp activities. Color war was one example; another was raids. Newman and his staff believed that raids were dangerous, antisocial, and unethical. When a group did raid, Newman would be furious, saying, "The camp is yours. From whom are you stealing?"[121] Yet, he was keenly aware of the potential problems posed by eliminating these events, and he knew that he consciously had to program other expressions of fun and adventure.[122] Because of this belief, Newman invested in canoes, ping-pong tables, and power equipment for woodworking. He also introduced overnight outings into the program. Counselors encouraged and suggested adventuresome activities that would be challenging, real, and useful. For example, one bunk built steps from the lake to the dining hall; the library was painted pink at night by one group to the surprise of the camp.

In addition to their preoccupation with educational issues and camper needs, staff worked diligently to further the original Judaic aims of Ramah. On one level, they believed that their progressive educational philosophy was an expression of the ethical dimension of Judaism. Yet they also concentrated on the traditional aspects as well. The structure of Judaic aspect of the program was left unaltered by Newman. His staff tried to serve as models of learning, devoted Jews to deepen their campers' commitment to Judaism. Staff worked to foster meaningful religious expression by improving campers' ritual skills and standardizing the

structure and melodies of the prayer service. Hebrew speaking was also very important to the staff, and much energy was expended planning special programs and exciting ways to improve the level of Hebrew. Actually, Newman's educational philosophy, with its emphasis on the democratic process and sensitivity towards others, meshed well with Ramah's Conservative religious ideology and its stress on unity in diversity.[123]

Newman attracted a core of talented young people to his camp. Believing that some people's personalities clashed with the camp's ideology, Newman attempted to screen his staff by choosing mature, non-authoritarian people who he felt could work under his system. He also tried to provide housing for married couples in order to attract the mature staff he wanted. Newman worked closely with his staff and trained a group of young people who would later join him in having a major impact on Ramah and Jewish education in general: Dr. Burton Cohen, now National Ramah Director and Assistant Professor of Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary; Rabbi Jerome Abrams, Director, Camp Ramah in the Berkshires; Dr. Seymour Fox, Professor of Education at the Hebrew University; Dr. Joseph Lukinsky, Professor in Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary; the late Rabbi David Mogilner, former National Ramah Director; and Rabbi Alexander Shapiro, rabbi of Oheb Shalom Congregation, South Orange, New Jersey. All these men, who worked with Newman in Wisconsin, and served at one time or another as Ramah directors, were profoundly influenced by him. Members of his staff who were interviewed still speak about Newman with great reverence: "He is one of the great educators of American Jewish life. . . . Everybody who ever worked with him owes him more than can ever be said."[124]

Nevertheless, some people—staff, local rabbis, and laypeople—were unhappy with Newman's innovations. Several staff members opposed any change; others merely preferred the camp as it had been before 1951. Outsiders, on the other hand, opposed Newman because of his lack of formalism and his inexperience with public relations. This discontent eventually focused on the issue of cleanliness, for they were distressed by the dirty condition of some of the bunks and furious that Newman would not force the children to clean them. Rabbi Ralph Simon, in particular, was very upset: "I didn't think that cleanliness and hygiene should have been left to the conscience of the children."[125] While he approved of many of Newman's changes as being a needed corrective in Ramah, Simon felt that Newman was veering too much to the other extreme. Apparently, approval of Newman outweighed complaints, for he remained director for three years and deeply influenced Ramah.[126]

The Newman years permanently changed Ramah. While the other Ramah camps remained basically unaffected by his philosophy for many years, all eventually incorporated Newman's innovations, though with much modification. A junior counselor training program instituted by Newman was strengthened and expanded. Classes in education were

provided for staff. The practice of campers' choosing activities was introduced in modified form to the other camps (choices were offered less frequently than the original once a week). Color war, Saturday night socials, and bugles eventually disappeared from Ramah. All of these changes gained acceptance primarily through Newman's overwhelming influence on his staff, many of whom later became Ramah leaders.

As successful as Newman's innovations were, they also posed inherent dangers. By being acutely sensitive to children's needs and to the democratic process, Newman's philosophy had the potential to erode the original Ramah ideology of study, Hebrew, and Jewish living. For one thing, stress on discussions and decision-making undermined the goal of learning Hebrew. As one staff member put it:

> As long as we didn't talk about anything, we could talk Hebrew, but when we started to talk about serious matters, then it became a problem.[127]

Second, fixed hours of study were incompatible with an ideology of free choice. Finally, tolerance of individual differences had the potential to undermine the goal of nurturing a Conservative Jewish laity committed to a lifestyle of Jewish observance.

Despite these potential problems, Newman's contribution was vital to Ramah. While, prior to him, Ramah had pioneered a new synthesis of study, Hebrew, and Jewish living, it had not developed an overall ideology for camp life. Newman helped bring all aspects of a Ramah camp into harmony with each other.

Conclusion

Any conclusions about the ultimate success or failure of Ramah would require much research, especially into the lives of the thousands of campers and staff members who spent summers there. How many continued to study? What percent are devoted, observant Jews? How many serve the American Jewish community in leadership capacities? How many are dedicated to the Conservative movement? How many of the camp alumni have chosen to send their children to a Ramah program? These are only some of the questions that must be asked to evaluate Ramah's accomplishments relative to its goals. Yet, even without a fuller historical study of all the years of Ramah, one conclusion does emerge: Ramah, as early as its initial six years, played a major role in restoring to the Conservative movement faith in its future.[128] Had Ramah achieved only this goal, it would have been enough to justify the efforts of its founders. In the eyes of many, though, Ramah had accomplished this and more. As Dr. Simon Greenberg has stated, "No other educational enterprise 1947that we have entered upon has repaid us so fully."[129]

NOTES

1. A pioneer in Jewish educational camping is Cejwin, founded in 1919. A successful Hebrew-speaking camp was Massad, founded in 1941. These camps are described more fully below.

2. Statistics provided by Dr. Burton Cohen, National Ramah Director.

3. Taped interview with Gerson D. Cohen, March 24, 1976.

4. Henry Goldberg, "High school and Leadership Training Program," *Proceeding of the Second Annual Rabbinical Assembly Conference on Jewish Education,* December 22-3, 1947, pp. 62-3 (hereafter cited as *Conference Proceedings*).

5. Abraham J. Karp, *A History of the United Synagogue of America: 1913-1963,* p. 71.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Moshe Davis, "The Rabbi in Education," *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly* 10:180-1 (1946) (hereafter cited as *RA Proceedings*). Davis is now head of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

8. *Jewish Theological Seminary of America Register* 1948-9, p. 45.

9. *Ibid.,* 1944-5, p. 55.

10. Interview with Moshe Davis, April 2, 1976.

11. Moshe Davis, "The Ladder of Jewish Education," *Conference Proceedings,* p. 11.

12. Louis Finkelstein, "The Seminary in Expansion Program," *RA Proceedings* 8:304 (1944).

13. Mordecai M. Kaplan, *The Future of the American Jew,* pp. 527-8.

14. Mordecai M. Kaplan, "The Training of Teaching and Leadership Personnel," *RA Proceedings* 8:352 (1944).

15. Davis, "Ladder of Jewish Education," pp. 24-5.

16. This was also reprinted in *Conservative Judaism* 4:1-14 (May 1948).

17. "Rabbinical Assembly Resolutions," *RA Proceedings* 9:30 (1945).

18. Moshe Davis, "The Leadership Training Fellowship," *RA Proceedings* 11:74 (1947).

19. Simon Greenberg, "The Ramah Movement: Its History and Place in the Conservative Movement," unpublished paper, p. 1.

20. Response to Kaplan, "Training of Personnel," p. 356.

21. Davis, "Rabbi in Education," pp. 182-3.

22. Simon Greenberg, "Basic Problems and a Proposed Structure for Jewish Education in America," *Conservative Judaism* 3, no. 2:11 (February 1947).

23. Davis, "Ladder of Jewish Education," p. 36.

24. Taped interview with Moshe Davis, April 2, 1976.

25. Robert Gordis, "Official Reports," *RA Proceedings* 10:75 (1946).

26. Beverly Gribetz, "The Rise of Jewish Educational Camping," April 6, 1974, pp. 13-14.

27. Taped interview with Davis.

28. Taped response of Levi Soshuk, received April 23, 1976.

29. Gribetz, "The Rise," pp. 16-18.

30. Taped interview with Sylvia C. Ettenberg, February 16, 1976.

31. While these two camps are the most notable examples of early Jewish educational camping, other camps influenced early Ramah staff and deserve mention as well, especially Sharon, the school-camp of the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago, and Yavneh, the school-camp of Boston's Hebrew Teachers College.

32. Shlomo Shulsinger, "Hebrew Camping—Five years of Massad (1941-45)," *Jewish Education* 17, no. 3:16 (June 1946).

33. Conversation with Gilla Lantz, February 17, 1976, and taped interview with Ettenberg.

34. Taped interview with Shlomo Shulsinger, March 8, 1976.

35. Shulsinger, p. 18.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Yavneh was not founded until 1944, and even then it was primarily a school-camp. Examples of Conservative Jewish leaders who sent their children to Massad are Rabbis David Goldstein, Simon Greenberg, and Ralph Simon. Gerson Cohen, Louis Newman, and Alexander Shapiro were Massad staff members.

38. Taped interview with Gerson D. Cohen.

39. Shulsinger, p. 22.

40. Taped interview with Ettenberg.

41. Taped interview with Shulsinger.

42. Taped interview with Ettenberg.

43. Taped interviews with Alexander Shapiro, March 9, 1976, and Ettenberg.

44. Taped interviews with Simon Greenberg, Februay 26, 1976, and Shapiro.

45. Taped interviews with Ralph Simon, March 29, 1976, and Ettenberg.

46. Taped interview with Simon.

47. Ibid.

48. One notable opponent was the late Solomon Goldman who was a prominent rabbi in Chicago. He was afraid of the responsibility of such an undertaking. Taped interviews with David Lieber, February 9, 1976, and Simon.

49. "Rabbinical Assembly Resolutions," RA Proceedings 10:279 (1946).

50. A Digest of the Minutes of the Dinner Meeting of Presidents of Conservative Congregations and Officers of Conservative Synagogues, August 7, 1946, Minutes of Chicago Council of United Synagogue of America, National Ramah Commission, New York, p. 56.

51. Taped interviews with David Goldstein, March 15, 1976, Ettenberg, and Simon.

52. Taped interview with Ettenberg.

53. Register 1942-3, p. 32.

54. Taped interview with Ettenberg.

55. Ibid.

56. Minutes of Chicago Council, p. 114.

57. Taped interview with Louis Winer, March 30, 1976.

58. Ibid.

59. Minutes of Board of Directors of the Chicago Council of Conservative Synagogues, February 12, 1947; Minutes of Chicago Council, p. 110.

60. Taped interviews with Ettenberg and Lieber.

61. Marshall Sklare, "Recent Developments in Conservative Judaism," Midstream January 1972, p. 6.

62. Henry Goldberg, "Report on Camp Ramah—1947," files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia, p. 1.

63. Taped interview with Simon.

64. Taped interview with Gerson D. Cohen.

65. Taped interviews with Gerson D. Cohen and Goldstein.

66. Taped interview with Lieber.

67. Taped interview with Simon.

68. Taped interview with Solomon Feffer, March 11, 1976.

69. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 2.

70. Some of the staff members were Kassel and Shirley Abelson, Leo Landes, Nechama Rosenberg, Baruch Diener, and Mr. and Mrs. Solomon Feffer.

71. Taped interviews with Ettenberg and Lieber.

72. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 11.

73. Ibid., p. 1.

74. Ibid., p. 15.

75. Camp Ramah brochure, 1947, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia, p. 3.

76. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 13.

77. Taped interviews with Ettenberg, Lieber, and Simon.

78. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 15.

79. Taped interview with Burton Cohen, March 9, 1976.

80. Ibid.

81. Taped interviews with Burton Cohen and Ettenberg.

82. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 4.

83. Taped interview with Ettenberg.

84. Taped interview with Winer.

85. Ibid.

86. Taped interview with Lieber.

87. Henry Goldberg, "Report," p. 2.

88. Camp Ramah in Maine brochure, 1948, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia, p. 1.

89. Taped interview with Davis.

90. Taped interview with Lieber.

91. Taped interviews with Bernard Lipnick, March 29, 1976, Feffer, and Lieber.

92. Taped interview with Lieber.

93. Conversation with Shlomo Balter, March 29, 1976, and taped interviews with Lieber and Lipnick.

94. Taped interview with Lieber.

95. Taped interviews with Davis and Lieber.

96. Minutes of Conference with Rabbi Bernard Segal, November 8, 1949, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia.

97. Taped interview with Goldstein.

98. Labovitz to Segal, December 9, 1948, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia.

99. Segal to Labovitz, February 24, 1950, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia.

100. The original Camp Ramah Committee (Poconos) was composed of:
   David W. Niesenbaum, Esq., Chairman
   Abe Birenbaum
   Hyman Bomze
   David H. Cohen, Esq.
   Harry J. Finkel
   John B. Goldenberg
   Rabbi David A. Goldstein
   Bernath L. Jacobs
   Rabbi Jerome Labovitz
   Dr. Milton Nevins

101. Conversation with Sara Schafler, March 29, 1976, and taped interview with Lipnick.

102. Taped interviews with Goldstein and Feffer.

103. Minutes of Camp Ramah Committee (Poconos), January 10, 1951, files, Camp Ramah in the Poconos office, Philadelphia.

104. Taped interview with Goldstein.

105. Taped interview with Hillel Silverman, March 29, 1976.

106. Ibid.

107. Taped interview with Lipnick.

108. Taped interview with Feffer.

109. Taped interview with Louis Newman, March 25, 1976.

110. Louis Newman, "My Reflections on Counselorship," June 1951, personal files of Louis Newman, Boston, p. 1.

111. Taped interview with Newman.

112. Taped interview with Newman; Joshua Lieberman, Creative Camping.

113. Taped interviews with Lipnick and Newman.

114. Taped interviews with Joseph Lukinsky, March 11, 1976, and Burton Cohen.

115. Newman, p. 5.

116. Taped interview with Lukinsky.
117. Taped interviews with Lipnick and Newman.
118. Taped interviews with Burton Cohen, Lipnick, Lukinsky, Newman, and Shapiro.
119. Taped interview with Newman.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. Taped interviews with Lipnick, Newman, and Shapiro.
123. Taped interview with Newman.
124. Taped interview with Lukinsky.
125. Taped interview with Simon.
126. Newman returned to Ramah in 1955 as Director of Camp Ramah in Connecticut for one year. He later served Ramah in other capacities, particularly as Director of the Mador-National Camp Leadership Institute.
127. Taped interview with Burton Cohen.
128. Taped interview with Davis.
129. Taped interview with Greenberg.

Tefillah at Ramah:
Goals, Methods, and Impact

Neil Gillman

No one will disagree that prayer is the very heart of the life of religion. Nor will anyone disagree that prayer is one of the most subtle and complex of human activities. But if it is difficult to pray, how more difficult is it to teach someone else to pray! "Religious education" is an elusive term, but whatever it means, it must include the attempt to teach children to pray. We must acknowledge Ramah's readiness to meet that challenge.

But from here on in, problems abound. Many of these problems are not of Ramah's doing but are indigenous to Judaism and to the fact that with the exception of the late Abraham Joshua Heschel, I know of no contemporary Jewish thinker who has attempted a thorough analysis of the phenomenology of Jewish prayer. Our contemporary Jewish educators have had little input from the theoreticians of Jewish religion on which to build educational strategies.

The indigenous problems are genuine and complex. First, we are bedeviled by our natural tendency to use the generic English term "prayer" to cover a variety of forms of Jewish religious expression, each of which has its own distinctive theology, halakhic structure and function. Our ancestors fine-tuned the act of what we call "prayer," creating *distinctions* which we tend to blur. *Birkhot hashahar* is not *psuke de-zimra*, and neither of these is *kriat sh'ma uvirkhoteha*; and none of these is *tefillah*. The last is strictly applicable only to what we call the *amidah* or the *shmone esre*—yet we blur the term and use *tefillah* as a generic translation of the English generic "prayer," thus compounding the confusion. Finally, as we know, *tefillah* is a different experience if we are talking about Shabbat, *hol* or *yom tov*.

The Ramah *shaharit* service, then—the one daily service in which every member of the Ramah community is required to participate—is actually a composite of at least four distinctive forms of worship. We work against ourselves if we insist on treating all of these as one experience, whether we call it "prayer" or "*tefillah.*"

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Configuring the Education System for a Shared Future:
Collaborative Vision, Action, Reflection

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A New View of the Problems in Education

The conditions of today's world demand that fundamental changes are essential not only in the ways we educate our young but also in the entire education system that supports the schools in their work. Students today who simply memorize a body of facts will soon find themselves ill equipped to apply those facts. Not only will the facts be out of date, but the student may not have acquired the ability to process new information and apply new learnings. Until recently, most of the reform activities concentrated on things that students, teachers, principals, and others could do to perform their work better; now educators are beginning to realize that repairing the current system is not enough. We must change fundamentally the way we think about and provide schooling to the nation's young people.

Given their complexity and scope, the challenges we face in education constitute a metaproblem, *problematique*, or, to put it bluntly, a "mess."[1] As such, they are too extensive and multi-faceted to be handled by any single organization, no matter how large or skilled. Moreover, in every state the number of actors has increased geometrically and now includes governors, legislators, state boards, associations and community groups, social service agencies and businesses, as well as educators at several levels. Because the mechanisms for overall coordination are not well developed, solutions are pursued in isolation from one another and may be based on conflicting values. Actions and reactions add to the turbulence, compounding the already complex problems.

In order to keep moving forward despite the turbulence, many people ignore the larger reality, devising solutions to fragments of the metaproblem. The result is piecemeal action that drains energy and results in loss of meaning.

It is possible, however, to create and sustain the large-scale, complex educational improvement that system rebuilding requires by identifying and using as tools elements inherent in a given situation and by embracing the messiness of reality rather than ignoring it.

Seeds of a Strategy

To do this, the current repertoire of change strategies must be expanded to include approaches that are designed to work in large-scale, highly complex, and rapidly changing situations characterized by potential high conflict among concerned parties.

If indeed we are in the midst of rapid social change and need to transform the education system, we need seriously to consider what our overall strategy of change should be. We cannot expect a successful major transformation with a shotgun approach or one that does not recognize the amount of complexity, conflict, diversity, and interdependence involved in the education enterprise.

First of all, the strategy must be founded on collaboration and inclusion, for very practical reasons. The turbulence caused by multiple actors acting in multiple, unconnected ways; the bad policies that result from successive, disjointed compromises; the "you may win this one, but I'll get you next time" orientation that one state-level actor called "cowboys and Indians" -- those are all too costly to allow to persist.

In facing complex problems, it is critical to have diverse perspectives in order to frame problems and craft workable solutions. We can no longer afford to leave anybody out; our fates are inevitably and inextricably linked. We must move, then, beyond maximizing the self-interest of a few to maximizing the self-interests of all. Collaboration and inclusion must be the very essence of the strategy, not just something done at the beginning of some sequence of action as a step called "building ownership" or under the heading of "overcoming resistance." The inclusion must be based on the use of cooperative rather than controlling power. Vision building and action among and between organizations must use enabling power to motivate and energize others, because traditional hierarchical power loses potency the farther it travels beyond the boundaries of individual organizations.

1

Mobilizing and sustaining individual motivation and energy are the critical objectives here. As Harlan Cleveland notes:

> In an information-rich polity, the very definition of control changes. . . . Decision making proceeds not by "recommendations up, orders down," but by development of a shared sense of direction among those who must form the parade if there is going to be a parade. . . . Not "command and control" but "conferring and networking" become the mandatory modes for getting things done.[2]

Second, the strategy must be based on a new vision of what education is all about. As has been so well argued in the Carnegie and other reports,[3] our economic future requires people not only with basic skills but also well-developed capacities for creativity, problem solving, and high level integration and analytic thinking. Additionally, we must actively support the diversity that characterizes our nation by developing much more flexibility and creativity in instructional and organizational approaches. This vision must be a vision of the whole: it must include not only what we want for the whole child, but for the entire education system. Adults must model the same behaviors we expect the young to develop. We must finally begin to "walk our talk."

Third, the strategy must allow us to build a new infrastructure that will support and sustain the rebuilding effort -- one that connects intra-organizational and multi-organizational frameworks. Such an infrastructure would occupy the space between organizations and the society as a whole. It would include what Trist has called "referent" organization activity, which acknowledges and works from the interdependence of organizations in a problem domain. According to Trist, "So far as this process gains ground, a mode of macroregulation [in the biological sense] may be brought into existence which is turbulence-reducing without being repressive or fragmenting. Its virtue will be that it will have been built by the stakeholders themselves." Such referent organization activities would bring together multiple perspectives, without which metaproblems cannot be addressed.[4]

Finally, the approach has to be quite different from the linear and fairly top-down and impersonal planning/change strategies that are so familiar to us all: establish the goal, implement the plan, and evaluate the results against the goals. Because the type of change we are projecting is vision-based, strategies beyond mandates must be used: one can require minimums, but not maximums.

The master planning or formal analytic strategies were developed in times and for conditions where the target of change was fairly clear and stable, making it possible to analyze the situation rigorously and develop a detailed implementation plan. Over the years of the industrial society, highly refined methods of formal analysis, goal setting, and implementation strategies have been produced and have been very effective. In situations of low conflict and low complexity, it is entirely appropriate to continue to use these strategies.[5] However, for complex and often conflictful situations, a different approach is needed.

Based on an extensive review of ideas about change strategies for complex situations, we suggest that states consider an approach for moving forward on reshaping their education system that consists of three components, all premised on collaboration and inclusion. First we must move toward a shared vision of what the education system should look like and why that vision makes sense. We need to understand when to embrace diversity and interdependence and when to try to eliminate it. Second, we must stimulate productive and meaningful action that starts to make that vision a reality throughout the system. Third, we must have reflection for sensemaking -- i.e., ways to reflect on our progress and make sense out of what happens as people begin to act to implement the vision.

These are not linear steps, however. This approach is more like managing a three-ring circus where the emphasis on each ring shifts based on complex orchestration, where the rings sometimes overlap and blend together, and, above all, where actions of those involved, though guided by a common sense of theme, are not fully predicted or controlled. Simply put, its management requires creative thinking.

2

In these situations, no grand redesign can be articulated at the start; to the uninitiated, the methods appear fragmented, contradictory, and nonlinear. Yet upon closer examination, the underlying components of collaborative vision, action, and reflection are present, and progress is made.

However, such strategies of change require committed orchestration, strategic involvement, clever communication approaches, and a long-term commitment to achieve the desired consequences. It is not muddling through. It is purposeful, proactive, conscious, skilled management that binds together the contributions of formal analyses, political and power theories, and psychological and organizational behavior concepts. It requires full immersion in the "mess" in order to gain understanding, listen to multiple points of view, embrace the diversity and complexity, and deal with strategic parts of the system. Despite its difficulty, it seems our best hope.

Building a Shared Vision

A shared vision of an equitable and effective education system in which all students are learning more, thinking better, and are more actively engaged needs to be built among many people. Because the existing industrial model of schooling is so familiar to so many people, it is extremely difficult to build new images in people's minds of what the schools and supporting structures should look like. It is analogous to trying to have people understand what an automobile is when they are only familiar with horse-drawn buggies. The vision needs to be widely shared because so many types of people have impact on the system -- the public, business leaders, educators, state leaders, and so on.

Nearly all of us deeply involved in the education reform movement are tempted to give our answer of what the schools should look like. We contend, however, that there is no one right answer in this quest. Rather, we need to provide people with the best ideas available to stimulate their thinking, gain multiple perspectives of people involved or affected in different ways by education, and help people recognize that fundamental notions about education have to change.

As we proceed in this direction, we expect that the structure of the education system will end up looking fundamentally different. Although we cannot fully predict what the structure and character of the education system needs to be like, we can make some educated guesses based on what is known about the structures of organizations and the pressures for changes in the nature of education. Our guesses are of three types: ones related to organizational structure and processes, ones related to what is taught, and, finally, ones related to how teaching and learning are conducted.

In terms of structure, we expect an infrastructure that attends to the gaps between organizations and units and rethinks organizational boundaries. Today's problems and challenges do not respect organizational or even national boundaries. In the United States, for example, we are becoming more and more skilled in the art of management within organizations and hierarchies, moving toward a fine blend of authority and shared decisionmaking. The infrastructure for working across the boundaries of organizations and units, however, is our great weakness, the uncharted water. The infrastructure to "mind the gap" (as they say when you step onto the London subway) is fundamentally different than the infrastructure within a bureaucratic organization.

The infrastructure must be fundamentally different from most organizational structures: it must be based on inclusion and rooted in collaboration (not competition), distributed leadership (not authoritarian leadership), flexibility of processes and structures (not rigidity and repetition), and approaches to change appropriate for a turbulent environment (not only the linear models designed for stable environments). Competition, authoritarian leadership, rigidity, repetition, and linearity will not be eliminated but rather are expected to be in the background rather than the foreground of the new educational structure.

3

Further, the evolving infrastructure of the education system is likely to be less hierarchical, with a new consciousness of the significance of how and what we choose to standardize, what we leave to professional judgement, and what is allowed to be resolved through mutual adjustment within schools and communities. Mintzberg makes a compelling case that, as organizational work becomes more complicated, there is a shift from direct supervision to standardization of work processes, outputs, and/or skills, and finally to mutual adjustment.[6] Currently the educational reform discussions are heavily dominated by attention to "standardization of outputs" (student performance assessment) and standardization of skills (especially those of teachers and principals), but mutual adjustment -- among top-down, centralizing pressures; bottom up, decentralizing pressures; and middle-out, balancing pressures -- is increasingly a salient theme. We need to attend to the interplay of these forces as we seek a new infrastructure for education.

Task-oriented groups with cross-role membership drawn from sectors that have previously had little communication (boundary-spanning groups) and special forums for discussion and debate around the shaping of a common direction and vision will need to be increasingly used to bring parties together that have previously been isolated. This style recognizes conflict and manages it by letting the parties directly express their views to one another with the goals of mutual understanding and development of a meta-goal that advances all needs. These informal structures used in building the vision are also actually playing a role in flattening the hierarchies of the past and encompassing the groups that previously were seen as of minor or peripheral importance.

Now, in terms of what is taught, we expect that an education system more in keeping with today's world will continue to emphasize basic skills and content but that communication, problem solving, and thinking ability will be critical processes for all students -- and the adults who work with them. Indeed, basic and higher ability skills will not be taught sequentially, but in interplay, moving back and forth between the parts and the whole. Higher order thinking will be an integral part of the education of all students. Greater emphasis will be placed on synthesizing and gaining meaning from the mushrooming volume of available information and helping students develop schema to organize the bits and pieces that are an inevitable part of today's world. We would also see greater attention to the fundamental philosophies of a democratic society, again how individual parts combine to make a whole.

In terms of how teaching and learning occur, we see a future in which students are much more actively involved in learning rather than being the passive recipients of the techniques of today. For example, middle school and high school students are likely to be more involved in learning activities that also benefit their community. We would also see greater emphasis on cooperative learning.

These are examples of the issues that need to be debated as people within a state focus on developing a shared vision of the transformed education system appropriate for their state.

Developing a shared vision of a transformed education system is no simple task. As we have studied the literature on strategies of change for turbulent times, it appears that activities that help build the shared vision have some or all of the characteristics below:[7]

1. <u>Multiple perspectives are presented to enhance understanding</u>. People involved in different ways with education have markedly different views of the purposes, goals, and processes of education. These views need to be truly heard and understood by other involved parties as a first step in the transformation of our vision of education.

2. <u>A core of well-regarded and capable people keep refining the best ideas of what the system should be both in terms of purpose/outcome and structure</u>. Because it will not be immediately apparent what the system should look like in all its detail, a group of people needs to keep synthesizing and articulating the evolving view of the system to ensure that the vision is on course with the reality of the state's situation. This group of people needs to attend carefully to inclusion because all perspectives must be included in the development of a vision for a shared future.

4

3. People directly experience the type of learning and environment that is being espoused for use in the schools. To the extent that people can experience the new type of learning and environment and personally recognize how much more they can learn, the more likely it is that they will grasp the importance of the change. For example, if meetings are conducted where people are actively involved rather than passively observing, they can begin to see how the rate and nature of learning changes.

4. More and more people develop awareness and commitment. To establish a new norm for the education system, increasing numbers of people must become aware of and committed to the change. Careful communication strategies are needed to accomplish the adjustment in people's views.

5. Credibility is built through changing symbols and ways of talking about the schools. Public officials, other leaders, and respected citizens can be extremely influential in building credibility (or undermining credibility) by the way they use symbols and talk about schools.

6. New viewpoints are legitimized and tactful shifts are made at key moments. Leaders must understand how personal and organizational change typically proceeds and strategically legitimize new viewpoints to build the new vision.

7. Partial solutions are implemented to serve as building blocks. To the person unfamiliar with the overall change process, a partial solution can look very weak or unimportant. Yet if it is strategically undertaken within the context of a larger view of changing the education system, it can be very powerful in reshaping people's views of education.

8. Political support is continually broadened. Any major change in a system as broad and significant in society as the education system is going to affect the power base (real or imagined) of many people. People who feel they are losing power must be shown how they can adjust, avoid the loss in the new system, or even gain power, especially through developing a broader understanding of what constitutes power. As they adjust their perspective on power, they are more likely to give the necessary political support to the new approach.

9. Opposition is co-opted or neutralized. Some people may never be fully supportive of the new approaches. Leaders will need to move forward in ways that dampen their opposition.

Stimulating Productive and Meaningful Action

The building of a shared vision in and of itself typically begins to motivate people to action that will make that vision a reality. However, other stimulators of action are needed as well. We have identified at least 10 "energizers" that can be used to encourage productive and meaningful action.

Energizer 1: Harnessing self-interest. Many people act as though self-interest and the interests of the collectivity or organization are mutually exclusive. However, it does not have to be that way. Paying attention to what people want and what they are concerned about is a step in the direction of imagining the future.

Success in ameliorating an overriding problem is dependent on harnessing the energies of multitudes of individuals. What sparks engagement of a given person might be a task she or he needs to do anyway, a set of relationships that needs to be built or repaired, a desire for professional and personal growth, or just the prospect of having some fun; with any luck, it is a combination of all these. Most people want to do a good job, to have impact, so self-interest may even be engaged if individuals perceive an opportunity really to make a difference, to accomplish a larger purpose -- or vision.

5

8

Energizer 2: Compacting tasks. This energizer is an antidote to the busyness that takes on a life of its own. It is using the larger purpose to find linkages, overlaps, and concentricity that exist in the tasks of one individual and across the tasks of many individuals in the same domain. It is also packing more than one meaning into a task so that for a small amount of extra energy -- or none at all -- there can be a more significant outcome. The same kind of energy people put into negative games that undermine the direction can be put into positive games: getting two-fers, three-fers, and four-fers. This does not mean working harder or longer hours; it means working smarter, as the saying goes, or exponentially.

Energizer 3: Acting for cumulative impact. At the same time one focuses on compacting tasks, one should be assessing one's actions for their contribution to the overall goal. One needs to have an understanding of what others are doing so that each can adjust somewhat to ensure that the resulting whole is bigger than the parts, that each action magnifies the benefits of the others. Likewise, the result of each task needs to be seen as only a resting place on a journey to a future that is always slightly beyond our grasp. The tasks shouldn't be seen as ends in themselves.

Moreover, we have seen that multiple small actions can create a large effect, especially when the individual actions are taken strategically. For example, one vocational technical school in the Northeast recently assessed its offerings and decided that its priority for action was writing. Each member of the faculty -- from plumbing to science and math -- agreed to do two activities related to writing; it was reported to be the first time that the entire faculty agreed to do something jointly.

The faculty was amazed at the impact that the activities had on the students, who felt that the school was serious about writing. This gave them increased motivation to explore other activities, and they have organized a series of professional development activities to foster further steps.

In science, too, researchers have acknowledged the heretofore uncalculated but possibly very large cumulative impact of small actions.[8]

Energizer 4: Recasting conflict. The competitive world we live in leads us all to believe that there is only one right way, only one truth, only one winner, and so on. However, multiple perspectives remind us that each offers a version of reality -- each needing to be understood in order to build a metatruth. One can move from there to the kinds of action that will address the whole problem -- and all the stakeholders' shares of it -- rather than just one part of it. Multiple perspectives are a potent force because they offer us more information about an issue than any of us would have access to individually. Moving one's focus from battling out "which one is right?" to "what's the overall picture?" allows more energy to be concentrated on the problem and its solution. When that happens, the vicious cycle of winning and losing can be transformed into joint forward movement.

Energizer 5: Enabling communication. Communication is the main way we construct, reflect upon, and mirror reality; it is the major way we transfer meaning. We spend a lot of time these days collecting all types of data; much of it remains just that: "undigested, undifferentiated observations, unvarnished fact...."[9] We spend far more time "managing" (i.e., "coping with") data and information than we do analyzing or plumbing its depth.

Organizations overwhelmed by data are discovering that they can learn a lot about themselves and others by using sampling techniques for collecting data; they then spend proportionately more time setting the raw bits into context, giving them meaning that enables them to know more about less, which actually means knowing more.

Communications that enable are messages and processes that allow others to fit the parts to the whole, to see their individual actions and those of others in a new light; they are communications that successfully attach multi-dimensional meaning and significance to activities and tasks. Sensemaking is an example of an enabling communication.

6

Energizer 6: Fostering coherence by focusing on the larger meaning. This energizer helps to make meaning by encouraging people to find the larger connections among things rather than proceeding in bits and pieces. It is related to Energizer #2, compacting tasks, and Energizer #5, enabling communication, but is aimed at building a whole out of what might otherwise appear to be fragmented or unconnected activities. The central offices of successful school districts assist individual schools by weaving together disparate federal, state, and local initiatives into a coherent fabric of intents and actions. State departments of education facilitate the operation of districts and schools to the extent that they move beyond categorical to integrated action, with each policy initiative conceived and implemented as part of an articulated approach that guides statewide action.

Energizer 7: Transforming reactivity to proactivity. The use of cooperative power rather than coercive power spreads responsibility and control among the multiple players. Enabling leaders do not "give up" power; they multiply it by helping individuals focus on what they need to do for impact in their respective situations rather than for approval from some higher authority.

Energizer 8: Building knowledge and skills to undergird change. Successful improvement efforts are ones in which somebody has carefully measured the "amount of required change" -- that is, the gap between what is and what should be -- and has translated that into support and assistance for those involved. In almost all cases, this means professional development -- not scattered, one-shot, inspirational sessions, but knowledge and skill-development activities that are carefully targeted to the needs of both the organization and the individuals.[10]

Energizer 9: Modeling desired behaviors as the quickest way to produce change. This energizer has been captured in the expression, "walk your talk"; practicing what one preaches is not only good for one's internal consistency, it makes it possible to transfer quickly behaviors that are hard to talk about. For example, if people experience collaboration in a positive and useful way, they will be much more likely to consider collaboration in other settings. In like manner, teachers must themselves experience active learning before they can help their students to do the same.

Energizer 10. Creating productive collaborations. Collaboration of any kind, let alone cross-role or cross-organizational collaboration, is considered time consuming, cumbersome, task multiplying, resource fragmenting, not related to one's main work, and, to be frank, likely to result in credit either being diluted or going to someone else. Such perceptions are particularly likely to be held when one is looking through the lens of traditional hierarchical power. However, well-established collaborations can motivate and inspire people, generating new ideas that would not otherwise result. Therefore, collaboration is an energizer as well as being a basic theme of the strategy for rebuilding. Successful cross-role and cross-organizational collaboration has the following attributes:[11]

- Trust between partners based on interdependence: Trust comes from mutual recognition of a need for partnerships in order to accomplish goals. Participants must agree that a new opportunity requiring partners exists, and the organizations must have sufficient capability and maturity to develop systematic linkages.

- Authentic communication: It is essential to have a two-way exchange of information to enhance the public image of the partners, to encourage risk taking and to allow participants to learn from mistakes.

- Goals, tools, and purposes: Collaboration should begin with an analysis of the problem from multiple perspectives and the action needed to solve it. Resources available from the collaborators need to be determined. Goals should be defined, and it should be clear that results will be achieved more efficiently with partners than alone. The "big picture" behind the goals and purposes must be clear.

7

- Power used with mutual respect: Participants must be skilled in the collaboration process and overcome feelings of independence or dependency. There must be an equitable exchange among collaborators with visible and mutually enhancing outcomes.

Hindrances to effective collaboration include internal confusion and conflict that prevents successful trust building; territorial conflicts or incompatibility between partners' organizations; doubts as to the utility of the goals or vision or a high monetary, social, or "ego" cost; and poor performance history of some of the partners or little knowledge and few skills in the collaborative process.

Once energy has been stimulated, it needs to be guided to productive action. Although it is important to allow people the freedom to act as seems right for their situation, the orchestration of the process needs to use the energy to shape the consensus and coalitions that will make the shared vision a reality. It is important to:[12]

1. Solidify progress that has been made. Care must be taken to move to new activities that do not undermine the progress made by an earlier set of activities.

2. Create pockets of commitment based on positive results achieved. People need to see positive results to have a sense that progress is being made. The positive results motivate people to continue.

3. Manage coalitions to empower people at all levels. Reformers frequently talk of teacher empowerment, but systemwide change is highly unlikely unless people at all levels are truly empowered to carry out their responsibilities in ways that give them the sense that they are making the new vision a reality. Particular attention needs to be given to people such as school board members, community members, parents, superintendents, and principals. Coalitions can be extremely important in the empowerment process.

4. Find and reward champions. We are fortunate in education to have a history of recognition programs. These programs are just one tool that can be used in new ways to reward people who are playing significant roles in transforming the education system.

5. Erode consensus (yes, not all consensus is helpful) that interferes with the long-term dynamic process of improvement and renewal.

Implicit in the strategy of stimulating action is a very different notion of power and leadership than the authoritative, hierarchical one that exists in many organizations.

Many people are writing about the need for a change in our conception of power.[13] In the traditional view, power is defined as the probability that a person or group can enforce its will despite resistance. A finite amount of power is assured to exist -- some will have it and others will not. Some will win, some will lose. Competitive, adversarial, controlling, manipulative, directive -- these are the characteristics of interactions.

In situations where interdependence was of less importance, these approaches worked for many groups, organizations, and individuals. Control over individuals within an organization is possible; but exercising power over individuals outside one's organization or in a multi-organizational field is a major challenge, because sanctions are much more difficult to sustain. The view of power for today's interdependent environment is a mobilizing power, one characterized by leadership that creates an organizational vision, energizes people into action and emphasizes negotiating and bargaining to create win-win solutions, decentralized decisionmaking, worker involvement, and getting results. Here the "power comes from choice and cooperation rather than manipulation or control."[14] These are the ways of thinking about power that lead to the establishment of new norms and perspectives that can handle the stresses and strains of a turbulent environment and perhaps even reduce that turbulence.

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<u>Reflecting for Sensemaking</u>

Individuals need to step back from the daily routine to reflect on a) the larger purpose of their actions b) the connections and fit between their actions and those of others and c) next steps. What we have called sensemaking is making time to do that. While individuals could (and should) engage in this behavior on their own, having multiple perspectives brings both more and different information to bear along with different sets of analytical and synthesizing skills. The result is a better reckoning, a more accurate reading on the situation than would otherwise be the case. Sensemaking operates on multiple parameters, then. It should include among other things: both global and linear thinking; big-picture and little-picture views; insider and outsider perspectives; past, present, and future orientations; oral and written communications; technical, psychological, sociological, and political insights; vision and task relationships; and multiple stakeholder perceptions.

It has been said that a concept is useful when it differentiates reality. Sensemaking is an occasion for bringing collective information and knowledge to bear on the subject at hand, the better to differentiate and therefore get a handle on that reality that swims all around us. It has a centering effect.

In the sensemaking process, we have found that it is especially crucial to ask the following questions:

1. Is the vision being refined and made more fitting for the situation? Are more and more people grasping its meaning and importance?

2. Are we expanding awareness and commitment to the vision?

3. Are we experiencing successes? Is what we are doing working? How do we know? How can we tell others?

4. Are we "minding the gaps?" Are we blending effectively the multiple perspectives?

5. Is the energy of people still at a high enough level to keep going?

6. Is empowerment of people at all levels occurring? Who is getting left out?

7. Are people throughout the effort learning to think better?

8. Are we attending to unanticipated consequences?

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Using the preceding strategy is not easy. It requires people in a variety of roles both within and outside a state who are committed to building a new and self-renewing education system that can function in today's world in such a way that adults model behaviors that will help students better prepare to face the challenges of life.

Assuming that the strategy is to be applied within a given state to adjust that state's system, we propose that the approach used include at least three types of activities that typically are fairly weak or nonexistent in most states. These activities need to be undertaken in ways that begin to open up the hierarchical system, complementing and enhancing its valuable features while giving it the opportunity to shed the dysfunctional parts, the parts that should not be included in the new system.

The three activities are:

1. Establishing moderating and centering groups

2. Establishing system-linked pilot efforts at different places in the system

3. Modifying system characteristics

Moderating and Centering Groups

First of all, we recommend the establishment of what we refer to as "moderating and centering groups" -- groups where multiple views tend to moderate narrow perspectives and where people keep refocusing and centering on the shared vision being developed for the schools. We would see a number of such groups developed in a state -- some focused on statewide concerns, some on individual community issues -- with links among them in the form of individuals. Trist reports the operation of a number of such groups working on metaproblems in fields other than education.[15] Although we will not fully elaborate here on the features of a moderating and centering group or MCG, as we call it, we do want to point out a few critical elements. Based on the understandings gained about groups over recent years that are playing roles such as this, it is important that members of the group are well regarded by their role-group peers -- are opinion leaders -- and understand and can articulate well the views of their fellow role group members. On the other hand, they must be willing and able to adjust their perspective as they grasp more fully the changing nature of today's world and the views of other role group holders. And while the groups are relatively small, they are not exclusive; on the contrary, every effort is made to make sure no one is left out as the vision and actions are formulated. The meeting of multiple realities in a group where the norm is that of pushing for more and more creative and forward thinking is critical to breaking the barriers of the current limits of our structures, vision, and actions.

Indeed, the wide array of groups affected by education and already actively involved in attempting changes need to be represented in the MCG. It may take people outside the state to help identify the full range of groups that need involvement in the MCG, and it will take extensive discussions with people behind the scenes or uninvolved in the education bureaucracy to find the people who would be especially effective members of the group. Group members are likely to include teachers, students, community members, business people, principals, district staff, state and local school board members, legislators from both Houses and from leadership, finance and human services committees as well as education committees, state department of education personnel, higher education institutions, governing boards, the governor, and his/her staff. Many factors such as organizational representation, the daily duties of the people involved, and the mix of interpersonal skills need to be taken into account. Above all, the group must have a large number of individuals who are ready to move beyond narrow concerns of turf. As Cleveland describes,

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They are, by and large, men and women who are not preoccupied with formal power or getting their names in the newspapers, people whose concern exceeds their confusion and may even preempt their egos, because they are busy (and having fun) doing something that hasn't been done before. But what makes them the shock troops of the get-it-all together profession is, above all, their overriding concern for the general outcome of their efforts.[16]

Such a group is likely to be led best by a small steering committee of its own members with the involvement of a few people from outside the state who are well connected to what is happening in other states as other groups undertake changes in their education system. They also need to be well connected to a wide array of researchers and creative thinkers working on various factors that could have impact on how the education system might be effectively adjusted. These outside people also need to be able to help mobilize resources that can assist the MCG. These outside people should also be able to represent the developing work of the MCG to national networks and groups that are shaping the national and public view of how the education system needs to be transformed.

System-linked Pilot Efforts

Typically, pilot efforts operate as isolated activities within a school, district, or state agency and are treated as a "project" that can come or stay with little impact on the total organization or system. If the intent is to change the education system fundamentally, pilot efforts need to be designed in such a way that the pilot activities not only initiate changes in the targeted organization -- be it classroom or state agency -- but also inform and involve people in other parts of the system who need to modify their activities to create the climate necessary to support the new ways of operating. For example, it is important that the redesigned classrooms and schools are able to concentrate on the changes they need to make rather than having to spend considerable energy being at odds with the rest of the educational system.

In this sense, pilot efforts are not fragments of activity but microcosms of the vision, of the strategy we are proposing. They are like the fractals that have been discovered and described in the new science of chaos.[17] As a fractal, the strategy -- collaborative vision, action, reflection -- can operate from the macro-level down to the smallest behavior.

Recent work in one state illustrates the type of pilot design needed as a part of an overall effort to impact the system significantly. In this case, districts volunteered to participate in a consortium to enact a new vision of the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and attributes of all high school graduates. The vision had been developed by a broadly based group of educators and citizens. The districts participating in the consortium selected areas that would move them toward the new vision of a well-educated graduate. Personnel from the state department of education and regional service centers were also participants in the consortium, not to tell districts what they should do but to look at what they themselves need to do differently to collaborate with schools and districts to make changes throughout the education system.

Another approach is being used in several states where funds have been made available for schools to structure for better teaching and learning. In these cases, the unions, district, and state have to agree to waive any rules or regulations that the schools request. Such an approach then encourages the nonschool components of the education system to rethink how they need to restructure their activities and views of their roles and responsibilities.

Modifying System Characteristics

As the moderating and centering groups begin to grasp more deeply and fully the nature of the changes needed in the education system and as pilot efforts in schools and classrooms demonstrate more appropriate teaching and learning, the type of changes needed throughout the education system should

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start to become more apparent. Where to start in the complex maze of a highly intertwined system is no easy decision. There are many ways one could loosely segment the system to organize an effort to think through needed systemwide changes. We are currently using the following seven:

1. Assessment and accountability systems -- with emphasis on the content and reporting of student assessments and accountability for student learning

2. Staffing -- with emphasis on school leadership and teaching and on certification, selection, training, support, and redefinition of responsibilities to reduce incumbering bureaucracy

3. Resource allocation -- with emphasis on the levels of decision making and the match between state/desired priorities for student learning and where resources actually go

4. Curriculum and instruction -- with emphasis on the mix of basic and higher-level learning, the degree of active involvement of students in their own learning, and the alignment of instructional materials, student assessment devices, and priorities for student learning

5. Planning and innovation strategies -- with emphasis on how innovation can be sparked throughout the education system and become an ongoing characteristic of the education system and how planning activities at district and state levels can be used to move the education system strategically toward the new vision of what the system should be like

6. Special assistance -- with emphasis on having a balance of assistance to adjust not only technical aspects of the system (e.g., changing actual structures of the school schedule) but also social aspects (e.g., changing interactions among people) and political ones (e.g., changing the distribution of power among groups and individuals)

7. Parent/community involvement -- with emphasis on the choices parents have and the way the community and school work together to improve the community as well as to improve the school

Note that we have not divided these system aspects up in a way that says some are the responsibility of the schools, some the district, and some the state. Rather, we see all these aspects as needing to be looked at by groups of people who represent all of these levels. Each of these system elements is influenced by every level; it is looking at the connections (or disconnections) among levels that is likely to be especially informative in determining how to adjust the system.

Neither have we separated them by preschool, elementary, middle, secondary or other types of schools because these aspects need to be looked at across levels. Of course, once these system aspects are studied and reconceptualized in terms of how they support a new vision of how the education system functions, actions will need to be taken within the various state district, and school units.

In many states, the functions and types of schools are not really connected to one another except bureaucratically. They tend to operate as nearly autonomous fragments without mutual adjustment either laterally or vertically. In other states, the functions are organized vertically -- or categorically -- so that, for example, curriculum people at the state level talk and work with others of their role type at the regional, district, and school levels. In only a few states is integration -- or horizontal connections -- manifestly a major concern. In such states, the individual specialists at different levels view their particular operations as part of a whole and are interested in the mutual adjustments that can be made to make the whole enterprise move forward. These are organizations where individuals are encouraged to pay as great or greater attention to the boundaries of their work -- where their tasks bump up against those of others -- and to think about the needs of others as they design and conduct their activities.

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An example comes from one state where the testing and assessment people in the state department of education work closely with curriculum people to think about the impact of statewide tests on curriculum. The state likewise works closely with local districts to understand what they would like to learn from testing programs. Activities become user-centered rather than task-driven. Overarching all these strands of effort is a policy vision focused on achieving equity of schooling outcomes at high levels -- higher order thinking, for example.

In the same state, a district and community, concerned that their curriculum was overcrowded, has undertaken what might be called a centering and focusing effort to determine what their real priorities are and how to configure for them. They want the experiences their children and young people have in school to constitute a whole rather than bits and pieces. For them, too, the components need to relate to the larger picture.

To proceed in this work, they are learning the skills of facilitation and participatory group process, learning effective ways to get everyone in on the act without having to have everyone at every meeting.

Even in such a state, cross-level, multi-organizational capacity and participatory processes are only minimally developed. For example, state or district agencies still too often act in their own self-interest rather than on behalf of all the stakeholders in education; they operate as paternalistic solution-givers, as though they are the only ones who can figure out the answer to the problem, rather than in a way that all perspectives become a part of the solution. In such a situation, as Peter Drucker has observed, "Each institution pursues its own specific goal. But who then takes care of the common weal?"[18] The answer is that we all must.

Here We Go

> None of us can expect to <u>act</u> on more than a tiny corner of the great complexity. But in our interrelated society, itself part of an uncompromisingly interdependent world, we have to <u>think</u> about the whole complexity in order to act relevantly on any part of it.[19]

The strategy we have described is neither a quick fix nor a one-shot effort. It must become an inherent part of the way we function. The strategy is one that cannot operate solely by communications up and down the formal hierarchical or bureaucratic lines. It is highly dependent on effective, authentic, trusted communications among peers working in a variety of settings and among people with differing roles where each is viewed with respect and with a responsibility to change in ways that increase the understanding and actuality of the new vision of the education system.

Such communication is especially important in times of major transition because many people are trying new approaches and gaining insights to both anticipated and unanticipated consequences of actions, implications for consequences of actions, implications for next steps, and conditions that affect success that need to be personally shared and discussed. Of course, "diseases" can also spread quickly among groups. Thus, key people in the groups must be asking tough questions and thoughtfully probing to ensure that experiences and ideas transmitted via the groups are critiqued and viewed from multiple perspectives.

The above activities all need to be operating simultaneously and strategically as the change effort proceeds. These activities are, of course, not the only ones that need to be undertaken, but they are essential ones that are frequently not put in operation because they are not a regular part of the existing hierarchical system.

So to answer the questions that readers may have about next steps, we can say that the place to begin is where you can, with the people who are affected. While this paper reflects on the issue more than it offers specific strategies for forging ahead, we have tried to offer some helpful suggestions, (e.g., the 10 energizers to action in the first part of this paper). And we can assure you that our visions and

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reflections are based in large part on our first-hand knowledge of real action in several states by committed individuals. To join them, the only initial obligation is to desire to go "beyond cowboys and Indians," beyond turf issues, beyond individual self-gain, to see the intersect of many diverse interests in a shared future. It's the obvious choice.

Let us emphasize that a strategy to focus on the shared future is not a do-good approach. It is pure pragmatism. We have run out of room to move on, leaving behind problems for others to deal with. The rallying cry at the time of the American revolution -- that we must all hang together or else we shall all surely hang separately -- is more compelling today than it was then. Our new frontier is bringing the inter-personal, the task, and the larger purpose together as we enact the future.

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What Makes a Good Leader?

by GARRY WILLS

Often, history shows, it is not the attributes—a rugged respect for principle, a refusal to govern by the polls—that we are prone to think we should want

I HAD just turned seventeen, did not know Los Angeles, had never even driven in a big city. I had certainly never backed a trailer up to a loading dock. But my father gave me a map, marked a warehouse's location, and told me to deliver a refrigerator there. I would have to get someone to help me unload it when I arrived. It was very clever of him. I knew what he was doing. But I complied anyway.

I had a chip on my shoulder, since my father left my mother to marry a (much younger) Hollywood model. While I was in California for a high school contest, he asked me to work at his nascent business for the rest of the summer. But for that offer I would not have stayed. He knew that the way to recruit a resisting son-employee was to give me independence—not only in things like deliveries but in sales and the purchasing of household equipment. If I failed, that might break down my resistance. If I didn't, pride in the work might renew a bond that had been broken. Paradoxically, by giving me independence he got me to do his

will. That is the way leadership works—reciprocally engaging two wills, one leading (often in disguised ways), the other following (often while resisting). Leadership is always a struggle, often a feud.

Why, after all, should one person do another person's will? The answer that used to be given is simple: the leader is a superior person, to whom inferiors should submit. But modern democracies are as unsympathetic to this scheme as I was to the authority of my father. Patriarchal society, it is true, was rooted in a radical inequality between leaders and followers. Even ancient Athens, the first Western democracy, submitted to "the best man," according to Thucydides.

> [Pericles], a man clearly above corruption, was enabled, by the respect others had for him and his own wise policy, to hold the multitude in a voluntary restraint. He led them, not they him; and since he did not win his power on compromising terms, he could say not only what pleased others but what displeased them, relying on their respect.

We have long lists of the leader's requisites—determination, focus, a clear goal, a sense of priorities, and so on. We easily forget the first and all-encompassing need—followers.

Some still subscribe to that notion of leadership. How often have we heard that we lack great leaders now—the clearly virtuous kind, men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln? The implication is that we could become great again with a great man to guide us. We would not mind submitting to anyone *that* good. (Of others we continue to be wary.)

I shall be arguing here that the Periclean type of leadership occurs rarely in history, if at all. Scholars have questioned Thucydides' description of Pericles' position—Athenians seemed quicker than most to ostracize leaders who thought themselves above the people. Why *should* people immolate their own needs and desires to conform to the vision of some superior being? That has happened in some theocratic societies, but then people were obeying God in his representative, and it was their belief in God's will that constrained them.

In a democracy, supposedly, the leader does not pronounce God's will *to* the people but carries out what is decided *by* the people. Some might object that in that case the leader is mainly a follower—he or she does what the community says when it speaks through elections, through polls, through constituent pressure. Because they are willing to compromise their principles, such leaders, unlike the Pericles of Thucydides, cannot displease their followers. They are bribed, if not with money then with acceptance, or office, or ego satisfaction.

We seem stuck, then, between two unacceptable alternatives—the leader who dictates to others and the one who truckles to them. If leaders dictate, by what authority do they take away people's right to direct their own lives? If they truckle, who needs or respects such weathervanes?

Most of the how-to manuals on leadership assume one or the other of these models—or, inconsistently, both. The superior-person model says the leader must become worthy of being followed—more disciplined than others, more committed, better organized. This sends aspiring leaders to the mirror, to strike firm-jawed poses and to cultivate self-confidence and a refusal to hedge.

Or the leader is taught to be ingratiating. This is the salesmanship, or Dale Carnegie, approach—how to win friends and influence people. It treats followers as customers who "buy" the leader's views after these have been consumer-tested and tailored for maximum acceptance.

The followers are, in this literature, a hazy and not very

estimable lot—people to be dominated or served, mesmerized or flattered. We have thousands of books on leadership, none on followership. I have heard college presidents tell their student bodies that schools are meant to train leaders. I have never heard anyone profess to train followers. The ideal seems to be a world in which everyone is a leader—but who would be left for them to be leading?

Talk of the nobility of leaders, the need for them, and our reliance on them raises the clear suspicion that followers are *not* so noble. In that view leaders rise only by sinking others to subordinate roles. Leaders have a vision. Followers respond to it. Leaders organize a plan. Followers get sorted out to fit the plan. Leaders have willpower. Followers let that will replace their own.

We have long lists of the leader's requisites—determination, focus, a clear goal, a sense of priorities, and so on. We easily forget the first and all-encompassing need—followers. Without them, the best ideas, the strongest will, the most wonderful smile, have no effect. When Shakespeare's Welsh seer, Owen Glendower, boasts, "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," Hotspur deflates him with the commonsense answer, "Why, so can I, or so can any man. But will they come when you do call for them?" It is not the noblest call that gets answered but the answerable call.

Leading by Listening

ABRAHAM Lincoln did not have the highest vision of human equality in his day. Many abolitionists went further than he did in recognizing the moral claims of slaves to freedom and recognition of their human dignity. Lincoln had limited political goals, and he was willing to compromise even those. He knew that no one who espoused full equality for blacks could be elected in or from Illinois—so he unequivocally renounced that position:

I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. . . . I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of intermarrying with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

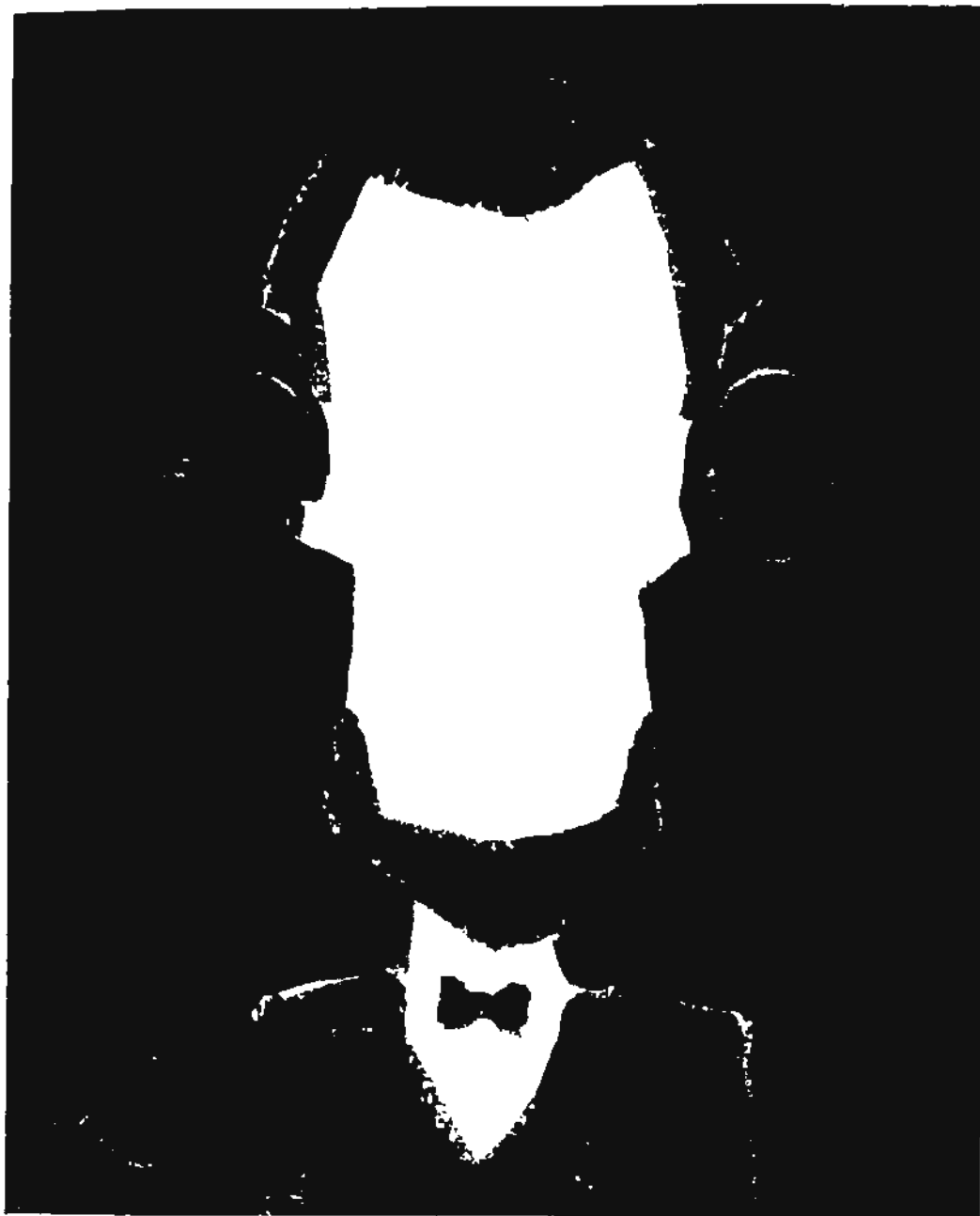But for that pledge Lincoln had no hope of winning office.

The followers were setting the terms of acceptance for their leader. He could not issue calls they were unprepared to hear. (He *could* do it, of course—as Owen Glendower can shout summonses down into the deep. But it would be a waste of time.)

This Lincoln has disappointed people who think followers should submit to a leader's superior vision— those who want the leader to be active and the followers passive. Lincoln's leadership was a matter of mutually determinative activity, on the part of the leader and the followers. Followers have a say in what they are being led to. A leader who neglects that fact soon finds himself without followers. To sound a certain trumpet does not mean just trumpeting one's own certitudes. It means sounding a specific call to specific people capable of response.

Does this remove or reduce the heroic note in Lincoln's leadership—as if he were only *allowed* to lead, by followers who could refuse to respond? Well, what is the alternative— people who cannot refuse to follow? If that were the case, the leader would be marshaling automatons, not voluntary respondents.

It is odd that resentment should be felt toward the demands of followers when the limiting power of circumstance is so readily accepted. Even the most ardent hero-worshippers of Winston Churchill admit that he needed an occasion for the exercise of his skills. But for the Second World War we would never have known how he could rally English spirit. Yet followers conform more closely to a leader than a leader does to external circumstances. The leader can have both the skill for his or her role and the occasion for its use and still lack followers who will respond to the initiative or the moment.

So much for the idea that a leader's skills can be applied to all occasions, that they can be taught outside a historical context or learned as a "secret" of the control of every situation. A leader whose qualities do not match those of potential followers is simply irrelevant: the world is not playing his or her game. My favorite example of this is the leadership of Syrian holy men in the fifth century A.D. Those men, who made policy for whole communities, were revered for their self-ravaging austerity. The man who had starved himself most spectacularly was thought the best equipped to advise pious consultants. So delegations went to consult Simeon the "Stylite" ("pillar-man"), perched in his midair hermitage. Leadership was conditioned entirely by the attitudes of contemporary followership. Who would now write a manual called *The Leadership Secrets of Simeon Stylites*, telling people to starve and whip and torture themselves into command positions?

Closer to our time, Thomas Jefferson thought that the French Revolution had been less successful than the American one, not because the French lacked leaders but because they lacked discerning followers. A corrupt people is not responsive to virtuous leadership. The French spirit had been sapped, he claimed, by superstition (Catholicism) and despo-

tiam (monarchy). Napoleon, to retain the people's allegiance, had to revert to both, calling on the Pope to crown him Emperor.

It may seem that the Lincoln example has moved us too far from the Periclean "best man" toward the Dale Carnegie accommodator. If the leader is just an expediter of what other people want, a resource for their use, the people are not being *led* but *serviced*.

But Lincoln had no clear expression of popular will to implement. He had to elicit the program he wanted to serve, and that always involves affecting the views one is consulting. Even pollsters, seeking to understand what is on people's minds, affect the outcome by their mode of questioning. In Lincoln's constituency were some abolitionists, many defenders of slavery, and many more who wanted to avoid facing the issue of slavery. Unlike the abolitionists, who were leaders of a small elite putting pressure on the government from outside, Lincoln had to forge a combination of voters who would join him in at least minimal disapproval of slavery. He had to convince some people that it was in their own interest not to let the problem fester—he told them that they could not afford to take Stephen Douglas's hands-off attitude.

Many voters resisted Lincoln—as I did my father in the summer of 1951. Lincoln deferred to some of their prejudices—left them independent in that sense—in order to win agreement on a policy of at least some hope for ultimate manumission. He argued in terms of his listeners' own views. They celebrated the Declaration of Independence, with its claim that all men are created equal. How could they stay true to their political identity, based on the Declaration, if they did not at some level oppose slavery? By keeping this option open for gradual approximation, Lincoln was able at a later period to take more-direct action. He temporized not to evade the problem but to prevent its evasion. G. K. Chesterton's *What I Saw in America* perfectly captured the delicacy of his operation:

> He loved to repeat that slavery was intolerable while he tolerated it, and to prove that something ought to be done while it was impossible to do it. . . . But for all that this inconsistent consistency beat the politicians at their own game, and this abstracted logic proved most practical of all. For, when the chance did come to do something, there was no doubt

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WHAT THE LIVING DO

Johnny, the kitchen sink has been clogged for days, some utensil probably fell down there.
And the Drāno won't work but smells dangerous, and the crusty dishes have piled up

waiting for the plumber I still haven't called. This is the everyday we spoke of.
It's winter again: the sky's a deep, headstrong blue, and the sunlight pours through

the open living-room windows because the heat's on too high in here and I can't turn it off.
For weeks now, driving, or dropping a bag of groceries in the street, the bag breaking,

I've been thinking: This is what the living do. And yesterday, hurrying along those
wobbly bricks in the Cambridge sidewalk, spilling my coffee down my wrist and sleeve,

I thought it again, and again later, when buying a hairbrush: This is it.
Parking. Slamming the car door shut in the cold. What you called *that yearning*.

What you finally gave up. We want the spring to come and the winter to pass. We want
whoever to call or not call, a letter, a kiss—we want more and more and then more of it.

But there are moments, walking, when I catch a glimpse of myself in the window glass,
say, the window of the corner video store, and I'm gripped by a cherishing so deep

for my own blowing hair, chapped face, and unbuttoned coat that I'm speechless:
I am living. I remember you.

—MARIE HOWE

about the thing to be done. The thunderbolt fell from the clear heights of heaven.

In order to know just how far he could go at any moment, Lincoln had to understand the mixture of motives in his fellow citizens, the counterbalancing intensities with which they held different positions, and in what directions those positions were changing moment by moment. The leader needs to understand followers far more than they need to understand him. This is the time-consuming aspect of leadership. It explains why great thinkers and artists are rarely leaders of others, as opposed to influences on them. The scientist absorbed in the solution to a problem does not have the energy or patience to understand the needs of a number of other people who might be marshaled to deal with the problem. That is something the popularizer of the great man's thought usually does. More important, the pure scientist does not tailor his view of (say) the atom to whatever audience he hopes to influence, as Lincoln trimmed and hedged on slavery in order to make people take small steps toward facing the problem.

My father was a natural leader who acted in small arenas. Even as a child, I thought it childish of him to want to get his way all the time. I did not notice then that he got his way by entering into the minds of others and finding something there that would respond to his attentions—as, on a vastly different scale, Lincoln found a grudging acceptance of the Declaration's pledge on which to build his strategy of emancipation. My father's tactics were different with me, with my sister, with the golfing friends I observed him with while caddying. There is something selfless in the very selfishness of leaders—they must see things as the followers see them in order to recruit those followers.

If the followers get marshaled toward action by a leader, the leader need not be loved or admired, though that can help. I had no great admiration for my father when I found myself responding to his initiatives. Conversely, one can admire or love people who are not, by virtue of that love, leaders.

An Indispensable Element: A Shared Goal

IMAGINE a meeting called to consider a course of action—let us say, to mount a protest against an employer whose hiring and promotion practices discriminate against women. A speaker rises who is stunningly eloquent. Listener A knows and admires the speaker, would go anywhere to hear her speak, hopes to emulate her eloquence in his own way; but he does not care about the issue, and the speech does not bring him any closer to caring. Listener B, on the contrary, has never met the speaker, does not particularly like her, is disposed to resent the employer but had no hope of finding allies to resist him, and is now heartened to act in conjunction with others responding to the speaker. Who is the follower here? If, as seems certain, it is Listener B, then admiration, imitation, and affection are not necessary to followership. Agreement on a *goal* is necessary.

> **Those who wanted ideological consistency, or even policy coherence, were rightly exasperated with Roosevelt. He switched economic plans as often as he changed treatments for his polio.**

So far I have been discussing just two things—leaders and followers. That is better, at least, than discussions dealing with only one thing—leaders. But the discussions cannot get far without the goal. This is not something added on to the other two. It is the reason for the existence of the other two. It is also the equalizer between leader and followers. The followers do not submit to the person of the leader. They join him or her in pursuit of the goal. My father and I were working together for the success of his new business. Of course, he had separate motives for wanting me there, and I had motives for not wanting to be there; by definition, we could not share those motives. It was the thing we could share that created the possibility of leadership.

It is time for a definition: the leader is one who mobilizes others toward a goal shared by leader and followers. In that brief definition all three elements are present, and indispensable. Most literature on leadership is unitarian. But life is trinitarian. One-legged and two-legged chairs do not, of themselves, stand. Leaders, followers, and goals make up the three equally necessary supports for leadership.

The goal must be shared, no matter how many other motives are present that are not shared. Go back to the meeting that called for a protest against employer discrimination. The speaker may have had many ancillary motives for speaking—to show off her rhetorical style, to impress a sexual partner in the audience, to launch a larger political career. Her listeners would surely have many motives—some to improve their prospects with the employer, or their standing among fellow workers. But the followers become followers only insofar as they agree with the speaker on a plan of action against the employer.

This plan is cast in terms of justice, though it is easy to think that this is only a rationale for the various motives, some shared, some not. Each is in this to get something different. David Hume, the eighteenth-century philosopher, said that people obey others for their own advantage; this writhing of various wormlike urges for advantage is far from the picture of idealistic leaders and docile followers.

Yet Hume, perceptive as he was, knew that people follow most reliably when they are convinced that what they are doing is right. He knew the utility of that belief. If, at the meeting to discuss discrimination, only those who would benefit directly from the protest were to join the speaker, that would limit the followership from the outset. And that small number would always be fraying away. The boss could buy off dis-

sent by special favors to a few of the activists, or threats to the weakhearted. Once a given person got what she wanted, she would have no future motive for supporting her sisters. Private advantage shifts constantly, and is a poor basis for public action. That is why Lincoln based his policy on the moral claim of the Declaration of Independence. Some thought that he did not go far enough, others that he went too far; but the moral ground of the Declaration was both broad and narrow enough to accommodate many positions while remaining fixed itself.

Lincoln had to persuade voters. He could not force them. Where coercion exists, leadership becomes unnecessary or impossible to the extent of coercion's existence. Loose use of the word "lead" can mislead. We talk of a policeman leading his prisoner to jail. But the policeman is not a leader in our sense—he is a captor. Though he is mobilizing another toward a goal, it is not a goal they share. The prisoner's goal is to get as far away from the prison as possible.

A slave master buying labor can "lead" slaves to his plantation, but that does not make him their leader. He is their owner. If I had worked for my father only because I needed the money and could get it nowhere else, I would not have been a follower, just an employee. Coercion is not leadership any more than mesmerism is. Followers cannot be automatons. The totalitarian jailer who drugs a prisoner into confession of a crime has not led him to some shared view of reality.

Nor does a leader just vaguely affect others. He or she takes others toward the object of their joint quest. That object defines the kind of leadership at issue. Different types of leaders should be distinguished more by their goals than by the personality of the leader (the most common practice). The crisis of mere subsistence on a life raft calls for one type of leader, democratic stability for another, revolutionary activity for still a third. Lincoln's compromise and flexibility were appropriate for *his* kind of leadership.

A Great Leader in Our Century: FDR

WE like to believe that in some golden age there were leaders of such recognized integrity that the American people simply accepted their determinations, issued from on high. But even George Washington, in the deferential eighteenth century, was solicitous enough of public opinion to be called cowardly by some of his critics.

Only one twentieth-century President is consistently rated among the top three or four chief executives of our history—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He has been taken as model of leadership by many authors, notably Richar

Neustadt, who wrote, in *Presidential Power*, the most influential modern book on that subject,

> No President in this century has had a sharper sense of personal power, a sense of what it is and where it comes from; none has had more hunger for it, few have had more use for it, and only one or two could match his faith in his own competence to use it. Perception and desire and self-confidence, combined, produced their own reward. No modern President has been more nearly the master in the White House.

The emphasis is all on the leader's internal qualities—mainly his confidence, ambition, and determination: "Roosevelt had a love affair with power"; "Roosevelt's methods were the product of his insights, his incentives, and his confidence." Neustadt describing Roosevelt sounds like Thucydides describing Pericles—here, at last, is a ruler who can, by sheer mastery, impose his views on the multitude.

But another school of historians—including the eminent Richard Hofstadter—has described Roosevelt as one who veered with shifting popular responses. "He was content in large measure to follow public opinion," Hofstadter wrote in *The American Political Tradition*, because he was "a public instrument of the most delicate receptivity." Roosevelt proved that "flexibility was both his strength and his weakness." The result was great energy employed in "harum-scarum" ways: "Hoover had lacked motion; Roosevelt lacked direction."

Some more-recent treatments of Roosevelt, notably Kenneth Davis's multivolume biography, have been more hostile than Hofstadter was in describing Roosevelt's subservience to public opinion. And, in fact, FDR's record seems hard to reconcile with the Neustadt picture of firm control. In New York politics Roosevelt first opposed and then cooperated with the Tammany political machine. He supported and then opposed Al Smith; promoted and then abandoned the League of Nations—"the first Democratic candidate [for President] who explicitly repudiated the League," Hofstadter writes. He fluttered back and forth on Prohibition. As President he reversed himself on the balanced budget, on business consolidation, on farm subsidies, on labor protection, on aid to Europe. Friends as well as foes, from both the right and the left, noticed that the pro-business "First New Deal" of 1933 was profoundly at odds with the pro-labor "Second New Deal" of 1935—and many ascribed the change to Roosevelt's fear that the populist Huey Long was taking away some of his support on the left.

Which is it to be—the masterful Roosevelt of Neustadt or the scrambler after popular acceptance of Hofstadter? Can the two be reconciled? Not if we keep as our ideal the Periclean man, above the need for popular acceptance. If Roosevelt had power, it came precisely from his responsiveness to public opinion. And that came, indirectly, from the crushing blow that took from him, at the age of thirty-nine, all future use of his legs.

Forced Maturation

STUDENTS of Roosevelt are agreed that the polio attack of 1921 profoundly changed him. He might have become President without having had to surmount that obstacle, but it is unlikely that he would have been a great, or even a good, President. Before he was crippled, Roosevelt had been a genial glad-hander, an acceptable politician considered lightweight by the pros (men like Al Smith)—too anxious to please, clumsily ingratiating. Even in pictures from that time he seems a dithery Bertie Wooster in his straw boater. His caustic cousin, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, called him a sissy and a mama's boy. As the sole child of the frosty patrician Sara Delano Roosevelt, he had been sheltered from hardship, cushioned in privilege.

At the least, then, the struggle to walk again—always defeated but never quite given up—toughened Roosevelt. His legs withered away, but from the waist up the willowy youth became a barrel-chested man able to swing the useless parts of his body around to give an artful impression of overall strength. Some say that the suffering deepened his sympathy with others who were afflicted—and that was certainly true among his fellow "polios" (their favored term) at Warm Springs, the Georgia clinic Roosevelt established for his and others' use. He had a comradeship in that setting never experienced elsewhere: with its patients he shared his otherwise lonely fight to achieve mobility.

While granting all this, we should resist the sentimentalism that creeps into much of the discussion about Roosevelt's polio. Some talk as if polio sealed him with a redemptive mark of suffering. The Byronic hero is marked by deformity or defect in a way that drives him from the comforts of the prosaic world into the enforced solitude where genius creates an entirely new human vision, brilliant even if one-sided. The artist suffers, but he gains from his suffering, because it severs him from the herd.

Roosevelt's polio did not separate him from others but drove him out toward them—and not to crave sympathy. He would accept no pity. The shrewdest judges of polio's impact on Roosevelt are two authors who themselves suffered from polio—Geoffrey Ward and Hugh Gregory Gallagher. There is no sentimentality in these men's views of Roosevelt. They both see that what polio did was to make him preternaturally aware of others' perceptions of him. This increased his determination to control those perceptions. People were made uncomfortable by his discomfort. He needed to distract them, to direct their attention to subjects he preferred, to keep them amused, impressed, entertained. That meant he had to perfect a deceptive ease, a casual aplomb, in the midst of acute distress. He became a consummate actor.

For Roosevelt to "walk" in public, he had to balance on his locked braces and pretend to be using his legs while he was actually shifting back and forth from his cane to the man (often one of his sons) whose arm he gripped on the other
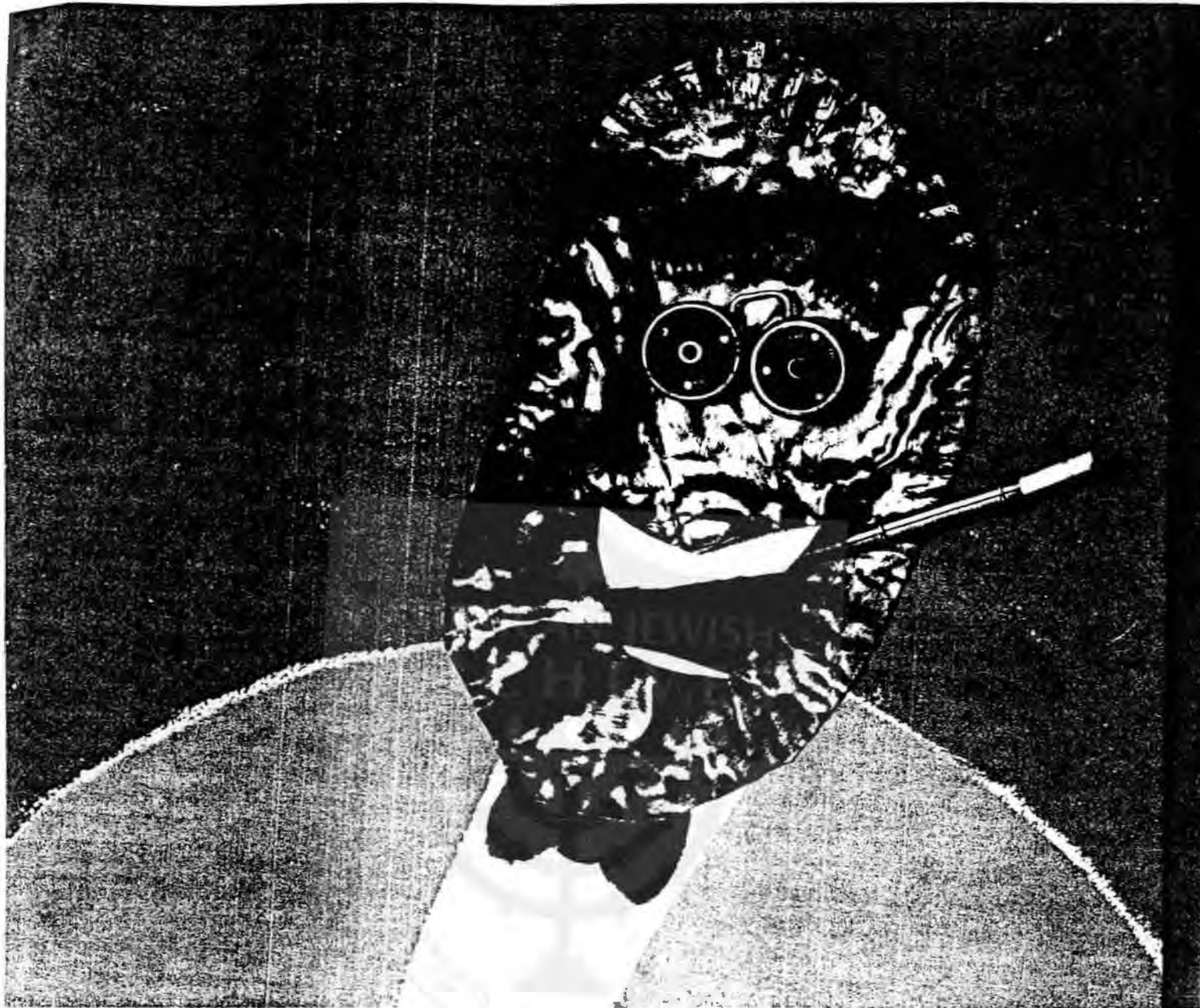
side. The strain always left his suit soaked with sweat, the hand on the cane shaking violently from the effort, the son's arm bruised where his fingers had dug in. And all the while he would be smiling, keeping up pleasant banter, pretending to enjoy himself.

The danger was always there. His sticklike legs in their metal binding could snap easily if he fell. It was almost impossible for one person to raise him, with his heavy braces locking the legs in an unbending position. When he fell in the lobby of his office building, his chauffeur could not pull him up off the slippery floor, and Roosevelt had to recruit two other men in the lobby for help. The surprised men were the recipients of a flow of jokes and chatter that made it seem like Roosevelt was treating the episode as a particularly funny game. When they got him propped up again, Ward writes, "still smiling and laughing, but with his knuckles white on the handles of his crutches and his legs alarmingly splayed for balance, he said 'Let's go!' and started for the elevators

once more." Roosevelt rarely fell in public, partly because he gave up the attempt at public "walking" as the years went by. But each time he did fall, it was a searing crisis to those few who understood how truly helpless he became.

The iron control of his own reactions, necessary for handling such a crisis, was something Roosevelt had achieved by the time he ran for President. While he was sitting in an open car in Miami in 1933, a would-be assassin, standing within twelve yards of the President, fired at him five times. Roosevelt stared at the man, unflinching, while Mayor Anton Cermak, of Chicago, who had been standing next to the car, fell, mortally wounded. The Secret Service tried to move the car away, but Roosevelt stopped it and had Cermak put into the seat with him. He then ordered the car to the hospital and tried to revive the dying Cermak on the way. FDR's calm command of the situation came from more than a decade of sitting in judgment on the passing scene, ready to make the proper moves to keep people from panicking at

the sight of his helplessness. Franklin Roosevelt had always wanted to imitate his admired cousin Theodore, and had usually failed—at Harvard, as a warrior, as a writer. But that day he displayed the same sangfroid Teddy had when an assailant wounded him during the 1912 campaign; TR gave his scheduled speech anyway, though blood was oozing from his shirt.

In less dramatic daily ordeals FDR kept control of others' reactions when he was lifted in or out of cars, carried up stairs, or straightened up again when he had tilted over in a seat without arms. He did this by telling jokes, or locking their eyes to his, or teasing others, making them think of their own vulnerability—as one polio has called it, "walking on your tongue."

When he had no one to carry him upstairs, he sat on the bottom step, reached backward to the higher step, and pulled up his body with his powerful arms, engaging in distracting talk as if he were not doing anything extraordinary. Some-one had to be with him always. He was uneasy when no one could respond to a sudden threat—an accident, or the need for help to the bathroom. He was especially worried at the thought of a fire in his house or on his boat. Despite this extreme dependence on those around him—he was carried to and from bed, lifted into and out of his bath, clothed by others—Roosevelt kept up a tiring regime of public activity, during which he looked only slightly inconvenienced. This "splendid deception," as Gallagher calls it, involved careful stage-management of all his appearances, ruthless suppression of any camera in his vicinity until he had settled into the pose he wanted to strike, and carefully constructed ramps, bathrooms, and rails wherever he was going to appear.

When he could not get out, he drew others in around him, maintaining a crowded schedule of interviews, entertainments, meetings with members of Congress, with the press, with celebrities. His press conferences were frequent, two a week or more, well staged to seem informal. The reporters

clustered around Roosevelt's desk, so he did not have to move. They could not quote him directly, but that made the banter on both sides freer and more revealing. Roosevelt probed and learned from them while showing his dexterity in avoiding their attempts to learn anything he was not ready to say. His aides marveled at the bits of information he had managed to acquire. He liked to keep some mystery about his sources: it was another way of demonstrating that he was in touch.

To avoid podiums, where he might fall, Roosevelt invented the "fireside chat." Again, he could sit at his desk while the world came to him. For people used to seeing political oratory on newsreels or hearing speeches broadcast from auditoriums, where the acoustics and the size of the audience made for slow and pompous delivery, Roosevelt's seated-in-the-same-room-with-you style gave a shock of intimacy. Cousin Theodore had been a tub-thumper. Woodrow Wilson was mellifluous but exalted. Herbert Hoover was pinched and pedantic. People felt that Roosevelt, unlike his predecessors, was confiding in them and consulting them. The man who seemed immobilized had ghosted himself into their front rooms.

Invaluable Histrionics

SOME might think it an insult to call a President an actor. It was certainly intended that way when Ronald Reagan was dismissed as "just an actor." But all politicians need some of an actor's abilities. They must feign welcome to unwanted constituents' attentions, cooperate with despised party allies, wax indignant at politically chosen targets. This is the work not of inferior politicians but of the masters. The three Presidents normally at the top of historians' lists—Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt—all had strong histrionic instincts. Roosevelt could not go to the theater—or to church, for that matter—because of his logistical problems; but Washington and Lincoln were both avid theatergoers. Washington's favorite literature was Joseph Addison's play *Cato*. Lincoln's was *Macbeth*. Lincoln read aloud the speeches of Shakespeare to anyone who would listen to him.

Washington was a master of the telling theatrical gesture. Even his Christmas Eve assault on Trenton was more a *côup de théâtre* than a strategically meaningful step. His various resignations of office were choreographed. When he could not count on a response from his audience, he hesitated to act. Lincoln knew the impact of his haunting features, and loved to pose for photographers. A great storyteller, he could milk a line for laughs as surely as Roosevelt did in his Fala speech—the one that feigned shock that enemies would think his Scottish terrier a wastrel.

An actor is not, as such, a leader. The appreciation of an audience is not motion toward some goal shared with the actor. Fans are not followers. But a popular leader must use

some tricks from the actor's stock. Above all, a good leader must know what is appealing to followers and what risks losing that appeal. Roosevelt had that sensitivity to others' reactions, developed to an almost morbid degree, because of his awareness of their attention to his physical condition. He had to know, to a centimeter, the line that divides pity from compassion, condescension from cooperation, mere sympathy from real support. The French philosopher Denis Diderot said that the best actor sits inside his own performance as a cool spectator of the effects he is creating in an audience. Such actors will sense if an audience thinks they are playing a scene too broad, and will rein in the effects. The actor is working at several levels of awareness—fiery in the character's emotions, icy in the adjustment of those emotions to the intended effects on onlookers. Feigned tears must be used to elicit real tears.

Roosevelt's manipulation of others' reactions to his own body perfectly prepared him to be an actor in Diderot's sense. He could change pity into admiration. He could keep intruders into his privacy off guard by a teasing challenge that made them look to their own defenses, too flustered to advert to his problem. He could put people at their ease or deliberately cause discomfort. He controlled people by the use of nicknames (a familiarity not to be reciprocated).

As President, Roosevelt ministered to a sick nation. Economic cures were being proposed on all sides, and Roosevelt was ready to try any of them, often in bewildering succession. He was criticized as an ignoramus because he hesitated between competing promises of cure. But he knew that the soul needed healing first, and the brand of confidence he had instilled in the patients at Warm Springs was the most measurable gift Roosevelt gave to the nation during the Depression. He understood the importance of psychology—that people have to have the courage to keep seeking a cure, no matter what the cure is. America had lost its will to recover, and Roosevelt was certain that regaining it was the first order of business.

In 1932–1933 a long interregnum between the election and a March inauguration was still constitutionally mandated. Poor Herbert Hoover had to lead the country as a lame duck for a third of a year. He tried to recruit Roosevelt's support for measures that FDR was in fact considering and would finally himself take—bank regulation, manipulation of farm prices, monetary control. But Roosevelt would not be drawn into these plans, sound as they might have been. He realized that the nation needed a clean break, a slap in the face, a sense that the past was being repudiated. It took cool nerves to watch the country slide farther into trouble, knowing he would have to pick up the pieces. But Roosevelt was confident to the point of foolhardiness in all his ways, and that was the thing called for in this desperate situation. When he took office, he closed the banks, imposed regulations far-reaching enough to be called (in time) unconstitutional, and filled the nation with a bustle of make-work, fake work, and real work.

The patient was resuscitated, up off the bed, moving about. The perception of control and of direction returned to a nation that had felt itself drifting in a windless sea.

From then on Roosevelt would make many deals with the devil in order to keep his

Great leadership is not a zero-sum game. What is given to the leader is not taken from the follower. Both get by giving. That is the mystery of leaders like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

hold on those who might respond to his call. Since Congress was controlled by southern chairmen of the indispensable committees, he paid a price for their support—sabotaging anti-lynching planks in the Democratic platforms, putting off civil-rights action except in the public-works programs. The right wing yelled at him the loudest, but the left may have been more deeply disappointed. Social Security was a boon to the worker, but in a regressive form, making the poor pay disproportionally to get what the government was also giving (as a payoff) to the better-off. When Franco took over Spain in a right-wing coup, Roosevelt gave the legitimate government little help, for fear of losing the Catholic component in his Democratic coalition. When dictators came to power in Europe, Roosevelt placated isolationists, not to win their support but to neutralize them for a while. First things first. The audience had to be worked with many strings, and the strings must be kept from tangling.

Those who wanted ideological consistency, or even policy coherence, were rightly exasperated with Roosevelt. He switched economic plans as often as he changed treatments for his polio, and often with as little improvement. Some of his early "brain trust" advisers went off in disgust at his unwillingness to stick by their advice when the polls turned adverse.

The Depression was not really overcome by the New Deal. Its effects were ameliorated, its burdens shifted, its ravages cloaked over, and that kept people going until the world itself was changed drastically by war. The President could not do everything. But Roosevelt stiffened people's spines to face hardship, even when the hardship did not go away. He knew a good deal about spines. When he wheeled himself up to a war casualty who had had to cut himself free of wreckage by amputating his own legs, Roosevelt said, "I understand you are something of a surgeon. I'm not a bad orthopedist, myself." Legs spoke to legs. The public did not know the extent of Roosevelt's impairment; but it knew enough to feel that if he could go on as he did, gaily despite loss, so might they.

So, to go back to the alternative posed by Neustadt and Hofstadter, which is it to be? The dominating figure or the accommodating one? I am not sure that that choice would have made sense to the patients at Warm Springs. They were certainly dominated by Roosevelt; but they seem to have felt his domination as their own liberation. He did

not prevail by ignoring their demands. If anything, he anticipated those demands, and tailored whatever he said or did to acknowledge and respect and further them. The demands were not all consistent, or sensible, or even constructive in the long run. But Roosevelt was quick to respond to them, ruling none out as beneath his notice or contrary to his program. He prevailed by service to them.

Which does not mean, by a long shot, that he was humble. Mother Teresa never had a potential rival in him. He wanted his own way. But he knew that the way to get it was not to impose it. And by the time he got his way, it turned out to be the way of many followers as well. He could win only by letting them win. Great leadership is not a zero-sum game. What is given to the leader is not taken from the follower. Both get by giving. That is the mystery of great popular leaders like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

The final mystery is that this physically impaired man made his physical characteristics so comforting to a nation facing hardship and war. People drew strength from the very cock of his head, the angle of his cigarette holder, the trademark grin that was a semaphore of hope.

Anti-Type:
Adlai Stevenson

IN 1952 liberals who grew up admiring Franklin Roosevelt thought that they had found his rightful successor in Adlai Stevenson. They hoped that he would go to Washington from the governor's mansion in Springfield as Roosevelt had gone from the governor's mansion in Albany. Stevenson was from families as socially prominent in Illinois as the Delanos and the Roosevelts were in New York. Roosevelt had grown up with the example of his cousin Theodore always vivid in his mind. Stevenson's grandfather was a model just as inspiring to him—Adlai E. Stevenson, for whom he was named, had been Grover Cleveland's Vice President. Stevenson's father served in Washington with Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, to whom FDR was undersecretary.

The similarities between Roosevelt and Stevenson are eerie—though not all of them were known during Stevenson's lifetime. Both men were raised by domineering mothers who followed their pampered sons to college. Sara Delano Roosevelt moved to Boston during the winters when Franklin was a junior and senior at Harvard. Helen Davis

Stevenson rented a house in Princeton, near where Adlai was going to classes. Both Roosevelt and Stevenson were poor students who had trouble getting through law school—Roosevelt never did get his degree at Columbia, and Stevenson flunked out of Harvard Law.

Both men wed socially proper wives from whom they were estranged by the time they had national careers—the Roosevelts ceased having conjugal relations after Eleanor discovered Franklin's love affair with Lucy Mercer, and the Stevensons were divorced. Each man depended on the ministrations of a devout female acolyte—Missy Le Hand was Roosevelt's indispensable social secretary–nurse–companion as he made his comeback from polio, and Dorothy Fosdick, of the State Department, helped assemble Stevenson's foreign-policy brain trust for the 1952 presidential campaign.

Though neither was much of a reader or writer, Roosevelt and Stevenson enjoyed the company of people who were, and delivered the speeches they wrote with great style. Neither was an ideologue, but both were progressive enough to be praised and damned as left-liberals. They were moderate reformers in their terms as governor, though both had been elected with the help of strong state machines—Tammany in New York and Jacob Arvey's Chicago organization in Illinois. (Arvey ordered Stevenson to run for governor after Stevenson had decided to run for senator.)

The liberals of 1952 were *almost* right—they almost got another Roosevelt. Stevenson was Roosevelt without the polio—and that made all the difference. He remained the dilettante and ladies' man all his life. Roosevelt was a mama's boy who was forced to grow up. Stevenson had noble ideals—as had the young Roosevelt, for that matter. But Stevenson felt that the way to implement them was to present himself as a thoughtful idealist and wait for the world to flock to him. He considered it beneath him, or wrong, to scramble out among the people and ask what *they* wanted. Roosevelt grasped voters to him. Stevenson shied from them. Some thought him too pure to desire power, though he showed ambition when it mattered. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who wrote speeches for Stevenson and worked for him in the 1952 and 1956 campaigns, thought that Stevenson might feel guilty about wielding power because he had accidentally killed a playmate when he wielded the power of a gun in his boyhood.

Stevenson believed in the Periclean ideal of leadership—that a man should be above the pressures of the multitude, telling people uncomfortable truths. His admiring brain trust found this charming at first, but concluded that he overdid it. As Schlesinger said, "It was a brilliant device to establish Stevenson's identity. As a permanent device, it was an error." Stevenson kept some distance from the crowd by making "inside" comments that played to the intellectuals. This, too, got on the nerves of his entourage. Carl McGowan, the head of Stevenson's staff, had these rueful memories: "His wit was not as great as it was popularly assumed to be, but it

was not as damaging as was believed, either. He always had a risky sense of humor—some of it was not funny at all."

Liberal intellectuals stayed true to Stevenson in the 1950s, despite misgivings, because they were horrified by what they took to be the anti-intellectual alternative of Dwight D. Eisenhower. It was literally inconceivable to these people that a rational electorate would prefer Ike to Adlai—which shows how far out of touch they were with the American people, and just how far Stevenson was from Roosevelt. Louis Howe, Roosevelt's great admirer-manager, would have had no trouble understanding Ike's appeal.

Not only did Stevenson think voters should come to him instead of he to them, but once in office he thought the power of the office would be self-enacting. He did not realize that it is only what one *makes of* the office that creates real followers. Installed as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, he clung to that position, with the perks he relished (parties every night, a delightful "harem" of adoring ladies), though his liberal friends repeatedly urged him to resign rather than keep on defending American actions in Cuba, Latin America, and Indochina.

When Stevenson found that he had presented false information to the world in the aftermath of his government's invasion of Cuba (at the Bay of Pigs), he was indignant that his own President had lied to him. He went to the New York apartment of his friend Alistair Cooke, the British journalist, and poured out his trouble over a drink. Cooke tried to comfort him with the thought that men who resigned from intolerable situations have made their contribution to history. Stevenson was shocked at the mere suggestion he would resign. That would be burning his boats, Cooke says he replied. Even then Stevenson did not grasp his real position with John F. Kennedy, who treated him like a patsy because he considered him one.

Later, when the left broke from Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy, Stevenson doggedly defended it. The journalist Murray Kempton, writing in the name of former Stevenson supporters, sent a private letter to Adlai begging him to resign. The government was telling lies. "The need now is for commoners, for men out of office. . . . I know that I am asking you to do one more messy and exhausting thing; but could you come out here and lead us?" But Stevenson was having too much fun on the embassy party rounds. His doctor warned him that his sybaritic life was a form of suicide. Friends were telling him the same thing. He died after a diplomats' lunch in London, at age sixty-five.

Roosevelt, too, drove himself to an early death (sixty-three), but that was in his grueling fourth term as President during the Second World War. His talents had been put to maximum use because he could find common ground with those he sought to lead. He succeeded not by being a Pericles, as Thucydides presents Pericles, but by being what some of Pericles' defenders called a "demagogue." The word means, etymologically, "people-leader." ❧

> TONIGHT! The 20th of Tammuz at 8:45 there will be a meeting, *with G-d's help*, of parents and educators.
>
> ANYONE WHO CARES ABOUT HIS SOUL
> AND THE SOUL OF HIS HOUSE
> WILL NOT IGNORE THIS MEETING!
>
> The Committee for the Purity of Our Camp

Now there probably was no such formal organization of parents and educators as that which with great hubris signed itself "The Committee for the Purity of Our Camp." This was simply a provisional name for one of the countless ad hoc haredi groups that continually sought to keep pernicious influences of the outside world away from their children.

They wanted to keep to themselves morally, physically, and socially. For them purity required separation. *Hisbadlus*, they called it. But this was by no means a new haredi aim. As Alexander Friedman, secretary of the Polish branch of Agudat Israel put it already in 1935, "spiritual isolation will protect our sons and daughters from the sickness of heresy, license, and secularity."[1] Why the need for such segregation?

"It is known to all," wrote the Hafetz Hayim, one of the founding fathers of the haredi point of view, "that this generation is continuing to collapse [morally] each day."[2] "We live in a terrible and awful time," as Rabbi Eliezer Schach, head of the Ponovezh Yeshiva in B'nai B'rak and contemporary voice of a large segment of the haredi world, put it more recently; "there is no day whose curse is not greater than the one before it."[3] From the days of the Hafetz Hayim to the days of Rabbi Schach, haredim have perceived the world to be in a process of moral decay. Worse still, this corrupted world seeks to invade the protected environment haredim have constructed for themselves. And it endangers the weakest most. These are the young and the impressionable.

That was why the Committee for the Purity of Our Camp was addressing its concern about safeguarding "souls" primarily to parents and educators. Parenting and education were at the front lines of the struggle against moral decay. The Bible in Deuteronomy (6:7) made that clear when it invoked a fundamental obligation to "teach it dili-

gently unto your children." Scripture explained it further: "Train the young man in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it" (Proverbs 22:6). The codes were most specific: "Every father must educate his young children in all the obligations, whether they be commandments from the Bible or those of the rabbis, each and every obligation according to the understanding of the young boy or girl. [And thus] one protects and separates them from all that is prohibited."⁴ And more recently, in the words of the Hafetz Hayim in his commentary on those codes: "He who does not root in the heart of his children after him the faith in God and His Torah and commandments and does not care whether or not his children go in the ways of God, does not at all fulfill his obligation as a Jew."⁵

Among haredim, education was everything: the purpose of Jewish existence and at the same time a barrier against its decay. It was the essence of what they believed was demanded of them as Jews. To this end, they created a network of schools that embraced life from youth to age and that, whenever possible, evaded the harmful influence of secular education—what was called by insiders "alien wisdom" *(chochmos chitzonios)*. In their schools the young were turned into haredim. They were taught to speak and write in a separate haredi version of a Jewish language that kept outsiders at bay—Yiddish, encrusted with acronyms and insider expressions, even more than modern Hebrew. They were confirmed in their distinctive appearance and dress that made assimilation in the outside world impossible. They were introduced to their own customs, folkways, values, and versions of the life that made them conscious of their own traditions, which were also presented as the true Judaism. Anything short of that was "putting darkness into light."

In an open, modern, urban, and pluralist society—such as the one surrounding today's haredim—where all sorts of influences threaten to besiege and bombard unprotected individuals, the school is a sanctuary, a cultural stronghold, a sheltered environment where external influences are institutionally controlled. Of course, even before the start of school, these children unconsciously have absorbed a great deal of what it means to be haredim. The way they dress or groom themselves, for example, the demands they have already accepted as natural—including having to recite blessings before eating or after defecating (that is, bracketing their newly gained autonomy over their bodies with a series of ritual and religious practices)—are all reflections of their culture and society. But it is in the school that they first directly encounter the formalized world of Jewish learning and join their peers in a framework that harnesses and tames their exuberant

childhood imagination and predispositions, replacing them with haredi morals and values.

However, while the underlying impact of schooling may be socialization to haredi ways, haredim conceive of what they do very simply as *lernen Toyreh* (studying Torah). "Torah" denotes Scriptures, Talmud, midrash, codes, commentaries, and in some cases even parable and folktales. Immersing oneself in it is tantamount to being a better Jew, coming closer to God's will, and protecting oneself from corruption. "There are many ways to bring oneself close to the Holy One, may He be blessed, but all the ways are risky and only the path taken by way of the [study of] Torah is the secure way."[6]

As Eliezer Schach rhetorically asked: "What is the secret of our existence?" Generations of persecution and pogrom had not succeeded in wiping out Jews and Judaism. "They can kill us, but our sons will continue to cleave to the Torah." Through this, "the Jew lives forever."[7] The school, more than any other place, was where this process was set into motion. Here first steps in the fashioning of the consciousness are taken. Here children begin in earnest to transform themselves into the anxious haredi Jews that their parents and teachers expect them to become.[8] Here, as one haredi educator put it, they enter "the road that our fathers and our teachers have trodden upon forever."[9]

For all these reasons schools are everywhere in the haredi world. Kindergartens, primary and advanced yeshivas, or kollels, as well as synagogues that between their morning and evening services have been converted into study halls, are omnipresent. And nearly every one of them appears to be bursting at the seams. While many schools are being enlarged, and often the newest building on a block is a yeshiva, most commonly the physical plant of the school is hardly more than a few rooms.

Although Jewish tradition suggests that a child need not begin learning Torah until the age of five years, the trend among haredim increasingly has been to advance the time their young go to school. From the time they are barely out of diapers until well after marriage, at least for males, life means going to school every day, except on Sabbath and holy days (and even on these days the obligation to study Torah is not rescinded).[10] While there is a summer vacation, called *bayn ha-z'manim* (between terms), it is relatively brief, lasting normally from the Ninth of Av until the first day of the next month, Elul (roughly equivalent to the month of August).

In part, this expansion of schooling is explained by the instrumental need to share the task of caring for the many children in the average haredi family. With a high birth rate haredi parents simply cannot cope without the support and assistance of schools that help them raise

their children. And it is also one reason that schools for girls—an institution that in the last forty years has grown in popularity but was unthinkable a little over a hundred years ago when females were still considered to be exempt from the need to concentrate on Torah learning—are now an accepted feature of even the most Orthodox communities.[11] Moreover, the idea that the responsibility for education is to be shared with a teacher outside the family is deeply rooted in Jewish tradition.

Learning Torah is not a part-time occupation but rather a full-time preoccupation, contiguous with life itself. Jewish learning, especially for males, is considered to be an endless religious obligation superseding all others. This notion is based on at least two well-known proof texts, one scriptural and the other talmudic. In Joshua (1:8) the message is simple: "This Torah shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate upon it day and night." In a contemporary gloss on this imperative, Rabbi Schach explained that in order to "be strengthened," every Jew "is obligated to set a time to study each day, so that these days are not lost forever."[12] Whether or not the school is really the impenetrable fortress and protective shell that many, like Rabbi Schach, have claimed it is, to haredim it has become the ideal Jewish environment, and the scholar, the talmid chacham (literally, "the wise student") has become the ideal Jew. Here the chain of being and continuity with the past is most vividly experienced. "Always, when the Jew is not cut off from the heritage of his fathers, then he is linked with the rabbis of the Mishnah and all the zaddikim, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—they live."[13]

Tinokos Shel Bais Rabban

In the parlance of the haredi community, "tinokos shel bais rabban" is a talmudic phrase that means "the littlest children." Also called the anointed ones or "messiahs," they are, according to traditional doctrine, the most precious of all children, still pure and free of all transgression. For Jews there is no such thing as original sin; children begin as a tabula rasa on which the tradition can and must be inscribed. And yet, while they are free of sin, they are not free of the tendency to sin. On the contrary, they are at risk both from internal and external sources. On the one hand, children are susceptible to domination by their inner tendencies of base instinct. On the other, they are most easily attracted by the corrosive influences of the outside world. ·

"What is the way of youth? Not to study and not to pray but rather

to sit in idleness and chase after lustful passions." [14] To avoid this fall, the child must be molded and fashioned from the outset in order to root out the evil in him and to create a fence around him so that he is not damaged. That fence is fashioned from religion and custom. Why is this important? After all, why not allow the youth his period of license and liberty and then, when he matures, transform him into a haredi? Because, as one haredi educational guide puts it, "All that is implanted in the little heart will remain there until one has aged." [15] Being haredi requires habituation; it is a pattern of existence that begins even before consciousness and lifestyles are formed. "The acts of the fathers are a sign to their sons." [16] One generation serves as the template for the other. And that means paying special attention to children, even the youngest of them.

As haredim demonstrate again and again, their young are their most precious treasure. Said the Talmud, "One does not neglect the tinokos shel bais rabban even for the purpose of rebuilding the Holy Temple." Commenting on this in the sixteenth century, the Maharal of Prague, Rabbi Judah Loew, concluded, "From this we learn that the sanctity of the children is greater even than the Temple." [17]

Not only are they uncorrupted by life and its compromises, they are also the incarnation of continuity: the human sanctuary, recipients of tradition and its carriers. Whatever patterns of life the haredim may have managed to develop, these endure only as long as they are passed on to children who continue to maintain them. "The world only exists for the sake of the tinokos shel bais rabban." [18] The adapted haredi gloss on this talmudic dictum might be: "Our world only exists for the sake of the tinokos shel bais rabban. The elders exist by virtue of the merits they gain from teaching the young, protecting them, and raising them for Torah." [19]

What Is to Be Taught?

What makes up the curriculum of the haredi schools, especially in the primary years? A universally agreed upon and formal haredi curriculum is probably an impossibility—at least in part because, as already noted, haredim are not monolithic. Not only are there distinctions between Lithuanians (misnagdim) and hasidim, but even among hasidim there are a variety of approaches, many of which are reflected in education. Nevertheless, when considered in its broad outlines, the education that haredim receive, especially when contrasted with what others are exposed to, does have some basic common

elements. First are the texts: The "plain bread" of Talmud is a staple in the higher grades—usually sometime after eleven years old. Before that comes Scripture. And perhaps earliest of all come stories drawn from the tradition. By the later years of yeshiva, the Talmud is the framework for all sorts of other discussions, including matters of ethics and esoterica that may even include some mysticism (although this is limited to a select few) and specialized rabbinic literature.

But there is another side to the haredi curriculum, such as it is. First here comes the matter of faith. "A father must implant the faith in the heart of his child."[20] That faith need not be based on reason. Indeed, "one should accustom the child [to believing] without reason and explanation, and then even when he ages and his rationality is strengthened and he can think about matters sensibly and get to the truth of matters, he will not depart from the true path and observance [even when it does not make sense to him]; or when he cannot understand the sense or reach the depths of truth, if he has been trained in such faith from his youth, he will not depart from the faith, and will not depend [only] on his understanding."[21]

Second is the matter of fearing God. "It is a commandment of the Torah to implant the fear of Heaven in the heart of children from the time they are small so that they might be God-fearing all the days of their lives."[22] As the Psalmist put it, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God."[23]

Then there is the element of holiness. For the haredim this means practically separating the student from all that is prohibited, "especially from the sins of youth, which needs extra watchfulness, care and energy."[24] Making the child holy—a moral creature—is no easy task: "There are children who in their nature are base and wanton, who cannot be affected by words, and even when they are instructed with words meant to strengthen either their resolution against their base passions or their fear of Heaven it is like talking to stones, for they have no feelings."[25]

While there are many concrete examples of this base character, primary among them being lust and licentiousness—in the very young this takes its expression in their touching themselves in prohibited places. "Warn your little boys of five or six (or even younger) that they should not touch their holy *bris* [penis (literally, "covenant of circumcision")] even at the time that they make water, nor should they touch that of their fellows, nor even look there."[26] With age, this taboo includes feeling lustful passions or looking at sights likely to arouse them, something demanding constant vigilance.

To help them maintain their holiness, the young must be taught a

protocol of life. This agenda is called *Seder Ha-Yom*. This means knowing about the holy days, rituals, customs, where one may go and what one may eat, how to act in various contexts and in general what are the proper human qualities, the importance of Torah, attendance in the synagogue, and self control. The mandate to keep themselves under control is often articulated in terms of the commandment to honor their parents, for "it is the parent's obligation to guard his children to see to it that there not be within them an evil nature and wickedness."[27]

Yet while many of these obligations of education are incumbent on the parents (indeed it is primarily as a teacher that a parent earns the respect due him or her), it is the teacher whose role is paramount, as even the youngest children quickly discover.

The Teacher, or Rebbe

In Orthodox Jewish life, teachers or rebbes, as they are called, have always been endowed with an often larger-than-life authority. They must be treated with reverence and respect, sometimes even in precedence over one's parents. Says the Talmud, "Anyone who teaches his fellow's child Torah, it is as if he gave birth to him."[28] But teachers do more than act *in loco parentis* or embody the community's norms and mores; they are at times stand-ins for God. Said Rabbi Eleazar ben Shammua: "May the fear of your teacher be like the fear of Heaven," for "anyone who teaches his fellow's child Torah is privileged to sit in the council of Heaven."[29] And while there are some who have reinterpreted these dicta in other ways, the fact remains that for many haredim the teacher or rebbe is a sublime figure.

And who makes the best teacher? As one haredi parent explained, while training in a teachers' seminary was useful and she certainly wanted people who knew what the job entailed, the best teachers, she thought, were the ones who came from families who had a tradition of teaching passed down through the generations. Of course, after a while, everyone got better with experience.

Although most scholars aspire to be a rosh yeshiva, the head of an academy, even the primary-school teacher, the melamed, is esteemed —although often more in principle than in practice, which is probably why the Lubliner Rebbe, a hasidic master of the nineteenth century, once pointed out: "If people knew the status that the melamed has in heaven, everyone would rush to teach the little children."[30]

If adults do not necessarily view the melamed as the incarnation of

the ideal, the tinokos shel bais rabban do. In kindergarten, at a time when they begin to move from helpless childhood into the relatively greater autonomy of the juvenile era even as their capacity to make the correct intellectual connections remains often incomplete, the teacher seems the incarnation of complete and unfathomable wisdom.[31] As the child is told again and again by everyone, "The rebbe knows." And he knows about everything. Unlike them, he seems to see how things are all connected.

Often the most common question a child is asked either at home or by members of the community is: *"Vus hot der rebbe gesugt?"* (What did the rabbi say?) In a sense, the reiteration of lessons learned from one's teachers is one of the enduring patterns of haredi Jewish intellectual life. Life often becomes a series of citations and quotations, each of which is appropriate to the needs of the moment.

Teachers, and in particular primary ones, are thus key figures. And when schools need them, haredim announce in their press and broadsides throughout their neighborhoods: "Help! The children of Israel need you! Come, while there is still time, and save the children of Israel from spiritual destruction."[32] This is no idle or exaggerated call. For haredim the teachers are the first line in the offensive to save those who are the "true Children of Israel" from spiritual destruction. After all, in the haredi world—as indeed in all culture, "predecessors and successors are as much made as born."[33] And it is the teachers who make them, acting as the bridge between past and future.

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Primary School

"Every child, school, group, aims at a common goal: to raise a generation that will continue, that will be one more link in the chain of generations of the original Judaism, as it was—something closer to what was," said a Belzer hasid to me once. This was an expression of what Margaret Mead once called "postfigurative culture." Postfigurative culture, as she explained, was a way of life in which the present was made to appear as part of an "unchanging continuity" with the past.[1] Haredi society was very much a postfigurative culture. In some ways the primary school was a key instrument in this process.

The trip from the gan to the primary school was a walk of a few minutes. On a quiet street, barely wide enough for two cars to pass each other, in a house faced with rough-cut Jerusalem stone, its golden blocks covering a drab interior, I found grades one through five. There was no sign on the building, which was really little more than two stories of rooms, a long veranda, and a courtyard. Only the sound of the chanting voices of the boys helped me find it on my first visit. Opening the closed but unlocked iron gate, I climbed the stairs to the upper floor and, walking along the veranda, peeked hesitantly through

the partially open doors to see which room I might go into first. I knew
that word of my arrival had preceded me so that the teacher would
know who this obvious stranger coming into his classroom was, but
slipping past the half-open door, I felt all the reticence of a newcomer
to school coupled with the discomfiture of an interloper. Nevertheless
—and perhaps this is what my anthropological discipline had done for
me—I endured these qualms and quietly sat down to watch. I was
greeted with sidelong glances, nods, children pinching and signaling
each other to look at the stranger, and a hand gesture by the teacher
motioning me to sit down.

Books and Jews

Again, days stretched into weeks as I spent time in the various
classrooms. Gradually, a sense of the primary school took shape in my
mind. If the gan had been a place of songs and stories, the yeshiva—
into whose first tier I had now entered—was a place where everything
went on over, around, and through the pages of an open book. Fasten-
ing the boys to the books and in turn to the world inside the texts in
them, and finally to the tradition that tied text to peoplehood and
Jewish ways and values became the primary concern here.

In the youngest grades this meant harnessing the boys' attention,
still very much unbridled and childishly untamed, and nurturing their
sense of restraint. Practically, it meant getting them to know all the
letters of the alphabet and how to read the Bible and other sacred
volumes, to be comfortable for long hours over an open book that had
no pictures, and then making them believe that the book and the
tradition that stood behind it were the best places to express and
preserve themselves.

This is perhaps what is embedded in a comment by one of the
Lubavitcher rebbes, Yitzhak Yosef Schneerson (1880–1950), which
articulates the relationship between the book and the essentials of
faith: "Fortification through the study of the pure Torah routs and
breaks all obstacles and impediments, and the crux [of this] is teaching
tinokos shel bais rabban . . . who must know the shape of each letter
and its sound, which was given at Sinai, and [who] thereby will be
fortified and implanted with an internal essence that is [none other
than] the essence of Judaism, so that their heart will be loyal to God
and his Torah forever."[2]

Over the course of their lives, books would not only become objects
of veneration and study, they would also become a cultural and moral
preserve. In the years ahead it would be over books that they would

spend time with their peers, the *chavruse*, or learning partners. When they passed through the outside world, while sitting on a public bus or when waiting for customers in a shop, the book would serve as an "involvement shield," a barrier against the temptations and invasions of a foreign culture.[3] The book would be a guide to, and an instrument of, piety. Hymnals, prayer books, Psalters, Bibles, volumes of the Talmud, and other sacred books were always at or in hand.

By itself, literacy has no value. Haredim do not learn to read so that they can explore the beauty of writing or revel in the pleasure house of literature. For these Yidn, literacy is an expression of, and a medium for, Jewish fidelity, a means of Jewish learning, a vehicle for plumbing texts and getting at the essence of what God has revealed in the Torah, a ticket for entry into the house of study. It is a matter of faith. "The letters of the Torah are the names of God."[4]

Learning about the letters begins early. According to rabbinic tradition, a five-year-old must be taught to read. For many haredim, learning the sounds of letters may come even earlier. But only in the first grade can reading begin in earnest for, as Talmud puts it, and as the haredim who go by the book believe, "whoever tries to teach a youngster below the age of six to read Torah, runs after him but can never reach him."[5]

From the start, reading—like prayer—is oral recitation. One does not begin reading sacred texts only with the eyes—at least not at first. Nor does one read alone. At the outset it is rather a kind of group chant. The text is externalized rather than internalized. Perhaps this sounds like rote learning—and to an extent it is. But as I listened to these chants day after day, I sensed there was something else at stake here, something social. The child who could not read the letters or whose attention wandered was carried by those who could and remained focused on the page. A child found his voice first in the chorus of others. Even before they realized it, the way they learned to read made them dependent upon and part of a *group* experience. It might begin as echoing and joining in with others, but later it could become something one could do alone. Yet even then the echoes of the group, though silent, forever reverberated in the mind's ear. And even solitary reading, particularly of sacred texts, which were the only books studied with any serious attention in the haredi school, was commonly intoned, as I would see even more dramatically in the yeshiva later. The solitary voice was a chorus of one rather than a solo.

While haredim teach their children to read words at about five or six years, by about age seven, they begin them on Bible texts. Along with prayer, this confirms reading as a sacred act, freighted with all sorts of symbolic meaning. The portion of the Bible they read first is

not Genesis. Although by virtue of their review of each week's synagogue Torah reading and stories their rebbe told them in kindergarten, the youngsters—as I had just seen—already knew the major narratives and characters of the entire Bible; when they began to review the text, it was at Leviticus, what is called *Torat Kohanim*, the priestly teachings and laws having to do with sacrifices and tributes brought as sin offerings.

While there are a variety of explanations that have been given to this traditional practice, including the one that occurred to me in the lesson about the Nazarites, one cited in the midrash is frequently offered in haredi circles. "Why do we begin to teach the young Torat Kohanim and not Genesis? As the young signify purity, so do the sacrifices signify purity; thus the pure come and deal in matters of purity."[6] The connection is metaphoric, coupling mystical notions of childhood purity with the purity that is supposed to emerge out of the bringing of the sacrificial lamb.

Religious purity is a theme that underlies haredi education. While at one time purity may have had to do only with matters of ritual, today it has a broadened meaning that connotes shelter from the "abominations and impurities" of contemporary nonharedi culture. Parent-teacher organizations here were "committees for the purity of our camp."

Undoubtedly, the choice of Leviticus and its concerns with matters of purity is not only symbolic; there is also an element of intellectual discipline involved here as well. To review the complex regulations of sacrifices and priestly codes, to know what is pure and what defiled, requires a capacity to memorize and to think logically, for in the final analysis these laws, though based on certain enigmatic values, are relatively systematic.

Finally, there is another reason to begin with Leviticus. The stories in Genesis, when examined carefully as texts, are filled with awkward ambiguities, breaches of norm, and revolutionary models who are, ironically, not always appropriate for the young haredi who is in school to learn how to be restrained by the demands of his culture. Genesis is, after all, replete with accounts of intermarriage, incest, rebellion, murder, theft, family rivalries, unexplained tests of character, and a host of other matters that only the person who is already firmly rooted in his faith and way of life dares examine closely. As oral tales, these stories can be "translated and improved." But on a printed page they are far more striking. Young minds are better structured by the concreteness of Leviticus, however dull much of its narrative may be.

After the Bible comes the study of Mishna, the core text of the Talmud. Only later, in the upper grades, do the boys begin to study

the more complex and intricate logic of the Gemara, the talmudic elaborations of the Mishnah. But by then, they take for granted the notion that the study of books is their life. And at least for the scholars among them, enthusiasm comes from getting into ever-more-recondite texts and finding their meanings and significance. And perhaps most importantly they have been stamped with values and perspectives that allow them to overlook everything deviant. By then they have entered the domains of postfigurative culture.

Into the Classroom

"When one is faced with a society which is still alive and faithful to its traditions, the impact is so powerful that one is quite taken aback," Lévi-Strauss writes upon his encounter with the Bororo, deep in the Brazilian jungle.[7] For me, walking through the door and then watching from a corner as the man I will call Reb Moishe Palefsky took his fourth-grade class through its lessons engendered many of the same feelings. Even more than what I had witnessed in the gan, this room seemed to be the incarnation of the east European Jewish past I had seen only in photographs. At first, it was easy to forget that I was in Jerusalem in the late 1980s and to imagine that I was sitting in a Polish or Lithuanian cheder. The walls were quite bare, except for a poster in the rear that listed the biblical judges of Israel and the length of their reign. No more pretty pictures as in the kindergarten. The only review here was from the pages of a book. Thirty-five boys sat around worn tables on long benches that filled and framed the room. They leaned against each other. At the front center was the teacher and his large table. On each table there were open books side by side. Some boys held their fingers in them to mark a spot, others draped their arms across them. And the language of instruction was Yiddish.
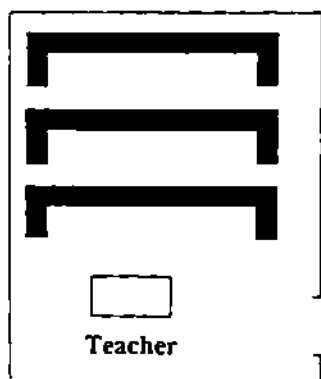
Teacher

This configuration was far from random. It was a smaller version of the arrangement in the main study hall of the yeshiva: long tables and benches facing a smaller teacher's table. In the structure of its space, fourth grade was a prefiguration of the years ahead. If they learned to be at home in this environment, they would feel familiar in a yeshiva ambience later on.

Along the back wall, piled on the corner of a shelf, were the boys' satchels, filled with books. On another nearby shelf on the right wall were prayer books, their bindings worn, their ragged pages disintegrating from continuing use. They had titles such as *The Old Vilna Prayer Book*, *The New Prayer Book for All Lips*, or *The New All-Inclusive Prayer Book*. Whatever else one could say about all these editions was that, old, new, or all-inclusive, the prayers in them were all the same and none of them contained benedictions for the State of Israel or its defense forces such as might be found in prayer books in nonharedi religious schools. Such invocations on behalf of the welfare of the secular Zionist state and all it symbolized had no place in a haredi school. They might bless the queen of England, the United States government, or other foreign powers, as they sometimes did in the exile—that, after all, was necessary if Jews wanted to remain in the good graces of Gentile protectorates. But to pray for the welfare of the Jewish heretics who set up the secular and sinful Israeli way of life was unnecessary—or so the established thinking in haredi circles went. Of course, the fact that they felt sufficiently secure here not to *have* to insert prayers for the well-being and support of the State of Israel suggested that they felt certain their fellow Jews—no matter how sacrilegious—would suffer their presence, even if, as Yisrael Eichler of the Belz believed, they did so grudgingly.

Along a third wall of the classroom was a line of dirty windows that looked out on the nondescript stone courtyard. These schools did not need views of Jerusalem beyond the courtyard; the world they wanted to see was visualized best by reading books and imagining other times.

A tall, rather gaunt man with a salt-and-pepper beard and wiry, tightly curled earlocks protruding from the side of his head like tiny antennae, Moishe Palefsky appeared to be in his sixties. He described himself as a Lithuanian *ben Torah*, a term used to distinguish haredim who were not hasidim. To him, teaching was an awesome religious responsibility: "Anyone who teaches Torah to one who is not worthy," he explained, quoting the Talmud, "tumbles into hell."[8] For eleven years he had taught the worthies here. Before that, for many years, he taught at the Torah v'Yirah schools, the system associated with the Neturei Karta. In reply to whether he saw many differences between

this school and the other, which I presumed to be far more extreme in its haredi character, he scratched his head through his large black skullcap, tilted it slightly, and, pulling on his beard, replied that there was only one difference he could think of: the color of the clothes the boys wore. At the Torah v'Yirah the dominant colors were black trousers and white shirts, whereas here the boys put on all sorts of colors. Did brighter colors reflect less piety, I asked? Perhaps, he answered, it might be a sign, but he was not certain how significant it was. At this age—seven to nine years old—the differences were nearly imperceptible.

Palefsky was a teacher caught up in his material more than in his students. More than he loved teaching, he loved learning. In action he reminded me at times of a concert pianist who plays mostly for himself and forgets all about the audience. For the already inspired in the audience, nothing is so engrossing, but for those not yet fully initiated, such a teacher or performer remains a distant presence. Perhaps he might have been better appreciated in a higher grade.

Palefsky seemed to know all the boys by name. At first, I thought he had the attention of only a minimum of them and addressed himself only to those, but he always surprised me (and them) when he turned to those who appeared inattentive and asked them a question. With gentle questions or an occasional pinch or slap, he managed to bring them toward the text from their orbits somewhere in outer space. He did manage to absorb a number of boys in his own enthusiasm.

Not that this class was a picture of cooperation and involvement— far from it. Much of the time it was rather more like a three-ring circus, always on the edge of chaos. While Moishe went on with his lesson, a series of questions and answers punctuated by recitation of the text, followed by a formalized explication of it in Yiddish, students at various tables went on simultaneously with their own activities of talking, hitting each other, pushing and pulling on their common desk, or imitating the movements of the teacher—often in bold mimicry.

One boy in particular imitated the teacher almost constantly, at times coming perilously close to getting caught but always managing to look involved just when the teacher turned toward him. This cat-and-mouse game absorbed many of the boys around him, who tittered with muffled excitement at the risk of the game. Occasionally, the teacher caught a boy either misbehaving or not listening. This would bring a rap of the rod or a box on the ears. Yet while corporal punishment was frequent—pinches on the ears were common—it did not seem to trouble any of the boys. They took it as part of the normal

routine. "One should love admonitions," wrote Rabbi Yoelish Teitelbaum, the rebbe of Satmar.' If they did not necessarily love admonitions, these boys were at the very least accustomed to them. Perhaps they took for granted that life consisted of outbursts for which there was swift and sure retribution.

Patterned Thinking

For all the fooling around, more often than not when Moishe called on a boy, even one who seemed to me to be totally detached from the proceedings, the boy—to my amazement—managed to come up with an answer or comment the teacher found satisfactory. Either the questions were too easy and obvious, or the answers—no matter what they were—were sufficient to satisfy the teacher (though my knowledge of the text belied both possibilities). There was a third possibility: these boys early on had learned patterned responses to the kinds of questions their teacher might ask. This capacity would epitomize haredi consciousness: a kind of consciousness that allowed one's mind to wander in the secure knowledge that it had a kind of ingrained capacity always to return to the straight and narrow, as if thought patterns as well as replies and responses were so ritualized that they were on a kind of automatic pilot. One might call this "patterned thinking," a mind set by cultural norms that went along prefigured lines of review and repetition.

For all their fooling around, by fourth grade these boys had already learned more Talmud than most other Jews would know in a lifetime. Not that they were scholars. But compared with the talmudic illiteracy of contemporary Jewry, these fourth-graders were masters. They were familiar with legal concepts and talmudic terms that few of their peers outside the haredi world were likely to know. They knew, for example, the length of the daily term of the Sanhedrin, the supreme rabbinical court, and when ripe wheat had to be eaten according to Jewish ritual law, the matter the Sanhedrin was considering in a case before it. They knew many of the laws that distinguish between commandments contingent to performance within the boundaries of Biblical Israel and those possible beyond those boundaries. They knew a variety of laws pertaining to service in the Holy Temple, destroyed more than two millennia before. They knew how to find parallels in scriptural texts based upon principles of exegesis set out in the Talmud. This knowledge, even in its rudimentary fourth-grade form, served as a way of separating them from secular Jews. "Chiloinim are boors," as one boy put it.

Moishe did more than just recite the words and review the laws with the boys; he bracketed the recitation with questions that required them to elaborate or explicate the Mishnah so that the principles emerged from it. It was a method aimed at getting them to learn not only the simple text (which they would have to learn by heart) but to embed the passages along with their patterned explanations into memory. Only when this last step was complete and the boys could reiterate the text along with the explication and discussion would the teacher move on to something else. That at least was what was supposed to happen.

The musicality of the process was striking. They would read text, sing explication, and then repeat it all over again. The rise-and-fall sounds of text and explanation had a kind of chant quality to it.

But while fifth-graders, as I would see later, did this smoothly, these boys, still new at it, had not yet perfectly learned the connections between the text and its explications. Postfiguratively, they knew where they should end up, but they could not always get there easily. To deal with these gaps in their knowledge, they would handle troublesome passages by slurring or swallowing their explications in the singsong that made up their recitations. The trick was just to get the cadences of the refrain right.

A few giggled when they met my eyes and saw that I noticed they were faking it. Absorbed in his own thoughts or else not wanting to examine his students too closely, their teacher seemed satisfied with the sound of things. Seeing this, some of the students settled into their chants. Occasionally, there were one or two who broke out of this chant by asking direct questions.

Although most of these boys spoke Hebrew at home and among themselves—something more and more of the young haredim, particularly those associated with the Lithuanian yeshiva world, were doing —Yiddish remained the predominant language here, unlike in the gan. Yiddish would separate them from other Israelis.

Learning to Pray

Teaching children how to pray is a central concern in traditional Jewish life. The Talmud and codes are filled with charges to initiate the young into worship.[10] Most haredi parents, whom their children commonly see at prayer, instruct their young in some liturgy as well as in basic blessings over food. Haredi neighborhoods are dotted with synagogues, and the day is often oriented around morning and evening trips to them so that children grow up with the sights and sounds of

prayer surrounding them. Nevertheless, increasingly, the actual task of training the young in the techniques and conscious practice of prayer goes on in the schools.

"The teacher must be present during the time of the pupils' prayers," decreed Rabbi Yoelish Teitelbaum, the Satmar rebbe, in a dictum that expresses the haredi stand on these matters. At the very least, "he must monitor them to hear their pronunciation to see that it does not become spoiled and to rehearse them in the [proper] order of the prayers." [11] But there is more. "One must be meticulous in seeing to it that children pray properly," writes Avraham Kahan of the Reb Arelach hasidim. Of late, this task has become more difficult. "In previous generations when people prayed with devotion, naturally this influenced their children so that they would also pray properly, and one did not have to monitor them so closely. But this is not true today *when, because of our many sins, prayer is among the things men trample upon.*" [12]

As Rabbi Kahan saw it, prayer had become routine and uninspired, lacking the driving devotion that all true worship must have. "Today, therefore, if we do not monitor the children, they will often not pray at all." Indeed, so devoid of feeling were many, even among the haredim, that "in many places when at the time of praying the children are not watched, practically none of them pray, except for a few of those who on their own tend towards the good. But most of the youngsters do not pray, and naturally when they mature they also often forgo prayer." The consequence of this was that they would never get used to praying. And then, "Heaven help us, this causes children to follow in the ways of the evil culture." [13]

Under such circumstances, teaching the young to pray is especially crucial. In third grade, the teacher I shall call Akiva Damsker was particularly concerned with these matters. As he inaugurated his students into worship, he began by chanting the prayers himself. Then he offered a commentary on their meaning, or some words of spiritual encouragement. Most of what he did, however, was to display devotion as he prayed: swaying, singing, and sometimes even clapping his hands together in a kind of ecstatic gesture.

At one level the boys seemed to pick up quickly what to do. From the open prayer books in front of them, they knew the right words to say; and watching him, they knew how to recite them. Some did this better than others. Pointing to several youngsters who, with screwed-up faces, eyes closed, bodies shaking back and forth, hands moving imploringly, and voices loudly intoning the words, seemed to put on especially notable shows of devotion, Akiva whispered to me, "They

have learned to imitate their fathers." These boys, I was told, had fathers eminent in the community for their piety; their demeanor reflected their parentage. Watching these peers would help the others.

But was this really prayer, or was it simply a display? Children, especially third- and fourth-graders, could hardly be expected to know about spirituality. But they could acquire the techniques of davenen, as haredim refer to prayer in Yiddish. Perhaps what I was witnessing was what could be called *imitatio fidei*, an emulation of fidelity to prayer more than actual and deeply felt worship?[14]

On the other hand, even if this was nothing more than a show, this was a show that most other children their age did not feel a need, or have any idea how, to put on. And so even if what I saw was less than full-blown prayer, it was still an exhibition particular to haredim. When other kids their age were trying to show how good they were at other things, these boys were trying to show they were caught up in the throes of praying to God—that was striking.

More than that, the particular davenen style they exhibited was haredi. It was characterized by an Ashkenazic, sometimes even a particularly Lithuanian, accenting of the words, echoing a sound associated with a Jewish past in eastern Europe, and an exuberant swaying characteristic of hasidim (even though this was a misnagdic school), along with faces meant to show they were imploring someone for help, blessing, and grace. All this was what haredim normally did when they prayed. But it was particularly impressive to see in a little child. Undoubtedly, haredi adults were as impressed with it as I was—which was probably why they put so much effort into getting their youngsters to pray. Put simply, a child at prayer could stimulate the adult to doing no less. So here again was a case of the little child leading them.

Learning Creeds

Although textual study in these grades was focused on Talmud and the codes, the teachers still spent time orally reviewing the biblical passages of the week. Where the emphasis in the gan had been on narrative—even when the concern was with law and practice—stress in the upper grades was put increasingly on the matter of creed.

Reading through the final chapters of the book of Numbers, the fifth grade reviewed the encounters between the Israelites and the tribes on the east bank of the Jordan River. Among these were the Moabites, whose refusal to allow the ancient Israelites to pass through their territory on their way to the Promised Land resulted, according

to the text and tradition, in an eternal enmity between Moab and Israel. Moabites were forever after to be considered *personae non gratae*, marked off by a divine prohibition on marrying them.

In the review of the verses, a boy asked a question: why, in order to cross into the Promised Land, did the Jews not just kill every last Moabite? Although ostensibly a query concerned only with the text, this question carried an undertone that anyone living in contemporary Israel could not fail to miss. Moab is in what is today the nearby Kingdom of Jordan, a nation in perpetual conflict with Israel. Today's Moabites are Arabs. That the Arab-Israeli conflict is part of haredi consciousness is already clear from what we have seen in the gan. Coupled with the general attitude of disdain for non-Jews, these children who asked why the Moabites were not all killed were also asking another question: why did our ancestors not solve for us the problem of an enemy who is still with us?

Was this an explicit and conscious element in the question? Did the children think about the Arabs beyond their neighborhood or about the hostilities that today infect much of Israeli life? Did they know where they were? One could not help suspecting that they did, that even in the midst of a consideration of an ancient biblical story, contemporary external realities intruded at some level. I would see the limits of this very soon when I examined their geographic consciousness, as I shall detail in the next chapter.

In his answer the teacher turned in another direction. Holding his students in the grip of traditional exegesis, he explained that had all Moabites been destroyed, then Ruth would not have been born and the entire chain of Jewish existence would have been broken. A Moabite who married Boaz the Israelite, Ruth became the great-grandmother of King David, the greatest of kings, forebear of the Messiah. The boys knew about Ruth. This conundrum of her Moabite origins was one of the puzzles for which traditional biblical interpreters offered a variety of explanations. Although only fifth-graders, the boys were already aware of the enigma. Here in class they were provided an explanation: the idea of divine providence. That idea suggested that hidden motives and implications lay beyond immediate realities. Providence was the religious dimension of postfigurative culture.

A fully developed sense of providence, however, requires the believer not only to know that there is a "divine plan"; it also calls for a shaped belief that places limits on itself. It means knowing what not to ask. This does not come naturally in the fifth grade. Another boy stood up and asked, "If God can do everything, why could he not allow Ruth's family to survive an Israelite attack on the Moabites?"— a tough, subtly heretical question.

"Yes, of course the Almighty could do anything He wanted. He could make a young girl come out of Moab. But a young girl needs a mother, and the mother needs a husband. And the husband has to make a living, and they have to have a house. And if they need a house, they need someone who will be a carpenter. And of course they will need someone who makes clothes, and so on." The teacher paused and gazed around the classroom to see if the boys looked convinced. "So you see for Ruth to be born, they needed a whole community of people, because no single person can exist alone. Only Adam could be alone, and even he needed a helpmate."

It was a message crafted to explain the complexity of a divine master plan; it was also a way of reminding the boys of another principle by which they lived: no single person can exist alone. All of us are part of a community. Watch out not to ask an outsider's question.

For these youngsters and their teacher Bible lessons were clearly far more than a literary foray into a text or a recitation of a narrative. They were pretexts for passing along values, tools for deflecting heresies, and, perhaps most importantly, means for helping give substance to what it meant to be a Jew in the world they inhabited.

VII

On Goodness in
High Schools

THE IMPERFECTIONS OF GOODNESS

The search for "good" schools is elusive and disappointing if by good-
ness we mean something close to perfection. These portraits of good
schools reveal imperfections, uncertainties, and vulnerabilities in each of
them. In fact, one could argue that a consciousness about imperfections,
and the willingness to admit them and search for their origins and solu-
tions is one of the important ingredients of goodness in schools.

This orientation towards imperfection was most vividly expressed in
Milton Academy, where the philosophical ideals of humanism invited
tough self-criticism, persistent complaints, and nagging disappointments.
Among students, faculty, and administrators there was a clear recogni-
tion of the unevenness and weaknesses of their school. Criticism was
legitimized, even encouraged. The stark visibility of the institutional vul-
nerabilities was related, I think, to a deeply rooted tolerance for conflict,
idealism, and to feelings of security. In trying to press toward idealistic
goals, there were always disappointments concerning the present reali-
ties. Headmaster Peih, for example, saw the strengths and vulnerabilities
of Milton as the "flip sides of the same coin." The individualistic orienta-
tion and collective authority of Milton offered opportunities for power,
autonomy, and initiative to students and teachers, but it also permitted
criticism and abuse from members who attacked the non-authoritarian,
decentralized structure. The "house of cards" was fragile and vulnerable

to those who did not believe in it or who sought to undo it, but allowed an openness and flexibility that would be impossible if the pyramid were firmly and rigidly glued together.

Not only did teachers, administrators, and students at Milton recognize imperfections and offer open criticisms, some even seemed to enjoy the lack of certainty, the impending chaos, and the "exaggerated" environment. More than tolerating the rough edges, they delighted in facing them openly and squarely. Certainly there was a range of tolerance for confronting imperfections at Milton. Some people seemed to welcome the "yeasty" exchanges while others grew impatient with the conflicts and confusion. But, in general, the school community saw goodness, frustration, and criticism as compatible responses. In fact, they believed that goodness was only possible if the imperfections were made visible and open for inspection.

Although less inviting of conflict than Milton, Brookline people also spoke of goodness as being inextricably linked with self-criticism. While recognizing their school's exemplary qualities, they also pointed to its vulnerabilities. For example, teachers often referred to the high-powered, achieving, largely upper middle-class students who inhabited the Honors courses and spoke proudly of their abilities. At the same time, most admitted the degrading, divisive qualities of ability grouping and the disproportionate numbers of lower-class and minority students in the bottom levels. Without defensiveness, Bob McCarthy, the headmaster, pointed to the "two totally separate schools" at Brookline—one an elite academy, the other a tough environment dominated by disaffected students turned off from learning. Facing the persistent inequalities and stark differences was a critical part of McCarthy's agenda. It required a clear articulation of the problem and a shift in images of goodness. "People used to say diversity was a weakness," he said firmly and optimistically. "Now we are saying diversity is a strength. This is an important shift in orientation for faculty, students, and the community." At Brookline, then, goodness was not only enmeshed with a recognition of imperfections, but it was also related to changing perceptions of what is good— shifting ideals of excellence.

Being less secure in its identity and less certain of its emerging strengths than Brookline or Milton, the George Washington Carver High School sought to create an invincible image, free of imperfections. The shiny, slick vision portrayed by Principal Hogans, displayed in the slide show, and enacted in the graduation ceremonies did not match the difficult and changing realities underneath. It was in the dissonance between image and reality, in the denial of the many visible signs of weakness,

that Carver was most vulnerable to defeat. Hogans, recognizing the need for motivation and inspiration of students and faculty, presented an idealized picture that he hoped would galvanize their energies. To the wider world, he offered overly optimistic and smooth images in order to shift long-entrenched public perceptions and inspire generous gifts. The focus on images, though understandable, drew attention away from the substance of education and the interior of the institution. In an attempt to portray goodness, the imperfections tended to be ignored, denied, or camouflaged. Hogans, who often talked about "selling the product" and "projecting the model," must have felt he could not afford to admit the weaknesses of Carver for fear of losing the momentum of change. Once having managed to "disturb the inertia," he did not want to risk being pulled back down into the mire. He had to keep moving outward and upward. Recognizing the vulnerabilities would have required contemplation, a deliberative process which might have undone all he had accomplished. At Carver, the denial of imperfections was a signal of vulnerability, just as the recognition of more subtle weaknesses at Milton was a sign of confidence and strength.

This more modest orientation towards goodness does not rest on absolute or discrete qualities of excellence and perfection, but on views of institutions that anticipate change, conflict, and imperfection. The search for good schools has often seemed to be marked by a standard much like the societal expectations attached to good mothers: enduring qualities of nurturance, kindness, stimulation, and stability. Inevitably, this search finds no winners. No mothers can match these idealized pictures and the vast majority must be labeled inadequate. But if one recognizes, as many scholars and lay people now do, that mothers (no matter how tender and talented) are uneven in their mothering, that their goodness has inevitable flaws, then one finds a great many more "good mothers." D. W. Winnicott, a British psychoanalyst, calls them "good enough" mothers— thus removing the absolutist standard and admitting human frailty and vulnerability as integral to worthiness.[1]

In many ways I believe that this more generous view should also apply to perceptions of schools. The search should be for "good enough" schools—not meant to imply minimal standards of talent and competence, but rather to suggest a view that welcomes change and anticipates imperfection. I would underscore, once again, that I am not arguing for lower standards or reduced quality. I am urging a definition of good schools that sees them whole, changing, and imperfect. It is in articulating and confronting each of these dimensions that one moves closer and closer to the institutional supports of good education.

but I am complaining about the subtle assumptions of weakness and wrongdoing that undergirds much of their work.

This responsible scholarship on schooling has been additionally fueled by the journalistic, muckraking accounts of writers who have made angry assaults on schools as oppressive, imprisoning environments. Most of these passionate attacks on schools appeared in the late sixties and early seventies and echoed the liberal rhetoric and radical chic of that period. Many of the charges of abuse, neglect, and incompetence leveled at teachers and administrators were warranted and needed to be disclosed to a large audience; but the attacks were also myopic and misinformed. They victimized people who were themselves caught in an impossibly unresponsive and uncaring system, who themselves felt victimized. But more important, the angry accounts lacked empathy and rarely searched for the origins of weakness and abuse. In *Death At An Early Age*, for example, Jonathan Kozol made headlines revealing the atrocities of a ghetto school in Boston. He spent a year teaching his young Black charges, moving from optimism and innocence to guarded realism and anger. After getting out of the cauldron and removing himself from the implications of guilt, he turned on his former colleagues and charged them with being empty, disenchanted, and stupid. The anger at the children's wasted youth and the assaults on the teachers' characters and spirit were fully justified. The arrogance and biting cynicism of Kozol, however, was dysfunctional and added fuel to the already smoldering school battles.[2]

The combined impact of the subtle negativisms of social science investigations and the flagrant attacks of muckrakers over the last few decades has produced a cultural attitude towards schools which assumes their inadequacies and denies evidence of goodness. This pessimism and cynicism has had a peculiarly American cast.[3] The persistent complaints seem to reflect a powerful combination of romanticism, nostalgia, and feelings of loss for a simpler time when values were clear; when children were well behaved; when family and schools agreed on educational values and priorities; when the themes of honor, respect, and loyalty directed human interaction. In comparison to this idealized retrospective view, the contemporary realities of school seem nothing short of catastrophic. David K. Cohen, in a powerful essay entitled "Loss As A Theme of Social Policy," talks about the ways in which our grief over a lost community frames our views of today's chaos.[4] We envision an idealized past of homogeneous and firmly entrenched values, and the contemporary conflict over competing moral systems appears threatening. We envision a time long ago when communities and neighborhoods were glued together by mutual exchange, deeply felt gratitude, and common interests, making today's transient city blocks and urban anonymity appear profoundly troublesome.[5]

However, the romanticism and idealization of the past is most vividly felt when we look back at schooling. Rural and small town images flood our minds; pictures of earnest, healthy children sitting dutifully in a spare classroom; big students attending to the small ones. The teacher, a revered and dedicated figure, lovingly and firmly dispenses knowledge, and the conscientious children, hungry for learning, respond thoughtfully to the teacher's bidding. These romantic pictures, that many Americans continue to refer to when they look at today's schools, produce feelings of great disappointment and disenchantment.

Today's high schools, in particular, seem farthest away from this idealized past. They appear grotesque in their permissiveness and impending chaos. The large, unruly adolescents appear threatening, and their swiftly changing, faddish preoccupations are baffling to their parents' conservative eyes. It is simply difficult for parents and the community to see them as "good." They are seen as scary and incomprehensible, or dull and boring. Rarely can adults look beyond their comparisons with idealized visions of a more simple and orderly world, beyond the mannerly high school scenes that they remember, beyond the often trivial swings of adolescent fashion and habit, to see the good inside the institutions adolescents inhabit.[6]

After years of doing research in schools for very young children, I recall these vague feelings of threat and disappointment when I began visiting high schools. I was struck by how physically large the students were, how I was sometimes confused about who was teacher and who was student. Boys with men's voices, bearded faces, and huge, bulky frames filled the hallways with their large movements. Girls, with their painted faces, pseudo-sophisticated styles, lady's gossip, and casual swagger seemed to be so different from the pleated skirts, bobby socks, and ponytails that I remembered from my high school days. At first I was shocked by the children in adult frames, afraid of their groupiness, and saw the lingering dangers just below the surface of tenuous order. As I became increasingly accustomed to their presence, their habits, their rituals, I began to see the vulnerabilities and uncertainties of adolescents, rather than be preoccupied with the symbols of maturity and power. In a strange way, I began to be reminded of my own adolescence and saw great similarities between my high school days and the contemporary scene. But before I could explore and document "the good" in these high schools, I had to move inside them, grow accustomed to today's scene,

and learn the difference between my own inhibitions and fears and the real warnings of danger. Perceptions of today's high schools, therefore, are plagued by romanticized remembrances of "the old days" and anxiety about the menacing stage of adolescence. Both of these responses tend to distort society's view of high schools and support the general tendency to view them as other than good.

PERMEABLE BOUNDARIES AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTROL

The standards by which schools define their goodness are derived from internal and external sources, from past and present realities, and from projected future goals. One is struck by how much more control private schools have over definitions and standards of goodness than their public school counterparts. In St. Paul's, for example, there is a sustained continuity of values and standards that is relatively detached from the mercurial changes in the wider society; it is a continuity that is internally defined. Surrounded by acres of magnificent woods and lakes and secluded in the hills of New Hampshire, it feels faraway from the harsh realities faced by most public secondary schools. The focus is inward and backward. Movement towards the future is guided by strong and deeply rooted historical precedents, ingrained habits, and practiced traditions. The precedents are fiercely defended by alumni who want the school to remain as they remember it, old and dedicated faculty who proudly carry the mantle of traditionalism, and the rector who sees the subtle interactions of historical certainty and adventurous approaches to the future. It is not that St. Paul's merely resists change and blindly defends traditionalism, but that it views history as a solid bedrock, an anchor in a shifting and turbulent sea.

In addition, St. Paul's faces changes with a clear consciousness and great control over the choices it creates. The changes are deliberate, calculated, and balanced against the enduring habits. Ten years ago, for example, St. Paul's became coeducational, a major change in the population and self-perception of the institution. Certainly, there are ample examples of lingering sexism. Women faculty are few and experience the subtle discrimination of tokenism. But one is more impressed with the thorough integration of boys and girls, the multiple leadership roles girls play in the life of the school, and the easy, comfortable relationships that

seem to develop between the sexes. Although the decision to become coeducational represented a critical and potentially disruptive change in school culture, the planning was carefully executed, the choice was self-imposed, and the negotiations were internally controlled.

Highland Park offers an example of a largely reactive institution with standards imposed from the outside. One is immediately aware of the school's permeable boundaries and sees the ways in which internal structures and goals reflect shifts in societal trends. The control of standards largely originates within the immediate community, which receives and interprets messages from the wider society. The waves of change reverberate within the school and administrators and faculty are often put in the position of trying to resist the shifts, negotiate a middle ground, or offer alternative views. The principal describes his role as largely reactive. Poised between the often opposed constituencies of parents and teachers, he acts as an interpreter and negotiator, and not as a visionary or initiating leader. He remarks sadly that the school is no longer at the moral center of the community; that it has become a "satellite" in the lives of students. The "real world" defines what is important and the school lags closely behind or it risks obsolescence.

The curriculum and academic structure of Highland Park, for example, have closely followed the trends of progressivism and liberalism that dominated social attitudes during the late 1960s and 1970s, and reverted back to the conservatism that resurfaced in the early 1980s. When feminist rhetoric was at its height, it was not uncommon to see boys in the home economics and interior design courses and many girls clamoring for courses in auto repair and industrial arts. Now the traditional sex-related patterns have been largely re-established and the increased competition, rigid status hierarchies, and return to subjects that will "pay off" echo the resurgence of conservative attitudes abroad in society. An old-timer on the Highland Park faculty, who has watched the shifting trends for almost three decades, refuses to become invested in the newest wrinkle. She wishes the school leadership would take a firmer, more conscious position on the school's intellectual goals and the moral values that guide them, and looks with sympathy at her younger colleagues who ride the waves of change not knowing where the tide will land.

Brookline, faced with many of the same shifts in standards and morality as Highland Park, has responded differently. Certainly it experiences similar societal reverberations within its walls, but it has also taken a more deliberate, initiating stance in relation to them. In the mid-to-late 1970s, the increased diversity of the student body caused factionalism, divisiveness, and eruptions of violence in the school. A counselor speaks

of these harsh encounters as distinct echoes of the racial strife in the wider Boston community. Under the new leadership of Bob McCarthy, school violence was no longer tolerated. First, McCarthy helped his teachers express their long-suppressed rage at the inappropriate student behavior; second, there were immediate and harsh punishments handed down to all of the aggressors; and third, the school began to look upon "the problem" of diversity as a rich resource. The battle against factionalism is not won. The shifts in consciousness are elusive and difficult to implant in community life. Everyone continues to speak of the stark divisions among racial and ethnic groups; but now those students who manage to move across the boundaries tend to be perceived as strong and unthreatened. There is a clear admiration for their risk taking and their versatility. The social worker who once saw the school as an echo of the inequalities and injustices of the community, now says it serves as an asylum for many; a place of safety from violence; a place to learn different patterns of behavior; a place to take risks.

Headmaster McCarthy's attempts at restructuring patterns of authority in Brookline High are also aimed at undoing behaviors and attitudes learned in the wider world and marking the distinctions between school and society. Adolescents are offered a piece of the power in exchange for responsible action. It is an uphill battle. Many students prefer a more passive, reactive role and resist the demands of responsibility and authority; others are suspicious of bargaining with any adult and do not trust McCarthy's rhetoric. But the school's efforts are conscious and deliberate, designed to counteract the cultural, ideological sweeps of contemporary society and make clear decisions about philosophical goals and moral codes.

In these three examples we see great variations in the ways in which boundaries are drawn between the school and the community. St. Paul's high standards, goals, and values are most protected from societal imperatives, most preciously guarded, and most thoroughly ingrained. They are chosen and defended. Highland Park mirrors the societal shifts, sometimes offering resistance but rarely initiating conscious counter plans. Brookline lies somewhere between these approaches to the outside world. Its walls are not impenetrable, but neither are they invisible. Brookline has permeable boundaries that provide intercourse with and separation from society. Attempts are made to defend the school from the severity of societal intrusions, define educational goals and standards through internal consensus, and build resilient intellectual and moral structures.

Kennedy High School resembles Brookline in its conscious and de-

liberate attempts to define boundaries between inside and out. Bob Mastruzzi recognizes the need to be knowledgeable about the social, economic, and cultural patterns of the surrounding community; the need to have a heightened visibility in the neighborhood; and the need to be a keen observer of and participant in the political networks of the borough, city, and state. His role as "community leader" is designed to assure Kennedy's survival in a skeptical, sometimes hostile, community. Without his devoted community work, Mastruzzi fears the school would face politically debilitating negativism from neighborhood forces. But Mastruzzi does not merely reach out and embrace the community, he also articulates the strong contrasts between neighborhood values and priorities and those that guide the school. It is not that he capitulates to community pressure. Rather, he sees his role as interpreter and negotiator of the dissonant strains that emerge in the school-community interface. Sometimes he must engage in calculated, but intense, battles where the differences flare into heated conflicts. He was ready and willing to fight when he believed the Marblehead residents in the nearby working-class neighborhood did not adhere to the negotiated settlement both parties had reached.

However, Mastruzzi's concern with defining workable boundaries is not limited to establishing relationships with the wider community. He is at least as preoccupied with negotiating the bureaucratic terrain of the New York City school system. There are layers of administrators and decision makers in the central office whose priorities and regulations affect the internal life of Kennedy. These external requirements are felt most vividly by the principal and assistant principals, who must find effective and legal adaptations of the prescribed law. Once again, Mastruzzi does not passively conform to the regulations of the "central authorities." He tries to balance the school's need for autonomy and the system's need for uniform standards. He distinguishes between the spirit and the letter of the law, sometimes ignoring the latter when the literal interpretation is a poor match for his school's needs. He also serves as a "buffer" against the persistent intrusions of the wider system in order to offer his faculty and staff the greatest possible freedom and initiative.[7]

Institutional control is a great deal easier for schools with abundant resources, non-public funding, and historical stability. It is not only that private schools tend to be more protected from societal trends, divergent community demands, and broader bureaucratic imperatives; they are also more likely to have the advantage of the material and psychological resources of certainty. In many ways, these six schools seem to exist in different worlds. The inequalities are dramatic, the societal injustices fla-

grant. One has feelings of moral outrage as one makes the transition from the lush, green 1,700 acres of St. Paul's to the dusty streets of the Carver Homes where the median income is less than $4,000 a year. How could we possibly expect a parity of educational standards between these pointedly different environments? Of course, St. Paul's enjoys more control, more precision, more subtlety. Of course, life at St. Paul's is smoother and more aesthetic.

Yet despite the extreme material contrasts, there are ways in which each institution searches for control and coherence. Gaining control seems to be linked to the development of a visible and explicit ideology. Without the buffers of land and wealth, Carver must fashion a strong ideological message. It is not a surprising message. Even with the newly contrived rhetoric of "interfacing" and "networking" used by Dr. Hogans, the ideological appeal is hauntingly similar to the messages given to many Carver student ancestors. Several generations ago, for example, Booker T. Washington, one of Hogans's heroes, spoke forcefully to young Black men and women about opportunities for advancement in a White man's world. He urged them to be mannerly, civilized, patient, and enduring; not rebellious, headstrong, or critical. They were told of the dangers of disruption and warned about acting "uppity" or arrogant. Although they were encouraged in their patience, these Black ancestors recognized the profound injustices, the doors that would be closed to them even if they behaved admirably. Industriousness was the only way to move ahead and ascend the ladders of status, but Black folks recognized that the system was ultimately rigged.

Carver's idelogical stance, enthusiastically articulated by Hogans, echoes these early admonitions—be good, be clean, be mannerly, and have a great deal of faith. Recognize the rigged race but run as hard as you can to win. School is the training ground for learning skills and civility, for learning to lose gracefully, and for trying again in the face of defeat. Education is the key to a strong sense of self-esteem, to personal and collective power. Hogans's rhetoric, old as the hills and steeped in cultural metaphors and allusions, strikes a responsive chord in the community and serves as a rallying cry for institution building. His ideological message is reinforced by the opportunities Hogans creates for the immediate gratification of success and profit and to the connections he reinforces between education and religion. When Carver students, in their gleaming white Explorer jackets, cross the railroad tracks and enter the places of money and power in downtown Atlanta, their eyes are open to new life possibilities. Hogans tells them their dreams can come true. The work programs at Carver provide the daily experiences of industry,

punctuality, and poise; and the immediate rewards that keep them involved in school.

The connections to church and religion, though less clearly etched, underscore the fervor attached to education by generations of powerless, illiterate people. The superintendent of Atlanta uses spiritual metaphors when he urges parents and students to join the "community of believers."[8] Carver faculty and administrators reinforce the religious messages and link them to themes of self-discipline, community building, and hard work at school. Hogans's rhetoric is culturally connected, clearly articulated, and visibly executed in student programs, assemblies, and reward ceremonies. The ideology is legible and energizing to school cohesion.

One sees a similar enthusiasm and ideological clarity at Milton Academy. Humanism and holistic medicine are broad labels that refer to a responsiveness to individual differences, to a diversity of talent, and to the integration of mind, body, and spirit in educational pursuits. Headmaster Pieh offers a subtle and complex message about providing a productive and nurturant ethos that will value individual needs; the registrar develops a hand-built schedule so that students can receive their first choices of courses, and teachers know the life stories and personal dilemmas of each of their students. Underneath the New England restraint of Milton, there is a muted passion for humanism. Students talk about the special quality of relationships it provides ("They want us to be more humane than human beings in the real world"), teachers worry over the boundaries between loving attention and indulgence, and the director of admissions offers it as the primary appeal of Milton, a distinct difference from the harsh, masculine qualities of Exeter. Although Carver and Milton preach different ideologies, what is important here is the rigorous commitment to a visible ideological perspective. It provides cohesion within the community and a measure of control against the oscillating intrusions from the larger society.

Highland Park lacks this clear and resounding ideological stance. The educational vision shifts with the times as Principal Benson and his teachers listen for the beat of change and seek to be adaptive. Although the superb record of college admissions provides institutional pride, it does not replace the need for a strong ideological vision. Rather than creating institutional cohesion, the quest for success engenders ha competition among students. The persistent complaints from many students that they feel lost and alone is in part a statement about the missing ideological roots. Without a common bond, without a clear purpose, the school fails to encompass them and does not take psychological hold their energies. The director of counselling at Highland Park obser

students reaching out to one another through a haze of drugs in order to reduce feelings of isolation and dislocation. Drugs are the great "leveler," providing a false sense of connection and lessening the nagging pain. A minority of students are spared the loneliness and only a few can articulate "the problem," but it is visible to the stranger who misses "the school spirit."

Ideological fervor is an important ingredient of utopian communities. Distant from the realities of the world and separated from societal institutions, these communities can sustain distinct value structures and reward systems. In his book *Asylums*, Erving Goffman makes a distinction between "total institutions" that do not allow for any intercourse with the outer world and organizations that require only a part of a person's time, energy, and commitment. In order to sustain themselves, however, all institutions must have what Goffman calls "encompassing tendencies" that wrap their members up in a web of identification and affiliation, that inspire loyalty.[9]

Schools must find way of inspiring devotion and loyalty in teachers and students, of marking the boundaries between inside and outside, of taking a psychological hold on their members. Some schools explicitly mark their territories and offer clear rules of delineation. Parochial schools, for instance, are more encompassing than public schools because they vigorously resist the intrusions of the outer world and frame their rituals and habits to purposefully contrast with the ordinary life of their students. Parents who choose to send their children to parochial schools support the values and ideological stance of the teachers and the clear separation between school life and community norms.[10] Quaker schools often mark the transition from outside to inside school by several minutes of silence and reflection at the beginning of the school day. After the noise, energy, and stress of getting to school, students must collect themselves and be still and silent. Those moments separate them from non-school life and prepare them to be encompassed by the school's culture.

Although I am not urging schools to become utopian communities or total institutions, I do believe that good schools balance the pulls of connection to community against the contrary forces of separation from it. Administrators at Kennedy vividly portray their roles as a "balancing act." They walk the treacherous "tightrope" between closed and open doors, between autonomy and symbiosis. Schools need to provide asylum for adolescents from the rugged demands of outside life at the same time that they must always be interactive with it. The interaction is essential. Without the connection to life beyond school, most students would find the school's rituals empty. It is this connection that motivates them.

For Carver students, it is a clear exchange. "I'll commit myself to school for the promise of a job ... otherwise forget it," says a junior who describes himself as "super-realistic." Milton Academy symbolizes the attempts at balance between separation and connection in its public relations material. The catalogue cover pictures the quiet, suburban campus with the city looming in the background. The director of admissions speaks enthusiastically about the meshing of utopian idealism and big-city realities. The day students arrive each morning and "bring the world with them." The seniors speak about the clash between the school's humanitarian spirit and the grueling requirements of college admissions. The protection and solace good schools offer may come from the precious abundance of land, wealth, and history, but they may also be partly approached through ideological clarity and a clear vision of institutional values.

FEMININE AND MASCULINE QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP

The people most responsible for defining the school's vision and articulating the ideological stance are the principals and headmasters of these schools. They are the voice, the mouthpiece of the institution, and it is their job to communicate with the various constituencies. Their personal image is inextricably linked to the public persona of the institution.

The literature on effective schools tends to agree on at least one point—that an essential ingredient of good schools is strong, consiste and inspired leadership.[11] The tone and culture of schools is said to be defined by the vision and purposeful action of the principal. He is said be the person who must inspire the commitment and energies of his faculty; the respect, if not the admiration of his students; and the trust of the parents. He sits on the boundaries between school and community must negotiate with the superintendent and school board; must prote teachers from external intrusions and harrasment; and must be the pub imagemaker and spokesman for the school.[12] In high schools the prin pals are disproportionately male, and the images and metaphors that spring to mind are stereotypically masculine. One thinks of the military, protecting the flanks, guarding the fortress, defining the territory. The posture is often seen as defensive, the style clear, rational, and focused.

One imagines the perfect principal will exhibit an economy of thought and action, impeccable judgment, and a balanced fairness. Decisions should not be obscured by prejudice or emotion. One rarely thinks about the principal as a person with needs for support, counsel, and nurturance. Somehow he stands alone, unencumbered by the normal human frailties. He is bigger than life.

The military image of steely objectivity, rationality, and erect posture intersects with another compelling prototype: principal as coach and former jock. Certainly, in every school system there have been ample examples of football coaches rising to prominence as popular male mentors, community heroes, and finally no-nonsense principals. The coach image offers a different set of male metaphors. Rather than emphasizing the impeccable judgment and cold rationality of the military man, the coach-principal is known for his brawn, masculine physicality, brute energy, and enthusiasm. He is expected to use the same powers of motivation and drive he used as a coach to inspire faculty and students; and his talents are likely to be focused on building team spirit, loyalty, and devotion. This charisma and force are often derived from his former stature as a sports figure in the community. Some people can even remember the old days when he was a tough young athlete with a lot of hustle and muscles gleaming with sweat. Few high school principals match this caricature, but the images of effective leaders are partly shaped by these exaggerated male images.

A third, softer image often associated with the role and person of the principal envisions him as father figure: benign, stern, and all-knowing. The father is seen as the great protector of his large and loyal family. He will offer guidance, security, and protection in exchange for unquestioned loyalty and approval. He will exude what Richard Sennett refers to as "paternalistic authority"—an authority which assumes the leader knows what is best for his followers. His wisdom, experience, and lofty status put him in a position high above petty turmoil; and his "children" will be spared from the harsh realities of the world if they submit fully, listen intently, and follow in line.[13]

In each of these dominant principal images, authority is centralized; power is hierarchically arranged with the principal poised at the top of a steep pyramid; the metaphors are strikingly masculine; and personal characteristics combine with institutional role to produce a bigger than life-size figure. And in each of these images the principal stands alone, without support and guidance from others. To admit the need for support or comfort would be to express weakness, softness, and femininity.

The military, jock, father caricatures of the principal reflect exagger-

ated, anachronistic perspectives on the role and the man. Yet the expectations and views of high school leaders continue to be influenced by the caricatures. When school leaders diverge too far from the ingrained images, their followers often feel threatened, distrustful, and unsafe. A deputy of Brookline's principal talked about the discomfort many faculty feel with Headmaster McCarthy's attempts to be an "ordinary person." They want him to express the superiority, infallibility, and distance of a classic headmaster. They worry about who is sailing the ship, navigating the course, and protecting them from disaster. In Milton, some reluctant faculty complain about the broad distribution of power. They accuse Headmaster Pieh of being afraid to make decisions, get frustrated with the inefficiency of collective action, and are wary of the masking of an enormous amount of informal power. The single complaint about Mastruzzi's inspired leadership at Kennedy is his persistent attempts to encourage broad-based participation among his staff. Mastruzzi recognizes the potential inefficiencies of collective decision making and is willing to endure them in exchange for the positive gains of building commitment within his faculty. Yet his admirers and critics alike tend to interpret these actions as weakness, his "one tragic flaw", his inability "to say no" and act decisively.[14]

In all of the schools I visited, the leaders, all male, did cast a long shadow and did match some of the stereotypic images of principals. They were all primarily responsible for defining the public image of the school, establishing relationships with parents, creating networks with the surrounding community, and inspiring the commitment of teachers. Beyond these duties, they defined their roles and relationships very differently, and exhibited dramatically contrasting styles. Their styles reflected their character, temperament, and individual inclinations as well as the demands and dynamics of the institution. Despite the great variations among them, perceptions of the six principals were partially shaped by the three caricatures discussed above. For example, Mastruzzi, former coach at De Witt Clinton High, felt a strong identification with his colleagues in Kennedy's physical education department, exuded a powerful physicality, and used a language laced with sports metaphors. One of his favorite pastimes was to stand at his office window proudly gazing down on the athletic fields below. He particularly liked to watch poor city kids learning sports like tennis and soccer, formerly the exclusive province of upper-class youngsters. There was a lot of "the coach" still left in Principal Mastruzzi.

Principal Hogans, with the brawn and toughness of an ex-football player and the dominating paternalism of a "Big Daddy," combined the

coach and father images. His constant references to "being part of the team," to "hustling hard," and to "benching" those who didn't play hard and tough were vividly reminiscent of the jock world in which he had risen into prominence. His regard of teachers as childlike and submissive matched the father-principal role. He would keep teachers in line through strict rules, firm regulations, and hard punishments. He would nourish them through their bellies (not their heads or hearts) by feeding them a good, southern-style breakfast every morning.

With great restraint and subtlety, the rector at St. Paul's also reinforced fatherly relationships with faculty and students. His image combined a benign, autocratic style that felt both protective and frightening to all of those below him. The vision of consummate poise and serenity seemed even loftier than most father-figures. Male rationality and precision marked his approach and made his cover almost impenetrable. The title "Rector" means "ruler" and his fatherly leadership had the qualities of distance and cool dominance that match the imperial stance. Many of the older faculty appreciated the protection and security of the classic father, while some of the younger faculty quietly resisted the childlike urges it encouraged. Feeling great respect for the calm and efficient leadership the rector provided, they wanted to break out of the suffocating restraints of his autocratic directives. Theirs was a position of great ambivalence—one that has distinct analogies in family life. They enjoyed the rector's clearly powerful position when it provided protection and solace, but when it felt limiting to their autonomy and adulthood, they quietly resented the inhibitions.

Principal Benson at Highland Park represented an imperfect example of leader as military man. Certainly his style was softer and he worked very hard at "keeping a low profile," but he did exude the polish, rationality, and steely toughness of a military leader and saw his role in territorial terms. That is, he sat on the uncomfortable boundaries between parents and teachers, acting as buffer, interpreter, and negotiator. He received commands from his superior, the superintendent, and he acted smoothly and decisively. The weariness that he spoke of seemed to stem from the endless demands of defining and defending territories, and his attempts at rationality in the face of passionate battles waged by parents on behalf of their children.

Although in the examples of Kennedy, Carver, St. Paul's, and Highland Park one sees evidence of the imprint of exaggerated masculine stereotypes, I am struck by how each of the four leaders has adapted the stereotype to match the setting and his needs. There is an uncanny match between personal temperament, leadership style, and school culture. For

example, the abundance and stability of St. Paul's permitted a subtle, cool leadership, almost understated in its character. Whereas the newly emerging, fast-building Carver High School required the visible charisma of Dr. Hogans—aggressive, undaunted, relentless—combining a profound commitment to Black youth and community and some measure of personal ambition. Both Hogans and Oates are visible leaders who cut clear figures, but part of their effectiveness lies in the adaptation and matching of leadership style and institutional life. One cannot imagine their changing places with one another. Hogans would be too brash and colorful for the restrained and cultured environment of St. Paul's and Bill Oates would be overwhelmed by the neediness and vulnerabilities of Carver. Each would feel uncomfortable and lost in the other's environment.

Looking at the match between institutional life and leadership style alters somewhat the view of dominance etched by the three caricatures of principal. Coach-principals are unlikely to take hold or wield power in a school that resists being molded into a team. Fatherly principals must be supported by teachers and students who are willing to respond with the impulses and associations of a big family. If we recognize that, in ord   ) be effective, leaders must pick up cues from institutional culture, the: e spotlight on power shifts. Leadership is never wholly unidirecti   -l, even when there is stark asymmetry of power between leaders and followers. There are always elements of interaction, even symbiosis, b?-tween the leaders and the organization. If the match is unworkable, i! the leader totally resists or ignores deeply ingrained institutional imperatives, then he will not be effective.

The three caricatures of principal are further altered by exami   g the leaders' perceptions of their own needs. The caricatures picture a man standing strong and alone without support or guidance from others, without the need for personal relationships or intimacy. However, the portraits reveal contrary patterns of self-perception even in the instances where the leaders more closely match the caricatures. Rather than standing alone, it appears that these principals and headmasters recognize the need for *intimacy* and support as essential ingredients of effective leadership. They seem to need an intimate colleague, one whom they trust implicitly, whom they turn to for advice and counsel, and from whom they welcome criticism. At St. Paul's, this intimate colleague seems to be the historical figure of Rector—the deeply ingrained traditions of the office that offer guidance and shape to Bill Oates's actions and decisions. He can look backward to well-established rituals and practices, to the imprint of time, for help in guiding him forward.

The principals of Highland Park, Kennedy, and Carver cannot count on the historical imprint. Carver looks towards the future, trying to bury the ugly past and all of its images of failure and low status. Each day offers promise and hope, but Hogans must be a pioneer who carves out new territory and shapes new relationships. Hogans braves the new terrain with Mr. James, the tall, slender, impeccable vice-principal. Through their walkie-talkies, they are wired together and immediately in touch with each other's moves and decisions. James's partnership serves Hogans in several critical ways. First, James mimics his boss's style, commitments, and ideological stance. He idolizes Hogans and wants to follow in his big footsteps. From James's mouth come proclamations and proposals that echo Hogans's words, and even his demanding, uncompromising stance duplicates the behavioral patterns of his hero. Not only does James reproduce Hogans, he also complements him and does the things that elude the heavy hand of the principal. Hogans provides the big picture, the grand plan, and James figures out the details. Hogans develops the vision and James takes care of the mundane, technical aspects. A third way in which James's partnership serves Hogans is that it allows for expression, spontaneity, and playfulness between them. After maintaining tough male fronts all day they can relax, tell stories, laugh, and rib one another behind the scenes; each knowing that their private selves will never be revealed by the other. The backstage behavior makes the daily public images possible. Hogans does not stand alone. His power is fueled by relationship rather than independence.

There are similar deep bonds between Principal Benson and Vice-Principal Peteccia at Highland Park. Only here, we find vivid contrasts in style, temperament, and areas of competence. For almost twenty years they have been loyal and affectionate partners. Benson is smooth and urbane, Peteccia rough and provincial. Benson focuses on school policies, curriculum development, and sustaining an institutional identity while Peteccia "works in the trenches," keeping the peace and fighting chaos. Each one views the other's job as essential but personally abhorrent or incompatible with his own temperamental inclinations. Neither would trade places with the other and neither could do without the other. At Kennedy High, Mastruzzi's relationship with his assistant principal, Arnold Herzog, resembles the Benson-Peteccia match. They, too, are opposites with complementary temperaments and skills. Not only do they express contrasting styles, but Herzog's identity as the "bad guy" allows Mastruzzi to shine as the "good guy." A perceptive observer recognizes the compelling dynamic of image making that works to produce effective leadership. "They complement each other completely . . . Bob could not

be seen as good if Arnie wasn't seen as bad." Once again, we find a professional marriage in a place where we might have assumed a solitary position. Once again, the relationship of intimacy and trust seems critical to the expression of strong and consistent leadership.

To some extent, the three caricatures of principal are reshaped and redefined by close scrutiny of leaders in action. These leaders seemed to require intimacy and support, not distant solitude.[15] The expression of their authority was shaped by the interaction of personal style and institutional culture. In reality, they are less stereotypically male than the caricatures drawn of them; and they reveal many tendencies more in keeping with the feminine principles of relationship—a sensitivity to the cultural forms already embedded in the institutions, a need for expression of feelings with trusted intimates, and authority partly shaped by a dependence on relationships.[16]

In Milton and Brookline, there are more conscious and vivid departures from the male caricatures of principal. The departures are framed in explicit, ideological terms and defined by the temperamental inclinations of their leaders. The original mandate of Milton Academy was to provide tender, loving care to the offspring of affluent families who had difficulty adapting to the tone and pedagogy of local public schools. The historical mandate has survived eight decades of institutional change and become thoroughly integrated into the ideological orientation of humanism. When an observer tries to probe the meanings that faculty and staff attach to themes of humanism, many will make contrasts with other private schools that exude maleness. Exeter is like a "boot camp," a "cold nest" compared to Milton, which seeks to respond to the individual needs of students and view them in all their myriad dimensions. Exeter will not tolerate students who do not measure up to the tough academic standards and military rigor, while Milton welcomes divergent student styles and is attentive to the interaction of psychosocial and intellectual dimensions. "It is a softer, more giving environment," says one male faculty member. In the contrasts with the male dimensions of competitive private schools, Milton's qualities are strikingly feminine in tone and perspective.

Not only is the school's culture shaped by the original mandate of tender, loving care, it is also sustained by the vital dialectic between the values and morality that have guided the girls' and boys' schools. The classic male tendencies of competition, hierarchy, and ambition are challenged by the traditional female qualities of nurturance and affiliation as faculty and administrators struggle with institutional integration. The clash of male and female cultures is palpable and provides much of the

institutional energy and impending divisiveness. Unlike many schools that have recently become coeducational, both the male and female roots of Milton were part of the original school and have taken a firm hold on the institution's values, norms, and rituals. Several faculty point to the few "powerful grande dames," the female veterans who have great influence on the life of the school. They are committed to the "utopian values" and "feminine principles" that were deeply etched in the girls' school and are influential advocates of those perspectives. In addition to their substantial political clout, they are revered teachers who have "educational power." In observing one of these grande dames at work, I witnessed the resourcefulness, excitement, and skill to which her peers referred as well as the maternal quality of her interactions with students.

The leadership of Milton's headmaster matches the dominant themes of the school. His style and educational ideals seem to be sympathetic to and reinforcing of the humanistic goals. It is Headmaster Pieh who describes "holistic medicine" as the appropriate metaphor for the values that frame institutional life. His talk is interspersed with the softer language of "ethos," "process," "personal space," "relationships." When I ask him about the most difficult challenge of his work as a headmaster, he describes the "personal struggle" of combining family commitments and work demands, the ways in which Milton business sometimes robs his wife and children of his time and "erodes the family's private space." The struggle to find a balance between the spheres of work and love seems to echo the contemporary challenge faced by most working women and an increasing number of working men who see themselves as central to family nurturance. The conscious recognition of the need for work and family integration and balance is a powerful message from an institutional leader, and is clearly divergent from the exaggerated masculinity of the principal caricatures.

Jerry Pieh commits himself even more deeply to female tendencies in his explicit views of authority and in his decisions about the priorities of his work. When I ask him to describe a "typical day," he offers a detailed review of the activities and duties that have consumed the day of our meeting. It is a day that begins at 6:00 A.M. with a three-mile run and ends at 11:00 P.M. after an evening meeting of a museum's board of directors on which he sits. It is a strenuous day of high visibility, rapid interactions, and abrupt changes of pace. What is striking to me, however, is how much of Pieh's time is devoted to motherly attention toward his staff. On the day of our lengthy conversation, he has seen one faculty member at 9:00 in the morning and another at 10:00. The first meeting

Pieh described as a "constructive, positive, building conversation" in which Pieh and the faculty member were talking about a way to expand the latter's job in order "to use more of his person." The second meeting was "a raw and difficult conversation with a faculty member in a state of real crisis." After the optimism of the 9:00 meeting, the 10:00 session demanded the sympathy, support, and clarity of Pieh, who finally had to ask the teacher to leave the school. Pieh estimates he spends one-third of his time on fund-raising, one-sixth on administrative routine, and half on what he describes as "people problems."[17] Fifty percent of his self-described duties require the maternal energies of nurturance, patience, and attention to emotion.

As he reflects on the priorities of his leadership, Pieh admits that his behavior is grounded more in stylistic, temperamental qualities than in an intentional philosophical stance. "Style first, then philosophy . . . I want to set a tone that is permeating the environment. . . . It is not so much a campaign or a clear philosophical view. I want my actions to speak." His clearest ideological statement focuses on his views of authority. He pointedly resists "paternalistic authority" and refuses to play the "Big Daddy" role. Such ultimate and narrow authority would not only be antithetical to his personal style but also undermine the humanistic orientation of Milton. Pieh makes explicit attempts at encouraging collective authority, group decision making, and a dispersion of power and responsibility. In broadening the circles of power, people are confronted with a decision-making system that is less efficient and less clearly defined, an authority structure which is less visible, and the potential for greater conflict and dispute among themselves. Many faculty resist the collective structure—its inefficiencies and ambiguities—and fight for the classic, pyramidal arrangements of power. But Pieh believes the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. With collective authority, there is a consonance between educational ideology and political process; there is an integration of leadership style and power negotiations; and there is the opportunity for Pieh to express both the female and male dimensions of his character. He may occasionally experience "the loneliness of making an unpopular decision," but it is unlikely that he will stand alone and above his colleagues and experience the extreme isolation of the caricatured principal.

At Brookline High, Headmaster McCarthy is even more outspoken on destroying the traditional, pyramidal arrangements of power. He says boldly, "They can take all the power for all I care," and he is trying to develop a school-wide structure that will give administrators, teachers,

staff, and students a way to participate in real decision making and experience the duality of power *and* responsibility. His enthusiasm and determination for changes in authority patterns are heightened by his wish to undo the exaggerated hierarchical structure of his predecessor, Mr. Lombardi. The former headmaster was a stereotype of the "Big Daddy"—autocratic, charismatic, uncompromising, and paternalistic. For many faculty, McCarthy's predecessor engendered feelings of protection and safety, and in most of them he inspired affection and gratitude. The great majority of faculty now recognize that his dominating and theatrical style could no longer withstand the complex and diverse problems the school faced. His simple, autocratic approach was too uncomplicated for the worldly realities that surfaced in the final years of his reign. In pioneering a new form of leadership, McCarthy was faced with powerful past images of a super-masculine predecessor and found it necessary to develop explicitly contrary patterns. Everyone noticed the difference as they described the "visible, definitive, and uncompromising" qualities of Lombardi and the "invisible, contemplative, and ambiguous" dimensions of McCarthy. His primary deputies, the housemasters, spoke of the male metaphors linked to their roles during Lombardi's reign ("We were his lieutenants"), and the transformations under McCarthy ("He wants us to give the job our personal imprint and take all the responsibility for running the houses").

What is interesting here is not merely the vivid contrasts in leadership and the transition from exaggerated masculine images to a more diverse and reflective style, but also the recognition on McCarthy's part that a more complicated institution demanded the integration of male and female tendencies. The increased diversity of the student population, the echoes of racial strife in the wider community, the shifting cultural values and norms, the conflicting messages from the various parent groups all combined to create an intensely complex scene—one that could not be deciphered or understood by any single person. The caricatures of principal were simply unworkable in this environment. In order to meet the difficult challenges, McCarthy recognized the need for multiple perspectives and dispersed responsibility. He also seemed to recognize the need for a style that was subtle, patient, and improvisational; one that would focus on building relationships as the bedrock of problem solution; one that centered on interactional processes as well as explicit goals. In essence McCarthy recognized that, in order to be effective, his leadership needed to encompass a heavy dose of feminine principles. Standing bravely and alone in glowing masculinity would assure his demise. Reaching out for guidance and support from colleagues, and spend-

ing time nurturing relationships that would complement his authority, would be more likely to lead towards a productive and responsive school setting.[16]

In all of these portraits of good schools, leadership is given a non-stereotyped definition. The three powerful caricatures of principals do not match these leaders in action. Certainly, we see evidence of the stereotyped imprint. Hogans exudes the raw masculinity of the coach and the paternalism of the father-principal. Mastruzzi cheers on the sidelines like a determined, enthusiastic coach. Oates seems comfortably positioned as an imperial father figure. Yet in all cases, the masculine images have been somewhat transformed and the arrangements of power have been adjusted. In the most compelling cases, the leaders have consciously sought to feminize their style and have been aware of the necessity of motherly interactions with colleagues and staff. In one case, the heightened male style seemed unresponsive to the new demands of the school culture and wider community; in another, it was antagonistic with long-held principles of educational ideology. But even in the schools where the leaders have not expressed a clearly articulated divergence from male caricatures, we find that the leaders express a need for partnership and nurturance. They do not want to go it alone. Part of the goodness of these schools, I think, has to do with the redefinition of leadership. In all cases, the caricatures are empty and misleading. The people and the context demand a reshaping of anachronistic patterns. The redefinition includes softer images that are based on nurturance given and received by the leader; based on relationships and affiliations as central dimensions of the exercise of power; and based on a subtle integration of personal qualities traditionally attached to male and female images.

TEACHER AUTONOMY AND ADULTHOOD

Just as the principals in these portraits are seen as more complex and less dominant than their caricatures, so too are teachers recognized as bolder and more forceful than their stereotypes would imply. In all six schools, I was struck by the centrality and dominance of teachers and by the careful attention given to their needs. To varying degrees, the teachers in these schools are recognized as the critical educational authorities; the ones who will guide the learning, growth, and development of students most

closely. Their intimacy with students and the immediacy of their involve-
ment with the substance of schooling puts them in a privileged and spe-
cial position. In addition, school leaders, who are more distant from the
daily interactions, must depend upon teachers as major interpreters of
student behavior and values. They are positioned at the core of educa-
tion. They give shape to what is taught, how it is taught, and in what
context it is transmitted. In turn, their behavior is most directly shaped by
the responses and initiations of students. Teachers experience the quality
and pace of human interaction and the shifts in mood and tempo during
class sessions. It is their closeness to students and their direct engagement
in the educational process that make teachers the primary adult actors in
schools and the critical shapers of institutional goodness.

The high regard for teachers and their work expressed in the six high
schools I visited marked them as different from a great many schools
where teachers are typically cast in low positions in the school's hierar-
chy, and not treated with respectful regard. In the worst schools, teachers
are demeaned and infantilized by administrators who view them as cus-
todians, guardians, or uninspired technicians. In less grotesque settings,
teachers are left alone with little adult interaction and minimal attention
is given to their needs for support, reward, and criticism.[19]

The careless or negligent attitudes towards teachers within a large
proportion of schools are reinforced by negative and distorted cultural
views of them. On the one hand, they are expected to be extraordinary
human beings with boundless energy, generosity, and commitment to
their pupils. Their work is supposed to consume their lives and they are
expected to be more dedicated than most mortals. These idealized images
of teachers are often interchangeable with expectations of the clergy; that
they be clean, pure, devoted, and otherworldly. On the other hand,
teachers are seen as lowly, uninspired, and boring people who are unfit
to do anything requiring talent and ingenuity. Lacking substance and
resourcefulness, they are relegated to teaching. Teachers usually recog-
nize that they do not match these extreme, opposing stereotypes, but
they often feel threatened and defensive about the molds into which they
are placed. These contrary cultural views, often held simultaneously, are
experienced by teachers who receive mixed and sharp messages from
parents and the community. In the same moment, they are idealized and
abused.[20] The cultural perceptions are shaped by passion. Parents feel
protective of and deeply identified with their children while their views
of professional caretakers are highly charged and often unrealistic.[21] Cer-
tainly, there are many teachers who are dull and stupid, even malicious,
and they deserve harsh criticism. But there are also competent and capa-

ble teachers whose work is subtly undermined by denigrating mess   s
from the wider community.

A central theme of the good schools I visited was the consis   t,
realistic messages given to teachers and the non-stereotyped view   if
them. Teachers were not expected to be superhuman, neither were th y
regarded as people of meager talent and low status. In some sense, the
schools sought to buffer the mixed societal perspectives by building an
intentional context that supported and rewarded teachers' work. Each
school developed different ways of expressing kind and consistent re-
gard. The theme of nurturance became a central metaphor.

The public schools, in particular, were faced with the difficult chal-
lenge of providing inspiration in a time of severe retrenchment. With
budget cut-backs, public school closings, and an exodus to private and
parochial schools, public schools faced the pressing problem of rejuve-
nating an unmoving teacher staff. Weary and uninspired tenured teach-
ers can drag a school down, and with no new blood there are few oppor-
tunities for the challenge and criticism that used to be voiced by
uncompromising and optimistic novice teachers.

Principal Benson, at Highland Park, described the static conditions
as the single most difficult dilemma that will be faced by his system in
the 1980s. Ten years ago, Benson remembers hiring thirty to forty new
teachers a year. Now he struggles to get rid of "deadwood," fills the rare
vacancy with two part-time teachers, and searches for innovative strate-
gies to encourage teacher growth and challenge. Now, more than ever,
Benson worries about providing an environment for teacher satisfaction
and renewal. In Highland Park, teachers seem to be nurtured by what
many refer to as "a sense of professionalism" that combines relatively
high status in the community, autonomy and respect, creature comforts,
and an association with a school of fine reputation. Every teacher I spoke
to expressed their appreciation for the many rewards Highland Park of-
fered and compared their good fortune to schools in neighboring towns
with equally affluent populations, but with a less respectful and benign
view of their teachers. First, Highland Park teachers were most thankful
for being recognized as intellectuals whose responsibility it was to define
and shape the curriculum. In concert with colleagues, teachers were ex-
pected to develop the intellectual substance of their courses and decide
on their appropriate sequencing in the student's career. There were few
directions sent down from above, and many teachers spoke of the rejuve-
nating quality of intellectual discovery that their autonomy permitted. In
the best cases, students could witness the teacher's intellectual adventure
and become a part of the improvisational effort.

Second, Highland Park teachers were given the freedom to express their own personal style in their work. Benson believed that staff homogeneity was deadly, so he encouraged individuality among teachers and permitted idiosyncrasies to flourish. Even those teachers whose style and behavior were somewhat controversial received his protection. He believed the nonconformist behavior added spice and vigor to the school, and he hoped the controversies engendered by stylistic conflict would disrupt the institutional inertia that he saw looming on the horizon.

The protection and benign regard teachers received from the administration were reinforced by the generally positive feedback faculty received from the community. Parents applauded their fine work, expressed most vividly in the statistics of college attendance rates and admissions into prestigious universities. When individual parents were disappointed by their child's school career, Benson sought to protect teachers from their harsh assaults. Teachers appreciated the safety of their position and they certainly enjoyed the warm glow of community approval. However, a few observed that protection and safety encouraged a subtly dangerous complacency among them.[22] Their professional and personal growth required a less secure environment with more structures designed for direct, piercing criticism.

Benson interpreted teacher nurturance, therefore, as providing autonomy, protection, and support for individuality among them. Similar themes were present at Brookline where teachers were regarded as intellectuals, where diversity among them was encouraged, and where they were asked to take a responsible role in the authority structure of the school. Only in Brookline was there an even stronger emphasis on teachers as "academics" and a great admiration for teaching as a craft. When teachers talked about their work, they would frequently refer to the intellectual puzzles they were trying to unravel or their search for the appropriate pedagogical strategies that would meet the diverse needs of students.

A teacher, applauded by her colleagues as one of the "stars" on the Brookline faculty, told me about the struggle she was having getting the students in her advanced writing class past their defensive, secretive posturing with one another. After trying various strategies to encourage spontaneity and expressiveness in their writing, she decided to read them a very personal letter she had written to three dear friends after the death of a fourth friend. The letter, composed in the middle of the night, was unguarded, revealing, and painful. The teacher hoped her own openness would inspire similar responses in her students. In deciding whether to use this personal piece as a pedagogical tool she struggled with herself,

tried to anticipate the possible repercussions, and reflected on her motives. Was she being overly seductive by revealing so much of her person? Could she tolerate making herself so vulnerable? Would her students abuse her intentions? Would it destroy the needed separations between teacher and students? In the end, at the last minute, the teacher decided against reading the letter in class. "My gut told me it wasn't right," she said with lingering ambivalence. What is important here is not the way she resolved this educational dilemma, but the intellectual and psychological journey this teacher traveled and her perceptions of herself as a resourceful and responsible actor. The school culture supported this teacher in her personal adventure by its generous appreciation of her ruminative, unorthodox style, and through the criticisms of a few close colleagues.[23]

With less clarity and force, I saw this resourcefulness in other Brookline teachers who were working hard on developing an innovative curriculum using primary historical documents; who were teaching interdisciplinary courses that sought to provide different angles on a single phenomenon; who were trying to teach complex ideas to students who were regarded as less academically capable. I also saw resourcefulness among Brookline teachers in their combined criticism and support of the school. Many expressed concern for issues beyond their immediate purview and traced the connections between larger cultural and institutional forces and life in their classrooms. One of the housemasters, a former English teacher, showed me a piece he had written for the *New York Times* Op Ed page. It was a sensitive, witty essay on the recent cultural and educational trends that he felt encouraged student conservatism and dimished the risk taking so crucial for inspired learning.

In Brookline, therefore, teachers are nurtured by the substance of their work, by their collective reputation as a spirited faculty, by colleague support and criticism, and by moving beyond the myopic view of classroom life to consider the larger institutional culture and its interaction with the wider community. They are encouraged in their autonomy, creativity, and excellence. "Star" teachers are bigger than life and offer models for their colleagues. Rather than the usual envy and competitiveness that often surfaces within teaching faculties, star teachers are applauded at Brookline.

In Milton Academy, teachers are also viewed as thinkers and pedagogues. Most have been trained in elite universities and a substantial proportion have advanced degrees from prestigious graduate schools. They exude a self confidence about their intellect that is rare among high school teachers. Within the faculty there are striking differences in teach-

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er style, an unusual concern for the philosophical issues that shape educational matters, and an expressed need for intellectual invigoration. cational matters, and an expressed need for intellectual invigoration. Here, too, the great teachers are given much acclaim. But in addition, at Milton, teachers are offered numerous opportunities for renewal and exchange through guest lectures, seminars, and workshops. This year, there was a monthly series on the personal and professional development of teachers given by veteran faculty who traced their own life histories. These faculty forums are enhanced by the general spirit of criticism and reflection at Milton. With the legitimation of conflict and criticism, faculty exchanges can move beyond polite encounters.

In somewhat different ways, Highland Park, Brookline, and Milton nurture teachers by offering them autonomy and support; by regarding them as thinkers; by providing opportunities for colleague exchange and criticism; and by offering an association with schools of fine reputation. The reputation protectively cloaks teachers and provides a measure of community good will and trust.

Carver High, in Atlanta, interprets teacher nurturance differently. In interesting ways, Dr. Hogans does the opposite of his principal peers, encouraging docility, discipline, and respect from his teachers. He begins by offering a very literal definition of nurturance. "I feed the faculty hot breakfast every morning . . . grits, eggs, bacon . . . the whole thing." In addition, he relieves them of the onerous responsibilities of hall patrol and keeps faculty meetings to a minimum. Rather than increasing teacher responsibility, he believes that teacher satisfaction will come with decreased institutional commitments.

Hogans makes much of the privileges and honor that teachers receive at Carver, but focuses most of his energies on creating conformity among them. He feels the rigorous discipline and control of teachers must follow the years of casual, irresponsible behavior permitted by the former administration. Quite literally, Hogans treats his faculty like he treats his students—emphasizing rules, directives, and discipline, and not tolerating deviations from standard procedures. He chafes at their less malleable responses. For Hogans, teachers must be directed from above, prodded into uniformity, and indulged through tangible rewards. Those who have witnessed the chaos of earlier years and lived through the transition in leadership at Carver are not all appreciative of Hogan's autocratic style. Many cringe at his uncompromising directives. But most faculty seem to recognize the protection and certainty that order brings and appreciate the positive image of their school that has begun to emerge.

The interpretations of nurturance in Highland Park, Brookline, and

Milton seem linked to views of teachers that support their adulthood. The power disparities between administrators and teachers are purposefully diminished, and their special role as educational authorities is emphasized. At Carver, teacher nourishment is interpreted as a paternalistic gesture. In exchange for their discipline and loyalty, teachers are given food, a slightly reduced work load, and an ordered environment in which to work. The power disparities between leader and followers are exaggerated, and teachers are sometimes made to feel like children.

Some Carver teachers feel that the enforced discipline is antagonistic to intellectual creativity and the development of inspired pedagogy. One teacher, a published poet and writer of short stories, quietly complained to me about the dulling effects of teacher "infantilization." When she first started teaching at Carver, she was initially enthusiastic about trying to find an integration between her writing and her teaching. Slowly, the oppressive culture began to erode her spirit of adventure and undermine her attempts at the integration of her worlds. The creative impulse simply could not survive the harsh and uncompromising structure. She and her students have managed to produce a small collection of poems and drawings, but she is dispirited and feels unsupported in her work.

To his credit, Hogans is aware that the substance of education has remained largely unaddressed at Carver. He knows that good educational practices will require more than a structured environment. But he does not seem fully aware of the debilitating effects of the enforced order on many teachers, nor does he recognize that educational sparks will only be lighted when there is heat in the intimate and complicated relationships between teachers and students.[24] Teachers must feel inspired and committed to educational goals in order to be in a position to light the fire in students. Finally, it seems to me that teachers are energized not by diminished responsibility, but through greater substantive participation in the structures and processes of education. They may feel gratitude at being relieved of the menial, custodial tasks that consume too much of their time, but that should not be confused with their wish for less real work. Teachers want to move towards central positions of educational responsibility. They want to feel part of something larger than themselves or their classrooms, and their participation must include substantive matters that make a difference to institutional life. Deprived of this wide angle on school culture, deprived of colleaguial interactions, teachers grow dull.[25]

At Kennedy, Mastruzzi recognizes the critical interaction between broad-based participation and teacher commitment to school life. He stresses the dynamic mutuality between responsibility and power, be-

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tween freedom and initiative. Within the heavy constraints of the board of education and teachers' union regulations, Mastruzzi and his deputies try to carve out space for the teachers' independent actions. They encourage teachers to express their intellectual creativity through developing age electives; and inspired faculty members are rewarded by "ego stroking" and generous praise. Not only does Mastruzzi encourage initiative among his teachers, he also gives them room to make mistakes. When they make great efforts and fumble, he is quick to be critical and discerning, but usually helps them try to diagnose the problem and encourages them to try again. One faculty member, who had "created a disaster" and was permitted a "second chance," referred to Mastruzzi's "forgiving" nature. "He's a generous man. He sees failure as an opportunity for change."

But the principal's bountiful patience and generosity are not merely gifts. They are part of an exchange; he expects something in return. Says one admirer, "He gives with his full heart," but he also expects a "fair exchange." Almost everyone I spoke to at Kennedy marveled at their inability to resist Mastruzzi's requests and claimed they had never worked so hard in all of their professional careers. Some have begun to understand the source of their renewed energy despite advancing age. "He never says 'no' to us, and he expects that we will never say 'no' to him." It is a dignified adult barter where both parties seem to recognize what they must relinquish in order to gain something more valuable. For many teachers, more work and increased responsibility buys them more power and autonomy. For Mastruzzi, less imperial control and more dispersion of power buys him increased faculty commitment and loyalty. Said a relatively new and young Kennedy teacher, "All the other signals (from the union and from the board of education) make me feel less than adult. Mastruzzi's signals honor my maturity."

St. Paul's teachers seemed poised between adulthood and childhood. In many respects, they receive the most elaborate rewards—stipends for university study, travel fellowships, generous sabbatical leaves, and invigorating visits from experts in their fields. They also receive great gain from being identified with an institution of high prestige. They feel like the chosen ones and that, in itself, provides important reinforcement. Despite the abundant rewards, the rhythm and structure of school life make enormous demands on their time, energy, and good will. The elements of St. Paul's that approach Goffman's prototype of a "total institution" also require boundless commitment from the faculty. In their myriad roles as surrogate parents, confidantes, teachers, coaches, and friends to students, they must be expansive, generous, and all-giving. In essence,

they must be super-adults. In the constant presence of students there are almost no opportunities for letting down their hair, letting go of their emotions, or expressing their weariness.

The totality of commitment is further amplified by St. Paul's isolation from the real world. The setting is idyllic *and* seductive. It gets harder and harder to leave. A teacher who frequently leaves St. Paul's to go to professional meetings in order not to "grow stale and empty," claims that there are some faculty members who have not traveled the ninety miles to Boston in fifteen years. The isolation, often self-imposed, encourages tendencies contrary to adulthood, qualities of dependence and parochialism. The dependent responses are reinforced by the faculty's place in the school's structure. The rector's unquestionable dominance and benign power underscores their relative powerlessness and reinforces the childlike impulses. Rarely do old faculty complain of combining these adult/child roles. The practices are so deeply ingrained that they do not feel them as contrary pulls. But newer faculty sometimes admit to the difficulties in balancing the themes of dependence and autonomy and shifting from childlike submission to mature authority in relation to students.

In all of these schools, therefore, teachers are seen as the central actors in the educational process. Their satisfaction is critical to the tone and smooth functioning of the school. Their nurturance is critical to the nurturance of students. Each school interprets teacher rewards differently, but all of them search for a balance between the expression of teacher autonomy, initiative, and adulthood on the one hand, and the requirements of conformity, discipline, and commitments to school life on the other. The balance schools are able to achieve reflects their leadership style, established authority structures, institutional ideology and priorities, and the particular collection of teachers—their competence, ambitions, vitality, and good will. It would be misleading to suggest that good schools automatically emerge when they effectively balance teacher autonomy and interdependence, reinforce teacher intellect and innovation, and offer opportunities for teacher participation in broad-based school structures. I believe all of these institutional qualities, in various proportions, support the work of teachers. Good schools are ultimately dependent on good teachers—smart and inspired people, people who have something to teach. Increasing the independence of a lazy and uninspired teacher will merely encourage greater malaise in him or her. Increasing the opportunities for real participation of irresponsible faculty would be an empty ritual. But increasing autonomy, reward, stimulation, and the adult regard of teachers who are generally competent, or even gifted, will enhance their effectiveness as pedagogues and critical mem-

bers of the school community. Highland Park, St. Paul's, Brookline, Kennedy, and Milton have more than their share of able teachers and fewer poor teachers than most schools their size. Carver is beginning to attract more confident teachers now that the school is gaining a better reputation. In addition, these schools have visible, charismatic teachers—"stars," "grande dames," "mensches"—who act as important catalysts for their peers and who serve as critical symbols of excellence. There is a chemistry of proportions—a few "duds," many able teachers, and a few stars. In order to achieve goodness, therefore, schools must collect mostly good teachers and treat them like chosen people.

THE FEARLESS AND EMPATHETIC REGARD OF STUDENTS

One reason to encourage adulthood and autonomy in high school teachers is so that they will be able to have mature and giving relationships with their adolescent charges. If teachers are infantilized, or if they feel caught between adult and child roles, then it will be difficult for them to establish consistent and unambiguous relationships with students. Adolescence is a time of great vulnerability and turbulence; and high school students need secure and mature attention from adults, a firm regard that offers consistent support, realism, and certainty.

One of the most striking qualities of these good schools is their consistent, unswerving attitudes towards students. The first impression is that teachers are not afraid of their students. Ordinary adults often seem frightened by adolescents, fearing both their power and their vulnerability. They are apprehensive about, and do not understand, the broad emotional sweeps that send adolescents from vitality and joy into deep moments of sadness, or the sweeps that swiftly carry them from childish impulses to mature adult behavior. It is hard to know whether the adult images of adolescents are superficial overlays of a vulnerable child or the beginning progression towards maturity. Adult fears of adolescents stem partially from not knowing them, or not even knowing how to get to know them. Adolescents seem to be our culture's greatest puzzle and uncertainty inspires fear.[26]

So a compelling dimension of good high schools is the fearless regard of adolescents. It is not that some teachers do not feel threatened by

eruptions of violence, or do not wisely protect themselves from physical assaults, but rather that most good high school teachers seem to be unafraid of these young people who tend to baffle and offend the rest of us.

The easy rapport between students and teachers is immediately apparent in public settings where large numbers of students tend to congregate in groups—in the cafeteria, outside the gym, on territorial steps and entrances to the school building. To the visitor, these crowds of adult-sized people can feel ominous. Teachers pass through them or around them without the need to avoid, intervene, or interact with the students. Sometimes they will offer a humorous comment, or prod the group to move out of the way of traffic, or try to talk to an individual student who has been eluding them for days. But as these teachers move through the crowds, they seem unself-conscious and mostly unafraid.

During the elections for Town Meeting representatives at Brookline High, five hundred students from of each of four houses packed into the school auditorium, student lounges, and cafeterias. None of the rooms could comfortably hold the volume of people. In the meeting I observed, bodies were pressed close with students on the floor, on chairs, on the tops of tables, on widow sills, everywhere. The situation seemed to invite chaos and disruption. Yet slowly, order descended on the room and the housemaster welcomed the assembled crowd. As students settled in, teachers were available but not dominant. They helped to direct people to empty spaces and strategically scattered themselves throughout the crowd, but in no way did they seem to be policing the room; their interactions were non-adversarial.

In Carver, I observed similar comfort and fearlessness among many teachers. I stood talking with a young Black male faculty member at the bottom of the stairwell. Suddenly a cacophonous sound echoed down the stairs, noises of students shrieking and bodies connecting. It was hard for us to tell if the cries were ones of desperation or excitement. The teacher and I chased up the stairs to locate the scene and heard the sounds of sneakers racing ahead of us and out of sight. We had lost them. A large grin covered the teacher's face, "And the beat goes on. . . . " he said, as he shrugged his shoulders. His expression had first registered alarm, then concern, and finally humor when he recognized the adolescent mischief. Judging the incident to be trivial, he felt no need to punish the youngsters or to catch them in their wrongdoing. His face seemed to say, "That's the way adolescents are—give them room."

The fearlessness of teachers is revealed in face-to-face, personal encounters as well. When an angry, distraught Highland Park senior lashed out at her favorite teacher with screams of rage, "This is the stupidest

course I've ever taken . . . real junk!" I was alarmed at her anger and worried that the outburst might spread among other students. The blond, attractive teacher, standing the same size as her student, met her without flinching, first with a question about the girl's motives, "Are you saying that because you haven't done the work?," then with an attempt to reach out to her, "Talk to me. If not today, then tomorrow." There are numerous examples of these charged personal encounters between teachers and students. They are scattered among the daily experiences of adults and adolescents in high schools. The teachers seem to be better able than most adults not to respond with fear or hurt, but with an attempt to understand. The Highland Park teacher did not experience the incident as a personal assault and she was not embarrassed by my witnessing the scene. By way of explanation she told me the family story of the girl, a tale of extreme parental pressure and manipulation. The teacher was determined not to reproduce the parent-daughter relationship in her encounters with the student.

What I am calling fearlessness in teachers should not be interpreted as careless abandon on their part. Neither is it an expression of naiveté or innocence. They feel appropriately threatened by real danger. I would not even argue that their fearlessness comes from a greater personal confidence and certainty in them. I think it reflects their intimate and deep knowledge of adolescence as a developmental period; their understanding of individual students; and the strong authority structures within which they work. I was constantly amazed by teachers' understanding, diagnosis, and quick interpretations of adolescent needs. The interpretations were rarely made explicit or clearly articulated. They seemed almost intuitive to the observer. But when I asked teachers why they had acted in a certain way or made a specific decision, they tended to have ready responses that recognized the adolescent view and perspective. Their decisions to act combined a sensitivity to the student's individual character and history and an understanding of the developmental tendencies associated with adolescence. The same behavior expressed by different students might receive very different reactions from the teacher. A mischievous act by one student might bring a smile to the face of the teacher while another student would receive a harsh reprimand for the same behavior. Attention to individual differences gets interpreted through an awareness of the range and character of adolescence.

One finds striking evidence of the teacher's familiarity with individual and group phenomena in the humor that passes between teachers and students, and in the ease with which they can move from serious to funny moments. It is in the humor that subtle understandings of adoles-

cents are expressed. The metaphors, illusions, and preoccupations of adolescents fuel the jokes that evoke laughter on all sides. The observer may miss the joke entirely, or may be made to feel like an outsider listening to a foreign language. But teachers, who know their students, usually know how to make them laugh and know how to respond to their attempts at humor.

At Milton Academy, I watched an English teacher show these elements of knowing as he struggled with his students to uncover the tangled plot of "Six Characters in Search of an Author." He gave guidance, not dominance, to the charged discussion. He pushed hard for clear thinking and careful analysis. When the students finally unlocked the plot's code, their serious and intense faces exploded into laughter. The teacher roared in glee as well. When he assigned parts for them to read, the play's characters intersected in interesting ways with the students' personalities, and the odd matches caused surprise and pleasure. The teacher knew his students, liked them, and felt their pain. He knew them as part of a "breed" of adolescents and could anticipate the range of possible developmental turns. He also knew each one—their families, their styles, and their dreams.

The deep understandings teachers display I refer to as "empathy"; the ability to place oneself in another's position and vicariously experience what he is feeling and thinking. The empathetic stance is a crucial ingredient of successful interactions between teachers and students. Empathy is not adversarial; it does not accentuate distinctions of power; and it seems to be an expression of fearlessness. By empathy I do not mean something sentimental and soft. As a matter of fact, the empathetic regard of students is often communicated through tough teacher criticism, admonitions, and even punishment.

Teacher fearlessness not only comes from deep understandings of students, it also derives from an institutional authority that supports their individual encounters with students. The most explicit and visible signs of strong institutional authority are seen in the schools' responses to violence and other disciplinary matters.[27] In all the schools I visited, there were clear codes of behavior and great attention paid to law and order. Acts of violence were quickly diluted and swiftly punished. In Carver, Hogans was primarily concerned with establishing a safe environment and making the strict rules visible and clear to students and teachers. After coming to Brookline, McCarthy's first administrative move was to express outrage at the frequent eruptions of violence; insist that parents come to witness student punishments; and develop a disciplinary committee that would respond immediately to acts of transgression. And in

Highland Park, Mr. Petaccia, the vice-principal in charge of discipline, became a legendary figure whose job it was "to keep the peace." Petaccia's rules were consistent, his punishments swift and impeccably fair, and he engendered both fear and admiration. Students and teachers were threatened by his power, but appreciated the feelings of order and safety he produced. Good schools are safe environments. Adults do not merely react to the random eruptions of violence, they seek to create a visible order that will help to prevent chaos. Said the Brookline principal, "I want the disciplinary committee to become like the judicial branch of government . . . with the same kind of stature, rationality, and philosophical stance."

Beyond the explicit disciplinary codes, therefore, the social organization of good schools is based on a clear authority[28]—what Yves Simon refers to as "the rightful use of power to create the means of coordination of action."[29] Not to be confused with authoritarianism, "authority" refers to the relationships and intercourse required to sustain a coherent institution. As authority becomes increasingly "legible" and dispersed, the opportunities for individual participation and responsibility increase.[30] Brookline provides a striking example of a leader and his colleagues who are attempting to reorder old hierarchies of power that appear unworkable and replace them with structures that encourage collective action and coordinated responsibility. This broad-based concern for how a school will function as a collective, and how authority will be expressed and interpreted, is more subtle than explicit behavioral codes, but just as important to goodness in schools. With clear and consistent authority relations, teachers feel supported in their individual efforts to build empathetic relationships with students. This bedrock of authority provides an institutional coherence that is often expressed in teacher fearlessness.

The six portraits in this book illustrate the countless ways in which administrators, teachers, and students combine to form a community. Both adults and adolescents seem to need to feel a part of a larger network of relationships and want to feel identified with and protected by a caring institution. A good school community is defined by clear authority and a vivid ideological stance. Both separate the school from the wider society, marking internal and external territories.

People are more likely to feel a sense of community in small institutions. The scale is important to members' feelings of belonging, visibility, and effectiveness. With a population of five hundred, students at St. Paul's seemed deeply committed to the school and identified with institutional goals and values. In Milton, larger by a couple of hundred, most students felt the encompassing power of the school's strong educational ideology. They could clearly articulate the tenuous balance between individual expression and collective responsibility, the subject of much public dialogue. In Highland Park and Brookline, both schools with more than 2,000 students, it was difficult for students to feel a sense of belonging and visibility. In both places, several students spoke of a faceless quality, and a disconnection with the school that many attributed to its size. "I don't know how to enter the circle. I'm always on the outside," said an attractive sophomore whose family had moved to town a year ago. A teacher who had been at Brookline for more than a decade complained, "I can walk through these halls all day and not see anyone I know."

In Kennedy High, almost two and a half times the size of Highland Park or Brookline, a visitor feels overwhelmed by the crowds and uneasy in the midst of the body crunch in the halls between class periods. Many students refer to the huge scale of the school, but usually follow immediately with a comment on how the size permits variety in course offerings, extra-curricular activities, and student groups. The feelings of anonymity seem to be diminished by the personal encounters in classrooms. Students claim that they are known by their teachers, even if the rest of the population is a blur. The teachers in turn seem to feel a special responsibility for keeping the connections alive beyond the walls of the classroom. In the halls, cordial greetings between teachers and students continue the dialogue begun in class; and when a student is misbehaving in the halls, the teacher who knows him is likely to intervene—her scope of responsibility extending beyond the classroom. "When I see her, I straighten up," says a boy with a mischievous smile. "She thinks I'm a good kid and I want her to keep on thinking I'm a good kid . . . not see me messing up."

Strong evidence of many students' feelings of belonging at Kennedy are reflected in the conversations they occasionally initiate with teachers and administrators about broad institutional concerns. Two junior girls approach Mastruzzi in the hall and politely inquire about the pending decision on who will be hired as the gymnastics coach. The girls have met some of the candidates and they want to express their preference for one of them. With earnestness and candor, they try to win Mastruzzi over to their position. "He's really the best. He's a great teacher and a great coach . . . and we would really rally behind him. Please, Mr. Mastruzzi, consider it . . . and get back to us." The principal promises to inquire of the A.P. of physical education, learn more about the various candidates, and return to the students with a progress report. Another example of

student concern for school matters: A boy enters the principal's office at the end of the day and finds Mastruzzi sitting in the outer office talking to some of his staff. "Mr. Mastruzzi," he says with urgency, "I thought of a great idea about how we can keep the halls clean—get some of those candy wrappers and stuff off the floor." Noting Mastruzzi's interest, he continues, "We could put a few big barrels on every floor . . . you know, so kids could drop their trash in them." The principal, who has told me of his frustration with the debris that students carelessly discard in the hallways, warmly thanks the boy for his suggestion and promises to "give it a try." The initiations of students seem to reflect their sense of belonging, their view that their individual actions make a difference to the life of the school, and their sense of being visible and accounted for.

The massive student body, however, does inhibit individual encounters and institutional responsiveness in some corners of the school, particularly in the places where students need focused, personal attention. Despite the heroic and gifted efforts of many counselors in the guidance office, for example, a caseload of 400 students prohibits the individual interactions needed for good academic planning and clinical work. The college counselling office, with one full-time faculty member and a couple of part-time people, cannot possibly do an adequate job of serving the needs of the 60 percent of the senior class that goes on to college each year. The office must rely on large meetings, bulletin board announcements, and Xeroxed handouts in order to dispense the critical information for college application procedures. "You feel invisible!" complains a disgusted senior who is fortunate enough to have knowledgeable, highly educated parents to whom he can turn for advice and counsel. "I'm totally lost," says a shy girl whose parents never finished high school and look to her college career as their great ambition. "I don't know where to begin."

Encompassing institutions must also be encompassable, and large schools need to find ways of creating smaller communities within them—places of attachment for subgroups of students. In Brookline, the house system has not been successful in building smaller communities among students. Although housemasters often become important sources of identification and leave their personal imprint on their houses, most students view houses as bureaucratic structures designed to accomplish administrative duties. They are not seen as homes or places of asylum. On the other hand, the alternative school within Brookline High ("The School Within a School") that chooses its one hundred students, feels very much like a community. "This feels more like home than home!" claims one enthusiastic junior. In SWS, students feel visible, even special,

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up in the cozy fourth-floor corner of the big building, and constantly refer to the contrary themes of the "Downstairs School" as a way of defining the boundaries of their own space.

In Highland Park, students search for pockets of safety in the small communities that surround charismatic teachers or special student activities. The staff of the newspaper and yearbook, with its own crowded and busy rooms, feel an esprit de corps that grows out of their collaborative work, sense of fraternity, and high status as a student organization. The devoted followers of the drama teacher also feel tightly and intimately bound together by their love for their guru and her craft. However, many students of Highland Park can't find a niche and feel excluded from the central life of the school. They yearn to belong to something that will take hold of them and demand their loyalty and affiliation. When people talk about "school spirit," I think they are referring to the combined elements of ideology, authority, and community that engender responses of loyalty, belonging, and responsibility in the membership.

A final way of judging institutional goodness for students is to observe the regard and treatment of the weakest members. In each of these portraits, we see a strong institutional concern for saving lost souls and helping students who are most vulnerable. In Highland Park, there is an elaborate system for monitoring the movements of all students and immediately tracking down those who are late, absent, or deviant. The broad scrutiny has yielded a daily attendance rate of 93 percent but it has also served as an effective way of spotting problems early. Those students who need help are quickly responded to with appropriate educational and psychological supports. The expert staff of counselors work closely with the faculty and builds networks with hospitals and psychotherapists in the wider community. In Brookline, there are similar efforts at coordinated, prophylactic measures. In addition, the counselling s is aided by three social workers who "work the underside of the scho and "have no fear." Their territories extend far beyond school boundaries as they go to bars, police stations, tenements, sports events, and court houses to retrieve students in trouble. One of the social workers is known for cruising the streets of Brookline on Saturday nights as he looks for his most fragile charges and hopes to save them from further destruction. "I'm eclectic," he says matter of factly. "I'll do anything that works."

In all of the other schools I visited, there are vivid examples of this care and concern for the weakest members. The care may be expressed by feats of mercy and love on the part of faculty and counselors. It may also be revealed in their recognition of the limits of their ability to help in defining the tenuous boundaries between a therapeutic and an educa-

tional community. But more than these acts of incredible love for the weak, I will remember the general attitudes of respect and good will towards all students in these good schools. In every case, adults interacted with adolescents in ways that underscored their strength and power. Occasionally I heard faculty voice words of discouragement, frustration, and even outrage to one another about difficulties they were having with students. But even the backstage conversations in the faculty rooms were not abusive of them. Teachers did not use students as targets of their own rage or projections of their own weaknesses. There must have been at least a few angry teachers who purposefully victimized students. But I either missed seeing them, or their negative behavior was muted by the critical regard of their peers. Good schools are places where students are seen as people worthy of respect.

STUDENT VALUES AND VIEWS

Good high schools provide safe and regulated environments for building student-teacher relationships. Rules and behavioral codes are the most explicit and visible symbols of order and structure, but the inhabitants' feelings of security also spring from an authority defined by relationships, by coordinated interactions among members. A strong sense of authority is reinforced by an explicit ideological vision, a clear articulation of the purposes and goals of education. Ideology, authority, and order combine to produce a coherent institution that supports human interaction and growth. These institutional frameworks and structures are critical for adolescents, whose uncertainty and vulnerability call for external boundary setting. In their abrupt shifts from childishness to maturity, they need settings that are rooted in tradition, that will give them clear signals of certainty and continuity.

The abrupt psychic transformations experienced by adolescents should not be interpreted as a reflection of their unorthodox and spontaneous natures. Quite the contrary. These cycles from adulthood to childhood occur against the backdrop of heightened conservatism. Adolescence is not a time of diminished inhibitions and greater risk-taking despite some behavior that seems to point to abandon and reckless release. It is a time of great uncertainty and conservatism, and the expres-

sion of the former seems to demand the inhibitions of the latter. Adolescents want clear structures that will order their periods of disorientation. They want visible rules that will keep them from hurting themselves and others. They want relationships with faculty that underscore the teachers' adulthood. In other words, students do not want adults to behave like peers or buddies. They want to be able to distinguish between their friends and their mentors. The need for underscoring differences in power, knowledge, and perspective between adults and adolescents in high schools does not mean that relationships between students and teachers cannot be intense and deep. It means that close relationships are rarely formed when adults assume the style of teenagers. Adolescents tend to distrust adult attempts at peer-like friendships. They want and need adults who will behave with maturity and confidence; who will define the traditions and standards of the institution; who will reach out to them, but not try to join their fragile and changing world.[31]

The students at Carver, for example, welcomed the structure and order imposed by Dr. Hogans. The soar in attendance rates partly reflected the students' comfort in the safe and conservative environment. Before Hogans, the disorder and institutional chaos invited student restlessness and violence and did not provide an environment in which adolescents could thrive. They stayed away from school in great numbers, perhaps not wanting to risk the dangers or not seeing a clear distinction between the violence in their community and the chaos school. The lack of distinction made school less appealing. The rigid and visible structures imposed by Hogans now sometimes feel inhibiting students. Many complain about pleasures that are denied in the strict environment. But the complaints are often interspersed with expressions of comfort and relief. It feels right that there are behaviors which are not allowed. It assures students that they will be protected, that people care, that adults perceive the world differently, that they are not more powerful than their teachers. These assurances of adult tradition and order inevitably inspire adolescent criticism, but they also appeal to the profound conservatism of students, who often recognize their own vulnerability. Said one worldly young woman of fourteen, a freshman at Carver, "Listen, I have to fend for myself on the streets. When I'm here [at school] I want to relax and let them take care of me." A perceptive young man put it another way. "The best teachers around here are the strictest ones. They act like grownups." For students, who in their other lives may have to take on adult roles prematurely, Carver becomes an asylum for expressing childlike impulses; for letting go of the brittle façade. It is also

a place that appeals to their conservative tendencies. Both in structure and in ideological stance, the school emphasizes the certainty of tradition and the promise of a future.

Yet even in more privileged environments, students express their conservatism and their wish for adult clarity and maturity. In Milton Academy, for instance, the faculty's humanistic stance sometimes felt dangerously close to permissiveness. Students enjoyed the individualized, caring attention of their teachers, but many worried when this individualization seemed to relax the clear institutional structures. When a student council leader flagrantly broke the rules by smoking marijuana in public and coming to meetings "high as a kite," the faculty's lenient and non-specific response offended and worried many students. Despite the boy's great popularity and charisma, his peers feared the flaunting of rules. In not quickly and decisively issuing punishment, some students thought the adults were not performing their mature and conservative function. Said one strong student critic, "The teachers' attempts to 'understand' were perverse. He was doing stuff that endangered the whole community and they should have hammered him down hard!" Often surprised at the faculty's "idealism," Milton students search for faculty definition of structure and regulation. The order is less clear in a humanistic environment and students sometimes ask for it to be made more visible. The sensitivity and caring of Milton's ideological stance appeal to adolescents who "want to be known as a person not a number," but the less rigid structures engender some feelings of threat and fear among them.

Adolescent conservatism is not only expressed in their wish to have ordered schools and clear distinctions between teacher and student roles; it is also seen in their "groupiness" and factionalism. Adolescence is a time of heightened affiliation and identification with peers, and the conservative choice usually points towards finding friends who mirror one's attributes and behaviors. In all the high schools I visited, I was struck by the rigid definition of student groups and their internal homogeneity. Of course, there were the expected divisions of race, class, ethnicity, and religion that separated students and shaped territories. But within each of these more obvious divisions, there were smaller groupings that reflected more refined similarities. Everyone at Brookline pointed to the cafeteria as the place to witness "the natural" groupings among students. The distinctions of Black, White, and Asian were visible markers of group identification. A more discerning eye could pick out the Irish Catholic kids from High Point, the working-class enclave in Brookline, and distinguish them from the upper middle-class Jewish students. In this case, the

divisions of religion, ethnicity, and class seemed to be more harshly drawn than the more obvious categories of race. But one had to sit and talk with students in the cafeteria, not merely observe seating patterns, in order to experience the depth of student conservatism and the important indicators of friendship choice.

Many students, for example, spoke of the divisions between the "indigenous" upper middle-class Brookline Blacks, and the "interlopers" from inner-city Boston. Social class was a powerful divider and close friendships between these groups were rare. Foreign-born Blacks from West Africa or South America also spoke about feeling excluded from the inner circle of Black-American cliques. There are also experiential dividers. Students point to the Black "jocks" and their similarity in dress and style to the White jocks. Their preoccupation with athletics becomes more powerful than racial affiliation. This group identification tends to be seasonal and shifts when football fades into basketball season. A different configuration emerges and many athletes may return to their old racial or ethnic groups in the off season.

A Brookline teacher, aware of the heightened factionalism among students, claims that SWS students (the School Within a School, the small alternative school within Brookline High) "are the most victimized of any group at the school." Their exclusion reflects both the envy and ridicule of their peers. Many "downstairs" students seem to be jealous of the special attentions, rituals, and territories reserved for SWS members and feel slightly threatened by the unorthodox character of their small environment. When SWS began twelve years ago, it tended to attract the "fringe element" and its students were quickly labeled the "freaks." Now there are great variations in habit and behavior among the SWS students, but they continue to be perceived as long-haired hippies. The point is that adolescents partly express their conservatism in safe choices of friends; that the choices are often based on categories of interest and style as well as connected to boundaries of race, class, and religion; and that old perceptions of groups can linger long after the membership of the group has shifted.

Of course, students are expressing more than conservatism in their choices of intimates. They are usually rehearsing long-established attitudes and values perpetuated by their families and reinforced over the years. Their choices echo the prejudice and bias of their parents. But these stereotypes usually appear in exaggerated form in high schools. In many cases, prejudice and conservatism combine to produce rigid factionalism, separations that appear vivid and powerful. In Highland Park, the divisions among the working class Italians and the upper middle-

class Jewish students reinforce their differences. Many people describe the defensiveness and physicality of the Italians who feel as if the school is not giving them "a fair shake," and the aggressiveness and sense of entitlement expressed by the Jews who feel as if their superior position is earned by their hard and persistent efforts. The group stereotyping reflects prejudice in the broader Highland Park community, but brought inside the school it is reinforced by adolescent conservatism and aggression and expressed in territoriality and occasional eruptions of violence.

There is an inevitable tension, therefore, in the adolescent conservatism and efforts towards diversity in high schools. One would, of course, expect intergroup frictions and strains within a community that was largely segregated by class and race. One would anticipate echoes of societal divisions within schools. However, it seems to me that the divisions are not merely expressed in high schools, but tend to be accentuated by adolescents who need to feel safely surrounded by like-minded, like-acting people with similar physical attributes. This conservatism and groupiness stands as a tough challenge for schools that are seeking to undo prejudicial views and discriminatory acts among their students. They must work extra hard to rearrange "natural" patterns and point out other dimensions that students might group themselves around. Brookline administrators and faculty recognize both the needed safety and asylum of tight groups, and the divisiveness and mutual distortions they engender. The new ideology of pluralism articulated by Headmaster Mc-Carthy tries to address the positive and negative faces of group formation. The ideology asserts the richness and strength of diversity. Diversity requires a rootedness in one's group and a reaching out beyond its borders. It means that the collective strength one gains from group affiliation can be used to fuel the building of new relationships. Like the articulation of most ideological visions, the behavior of people lags far behind, but shifts have been visible. Now divisions and fear among groups in Brookline High appear *less* exaggerated than in the broader community, and students who take the risk of reaching across boundaries tend to be admired by their peers rather than ostracized by them.

The group identification among students at Kennedy High did not have the qualities of rigidity and hostility that I observed in Highland Park and Brookline. Rather than seeing an exaggeration of factionalism when community perceptions were transported inside the school, I witnessed the opposite. As distinctly different groups arrived at Kennedy from West Harlem, Upper Manhattan, and various parts of Riverdale, I sensed an easing of the barriers derived from community affiliation. Certainly Blacks, Hispanics, working-class Irish, and upper middle-class Jews

tended to "hang out together" and form within-group friendships. But these alliances rarely degenerated into divisiveness or harsh confrontations between groups. Adults and adolescents offered any number of theories about the unusual calm that had settled over Kennedy. The most convincing analyses pointed to the workable proportions of racial and ethnic groups, the non-prejudicial behaviors of teachers, and the explicit "humanitarian" ideology voiced (and acted upon) by most adults. Since its opening ten years ago, the ratios of Blacks to Browns to Whites have remained relatively stable. With 40 percent Hispanic, 35 percent Black, and 23 percent White, no one group seems to fear the dominance of another. (The Asians, with 2 percent of the population, are a distinct minority. But their "quiet, unobtrusive, and studious manner and their group solidarity seem to protect them from the usual assaults of tokenism.") When students come together in classes, they rarely group themselves according to racial or ethnic categories, and teachers appear to be surprisingly fair about broadly and evenly distributing attention, criticism, and praise. This evenhandedness is reinforced by Mastruzzi's forceful stance, "I don't have a prejudiced bone in my body," and echoed by teachers who were attracted to Kennedy partly because of its heterogeneity. Many claim "a good teacher can teach anyone." Kennedy, therefore, is unusual in its relatively open and undefended interactions among student groups. Adolescents "hang together" with their "own kind" but seem to reach out to others without fear or inhibition.

Adolescents in high schools not only tend to seek comfort by close affiliation with selected peers, they also search out special adults with whom they form close relationships. The high school experience can be totally transformed by a vital relationship with a special adult. It can abruptly turn from being a foreign and ungiving environment to being one of enticement when a student connects with a special person. These relationships are best described as "magical matches," when chemistries coincide to produce a bond. A young Black girl at Milton told of a surprising match with her tough and critical history teacher. "He bugged me until I would talk and I knew he wanted to know *me*." Before their mutual discovery, she had felt adrift and alone at Milton, "But when my hate for him turned to trust," the school became a safe place. In every school I visited, several students spoke of developing these bonds that were highly individualized and mutual, and very different from the generalized affection of a kind and popular teacher. A lanky, awkward senior at Carver told me how it felt when, in his sophomore year, an English teacher described his writing as "poetic." "I couldn't believe what she was saying . . . so I asked her to say it again." Everyday he finds a way of

stopping by her room, even if it is just for a brief greeting. She traces him through the day, knows most of the details of his life, and gets "a rare pleasure" from their relationship.

Many fortunate students, therefore, seem to attach themselves to schools through a profound affection for an individual teacher. This charged and important relationship can transform the high school experience for a student and send him off in new directions. Beyond these intimate associations, students thrive in schools where adults behave in mature and confident ways and do not mimic the behaviors of their charges. Peer groups provide contrasting relationships of intimacy and dependence. They serve as powerful sources of judgment and criticism but also as places of refuge and solace. Good schools balance the pulls of peer group affiliation with adult perspectives on the world. Students seem to rely on adult maturity to balance the adolescent vulnerabilities. The attachments students create with one another and with the school's adults are partly a reflection of their heightened conservatism, their search for roots and structure in their fragile and shifting world.

Against this developmental backdrop of conservatism and vulnerability, teachers and students engage in educational exchanges. With all of the stark and visible psychological and social drama, it is sometimes difficult to discern intellectual matters. In high schools teachers, administrators, and students often seem to be preoccupied with apprehending "the culture" and tone of school, with creating and preserving a livable environment, with reducing the student factionalism. Even in good high schools where truancy, violence, and drug traffic may not be major threats, attention to the substance and processes of intellectual exchange do not seem to be in the forefront of most people's minds.

There are several explanations for this seeming neglect of academic substance. One is that the adults recognize, probably correctly, that the school culture is critical to adolescents' readiness to pursue curricular matters. Adolescents are perceptive, social animals with very sensitive antennae that pick up signs of threat and danger. Unless the school environment feels safe and secure, they will not be able to focus on matters of the mind. If teachers do not recognize the psychological and social distractions, the argument goes, they will never be able to guide the students towards the academic agenda.

A second reason for the seeming focus away from intellectual substance is that high schools always seem poised towards the future. There appears to be at least as much attention given to where students are headed as is to their present status. Teachers and students face outward, looking to the future rather than the present.[32] That external view encour-

ages a greater emphasis on positioning and competition for slots in society beyond school, for places in prestigious colleges, or for jobs in a tight and unyielding market. Poised towards the future, students are more likely to focus on getting there, and teachers become their reluctant (or enthusiastic) sponsors. This future orientation can be distracting to the mastering of educational dialogue in high schools.

A final source of distraction from intellectual matters in high schools lies in their multiple, often confused, purposes. The thickness of most high school catalogues points to their institutional ambiguity and competing agendas.[33] Oftentimes little thought is given to the values and substance that should provide the core of the curriculum. Instead, the courses expand in response to shifting cultural priorities and the special faddish interests of the inhabitants, producing a vast smorgasbord of offerings that rarely have a coherent base. The 188 pages of the Brookline catalogue, for example, are filled with over 500 course descriptions listed under 15 departments. Oldtimers on the faculty worry about the proliferation of courses and the thoughtless expansion of options. More, they observe, does not necessarily mean better.

At Kennedy, they discovered that less was better. In 1972, the school offered a wildly chaotic curriculum with course offerings that responded to the faddish and eclectic interests of students and faculty, but lacked intellectual substance and coherence. After enduring the fragmentation and turmoil produced by the seemingly endless choices, a few years later the course offerings were drastically reduced and academic rationales were developed for the inclusion of courses. Kennedy now has a highly structured curriculum with many requirements and few electives. The catalogue is substantially thinner and more easily decipherable by students.

The incoherence of the great array of courses in most high schools is reinforced by the various paths taken by students. Whether schools describe themselves as "tracked," "ability-grouped," "leveled," or "streamed," large public schools are often serving three or four quite separate groups who want different things from the school. The academic or Honors-track students want careful preparation for the intellectual demands of college. The vocational-track students hope to learn marketable skills that will translate into a job as soon as they leave high school. The middle range of students, with a less definable path, want respectable but untaxing courses that will assure entry into two-year colleges or modest four-year schools, as well as some experience with hands-on, reality-based job experiences. Responding to the wishes and needs of each group is extremely difficult, particularly since their interests are often in competition with one another.

Their different needs are accentuated by the persistent inequalities felt by students, particularly those on the bottom rungs. Typically, the fast-track academic students receive more than their share of glory and status in high schools. They tend to attract the attention of the most inspired and creative teachers, and their ambitious image shapes the external perceptions of the school. In Highland Park, for example, Italian parents complain that the best faculty teach the Honors courses full of bright Jewish students, that their children are rarely encouraged in the academic direction, and that the school culture gives subtle and explicit messages of exclusion to their offspring. Since the prosperous and ambitious image of the school is defined by its highly successful academic students and by the proportion going on to elite Eastern universities, the working-class Italian students not only feel unfairly treated, they also feel invisible.

One sees similar tensions in the emerging divisions between "vocational training" and "comprehensive education" at Carver High. Principal Hogans wants to broaden the horizons of Carver students, as well as elevate the pedestrian image of the school, by creating a broad-based curriculum. Historically, vocational education had been the singular mission of Carver and there was little ambivalence among the faculty about their role as job trainers. With twenty-four shops that include auto mechanics, horticulture, child care, and dry-cleaning, students were trained in specific skills by practitioners of the craft. Some of the shops produced confident and competent graduates, but they usually left Carver with little or no intellectual training and skills that might soon be unnecessary due to technological innovations. Critics also charged that the vocational training was vastly inefficient and wasteful of student energy. Skills that might be quickly learned in apprenticeship positions on actual work sites were practiced over periods of several months in school shops.

When Hogans arrived at Carver, he did not intend to get rid of the vocational shops or to denigrate the importance of manual skills. He often points to the essential and potentially lucrative work of carpenters and electricians and reminds listeners of teachers and social workers who are unemployed because of a shrinking job market. He also recognizes that the one solid attraction of Carver for students is the promise it offers for immediate skills and future jobs. But Hogans seems aware of the ways in which vocational students might be cheated by narrow training and short-sighted solutions, and many faculty are convinced that academic work must be emphasized even for students who see it as irrelevant to their lives.

To complicate things further, the academic side of Carver is embryonic, uncertain, and uneven. Not only is intellectual training resisted by many students, it also seems to be out of reach for many teachers who have not yet figured out how to teach academic subjects to "slow learners" who are "fighting you all the way." A biology teacher, admired by her colleagues as a strong teacher, faces the challenge with realism and optimism. A large and imposing woman dressed in a white lab coat, she cajoles, criticizes, pushes, and prods students to engage the material, always insisting upon civility, manners, and poise. When a boy becomes slightly belligerent because he has received a disappointing grade on a homework assignment, she is tough, "Darryl, you are wasting all of our time. How dare you drag us all down with you!" But later sympathetic: "I can understand your frustration. This is hard work." Through all of these attempts at maintaining an ordered environment, the focus is on biology. Concepts and definitions are introduced, explained, and practiced. However, few of her colleagues have the same patience and stamina. In many classes, academic lessons tend to get lost in the barrage of disciplinary exchanges, students quickly get turned-off, and faculty grow weary of trying to teach through the chaos.

The chaos is broader than individual disruptions between unruly students and stale or disheartened teachers. The chaos is partly defined by the myriad agendas to which Carver is trying to attend and by the adult uncertainty regarding their students' futures. Some perceptive faculty recognize the tensions between the historically defined vocational training and the more ambiguous, broader goals of a "comprehensive education." But few understand what the latter would entail in terms of actual rearrangements in the curricular structure and interactions with students. The old habits of perception and expectation are firmly embedded at Carver and it is difficult to foresee the institutional and personal changes that would be necessary to create a new school culture. Such institutional confusion arises out of attempts to embrace loftier but less clear goals and to replace choice and options for a singular path.

Although there are great differences in the levels of instruction and intellectual content among the various tracks at Kennedy High, there appears to be a universal concern for civility, order, and structure across all ability levels. Certainly, most teachers claim their preference for teaching bright and inspired students and voice some frustration about the slow and laborious pace required in the remedial courses. But I saw no diminution of effort on the teachers' part and certainly no explicit hostility or disdain for the less capable students.

Beyond the emphasis on civility and form at all levels, at Kennedy there is an ideological commitment that tends to encompass all students rather than exclude or enhance certain groups. The image and reputation

of the school does not seem to rest on the high-achieving, academic stars, although people are proud of their accomplishments. There is, instead, a broadly expressed concern for producing good "human beings," people who will grow up to be "good parents and neighbors." Everyone, no matter what their I.Q., is considered a promising candidate for good citizenship. Mastruzzi is outspoken on the issue of charity, learning to give generously to others, reaching out to others in greater need. Each year his address to the graduating seniors revolves around this point and he reiterates the theme in his everyday expectations of student behavior. To some extent, the ideology of charity imbues the daily encounters of teachers and students and begins to erode the barriers between the privileged and less privileged, between the intellectually talented and those less academically capable. "Kennedy doesn't undo social class distinctions," claims a proud teacher, "but it does challenge the social pyramid."

Private schools, rarely faced with a diverse range of students or the often conflicting demands of parent and community groups, are better able to focus on academic and curricular matters. Private schools are likely to choose relatively homogeneous student populations to whom they can successfully offer a streamlined, focused curriculum. The vast majority of students come from backgrounds of affluence and privilege, and their high school careers usually follow several years of superior preparatory training in elementary school. In most private schools, diversity is limited to token groups of working-class and minority students, but the proportions remain small enough so that the homogeneous culture is largely unchallenged. It is expected that the unusual students, not the curriculum or pedagogy, will have to be transformed. Said one Black girl at St. Paul's, "We have to do all of the stretching and changing. They will always remain the same whether we're here or not."

The private school's mandate from parents is vividly clear. The talented faculty and school reputation are supposed to combine to produce impressive college entrance statistics. When parents visit the admission office with prospective freshmen, they want to be assured that their child will have a good chance of entering Harvard, Yale, or Princeton in four years. The college counselors are rarely judged by their success in deftly guiding students through the admissions hurdles or coming up with subtle and unusual matches between a particular student and an appropriate college; rather, they are evaluated on the basis of the proportion of graduates admitted to prestigious colleges and universities. This singular focus permits private schools to concentrate on building a circumscribed and coherent curriculum. Milton's catalogue, with thirty-six pages describing the curriculum, looks thin compared to its public school counterparts. For each department listed, the course offerings are preceded by a faculty statement about the goals of their curriculum. The statements combine intellectual rationale with philosophical ideals and reflect faculty conversation and consensus.

Paradoxically, the more serious attention given to the curriculums in many private schools invites a more playful educational atmosphere. By playful I do not mean frivolous or trivial. I mean that educational exchanges tend to be more spontaneous and less bound by functionalism, that teachers and students are able to attend to the present without constant reference to the future. I mean playful in the sense of students being encouraged to play with ideas, turn them on their sides, consider them from several angles. Teachers and students, engaged in an exciting intellectual adventure, can suspend time and live fully in the existential present without considering the immediate relevance of what they are learning. They can pause long enough to consider the logic and aesthetics of an argument; they can be captured by the pursuit of truth rather than focus exclusively on searching for the right answer. Certainly, such intellectual play is both rare and fleeting in any environment. It requires a creative and challenging teacher, a trusting and relaxed relationship among students, and a direct engagement with the material. Play is unlikely to occur in a highly competitive or combative environment because it requires the collaboration and elaboration of ideas, one building upon the other. Play is unlikely to occur in a classroom where teachers are dominant and powerful and students passive and accommodating. And play is unlikely to be found in schools where students are worried about their own survival. It requires abundance, certainty, and the assurance of a future.

I saw examples of intellectual play among teachers and students in most of the schools I visited, but it was a more common genre in the prestigious private schools. At St. Paul's, I recall a senior course in human personality where the teachers and students engaged in a searching dialogue about the impact of Freudian theory on Western views of the individual psyche. The teacher, with a furrowed brow and a halting voice, struggled with students to clarify the shifts in psychological theory. He refused to bring premature closure to the discussion or provide facile answers to difficult and complex problems. He looked for good and interesting questions rather than right answers. His last words to students before the close of class: "The struggle—I'm happy in it!" I recall vivid playfulness in a course in English literature at Milton Academy. The teacher led fourteen sophomores gathered around an oval table through

an adventurous discussion about the cultural purposes of early ballads. She probed their fantasies of "primitive" culture, explored the power of repetition in language, and led them in a choral reading of a classic ballad. There were moments of serious and critical exchange followed by eruptions of laughter and release. When the bell sounded to end the class period, the students were shocked back into the present. For fifty minutes, they had been in a time capsule.

Of course, we would expect more opportunities for intellectual play at places like Milton and St. Paul's. First, these schools tend to attract more than their share of confident and inspired teachers. Second, the relatively homogeneous student body consists of adolescents who feel confident of their place in society's future. They do not know the specific path they will take, neither are they absolutely certain that they will be admitted to the college of their choice. Yet their affluence and family status assures them of a solid place in a projected future. These assurances permit them to attend to the present, protect them from premature adulthood, and encourage the playful dimensions of education.

By contrast, students at Carver have none of the assurances of Milton students. All around them they see destruction and poverty and few examples of people who have been able to climb out of the mire. They are aware of the stacked deck, the rigged race, and the discriminatory institutions that will inhibit their movement upward. Without promises in the future or abundance in their present, Carver students become preoccupied with defining the future and want to see visible signs of connection between school work and job openings. For many, high school will be their final school experience; therefore, they must prove their adequacy and fight for position before they leave. A large group of students, deciding that the chances are too slim and the prizes too few, have opted out a long time ago and seem to be marking time in high school. They are without hope or energy. They are what one teacher described as "dead weight." But for those with lingering hope, school becomes the functional link to a better life. These students, who view school as a vehicle for mobility, tend to count on its utilitarian role and want teachers to provide the necessary skills. "I have no time to play!" exclaimed a determined junior girl. "My mom would kill me if I messed up. This is my chance to make it!" By play, she was meaning "the messing around" that gets you in trouble and distracts you from your studies. However, it is also true that her gritty pursuit allowed no room for intellectual play.

In more affluent communities we see some of the same narrowly focused and uninspired paths to student achievement. In Highland Park, for example, the great majority of students come from privileged back-

grounds. More than 85 percent of the graduating seniors continue on to further education after graduation from high school and their school prides itself on being able to successfully compete with fancy private academies on most standards of excellence. Despite the community's abundance and the students' bright futures, the primary complaint of administrators and teachers points to the brutal competition and stress within the student body—the kind of striving and anxiety that makes intellectual play very rare. Teachers who try to get students to be adventurous and uninhibited in their exchange of ideas feel stifled by the competitive atmosphere, and blame parents for creating the debilitating tension. Complains one teacher who is constantly frustrated by the competitive tone, "If we could take the students way from their parents, they might find the pure joys of education . . . but as long as the parents need to gain status through their kid's achievements, education will be brutal and boring." The drama teacher at Highland Park creates an asylum for students; a place of refuge from the large, competitive school; a place she calls "the magic space filled with all our ghosts." She reinforces and rewards values that are explicitly counter to community themes, and rails against the town's "materialism and subtle violence." Drama provides the vehicle for spontaneity and expression, a direct contrast to the calculating ambition of the outside world.

Even though Carver and Highland Park students are headed towards very different futures and are surrounded by strikingly contrasting life styles, they are similar in that their preoccupation with the future beyond school distracts them from intellectual adventures in the present. In both cases, the perspectives of parents work against educational exploration. Poor parents are likely to warn their children to be good, mannerly, and submissive—admonitions that realistically respond to the institutional constraints they will face. The upwardly striving parents of Highland Park are likely to compel their offspring to be aggressively ambitious and cautious. In both cases, the educational exchanges get distorted and rigidified. These are not surprising or dysfunctional behaviors, but they tend to limit the scope of dialogue between teachers and students, making school less adventurous and fun. There are persistent complaints from students that school is no fun. In the town of Highland Park, the graffiti on the railroad viaduct reflects even greater doom. "This town is no fun anymore," it says in big sprawling letters.

In Brookline, a school with a more diverse student population, the various perspectives on school work are vividly apparent. By and large, the divisions among racial and social class groups are reinforced by the school's grouping practices. The working-class Black students who travel

from Boston are disproportionately represented in the lowest rungs and the upper middle-class Jewish students dominate the Honors and Advanced Placement courses. Despite the fact that movement among the levels is possible, it is not common practice and the slight shifts occur across close boundaries. A bright student who is feeling overwhelmed by Advanced Placement biology may transfer to the Honors section after consultation with her counselor and approval of her parents. But rarely do students take the giant leap from Basics to Honors history, for example. Occasionally a Black student appears in Honors physics or a working-class Irish student is found in an advanced writing class, but their appearances are very unusual.

Basic level courses look very different from Honors courses not only in the skin color and origins of their inhabitants, but also in the students' orientation towards intellectual work.

In a writers workshop for Basic level students, an inspired teacher recognizes the very limited skill of her students, but strives to engage them in an intellectual adventure. She resists their laziness and complaints and urges them to find out what they think.

On beautiful signs with elegant calligraphy, she projects the message of intellectual play. A purple and magenta sign hangs over the blackboard, "Write what you know about, care about, and can communicate." Another poster, in turquoise and green, suggests, "When you write, don't put a tuxedo on your brain." The first ten minutes of each class are devoted to journal writing. Students can write whatever they want, but it must be their own work. Over the course of the year, journal entries tend to become more personal and less guarded; and it becomes less difficult for students to sit still, focus their attention, and enjoy the ritual of writing.

On the morning I visit, the topic for the day also reinforces intellectual exploration. The teacher hands out a paper with three questions printed on it, and says, "Would you write your opinion on each of those questions. Do not state facts, offer opinions." After several minutes of writing, each question is discussed out loud. The exchanges often seem aimless and chaotic, but the teacher insists that they not give up. "Don't wait for someone else to think. Think it yourself," she exclaims when they grow lazy or fearful of exposing their inadequacies. Out of a very confused discussion, the teacher discovers order. She underscores three reasons why they have had trouble offering an opinion on the second question ("Why are there so many divorces?"). First, they have not had firsthand experience; second, it is difficult to know what other people are really feeling; and third, there are too many variables to be able to pinpoint the cause. The homework assignment for the next day is to "Rewrite the question so it is answerable."

I am exhausted by just watching the stamina and perseverance of this teacher and surprised when she says to me brightly, "I think that went well . . . better than it does a lot of the time." My look of puzzlement inspires further explanation from her. "You see, this is the lowest class, the lowest of the low . . . and if I see any shimmering signs of thinking, I view that as progress." Although most of the fourteen students come from lower- and working-class backgrounds, their faces show diverse origins. Four Black boys, all tall and lanky, are star basketball players and terrible readers. Gregory writes at a second-grade level and this is the first time Willie has been allowed in a regular English course. Tom Soon, a twenty year-old Chinese student, is illiterate in Chinese and English and judged to be slightly retarded. Sandra and Betty are "school-haters" who have missed more than half of each school year. Both from middle-class white families, they share a passion for horses. Jake, an exuberant working-class Irish kid, comes from a famous family of football players. He says "I'm here to play ball, man!" Roberto, a Puerto Rican, is chronically late and broodingly silent. The day I visited he had a "big breakthrough" and spoke for the first time in class. A Russian girl is dressed in tight blue jeans and a sweater with a plunging neckline. She toys with her gold chains and stares off into space for most of the class. One girl's absence from class is a welcome relief for the teacher. "I call her my roller-skating queen because she zooms in on skates. I think she is involved in soft pornography, possibly prostitution."

This class is worlds apart from the English course inhabited by the more privileged and skilled Brookline students. There are vast differences in academic competence, but more subtle contrasts in orientation. Despite the fact that the teacher urges and rewards adventurous inquiry, the students seem focused on the utility of their learning. "Why do we have to know that?" is a frequent question. "I already know enough to get by," is the defensive reasoning.

Occasionally working-class students, by dint of hard work and extraordinary achievements, enter the enclaves of their upper middle-class peers and receive Honors instruction. In essence, they enter an environment of greater rigor, but also a setting of enhanced certainty and abundance. With privilege and certainty comes the opportunity for intellectual play. To the working-class student who has strived mightily to gain a loftier place, the intellectual play may seem threatening and absurd. With such high stakes, how can he dare to test out alternative propositions? He must search out the right answer. How can he spin out fantasies of adventurous projects? He must take the sure and straight path. Teachers occasionally notice the grinding conservatism of the token working-class students and may recognize their inability to totally immerse themselves in the classroom culture. Admonished by parents to behave and achieve, they may be too focused to notice the playful exchanges. Socialized to

respond to teacher power with submissiveness, they rarely challenge the authority of intellectual claims. Alone in a largely upper middle-class environment, they may feel constrained by the heightened visibility of their tokenism and feel excluded from subtle nuances. In a classroom that encourages intellectual play, they are inhibited from full participation. They know they are diligent and smart. Their grades prove it. But they feel different—less secure, less spontaneous, and less entitled than their more privileged peers.[34]

In an Honors writing course, a Brookline teacher finds it difficult to inspire creativity and "irreverence" in all her students. She fights their inhibitions and conservatism. "They are too thoroughly socialized for my taste," she admits with a mischievous smile. But it is the working-class students, very few in number, whom she finds most cautious and guarded. Even when their writing is fluid and their spelling impecable, "They won't let it flow . . . even though their stories are probably far more interesting." Even when the less advantaged students move up within the hierarchy in schools, they rarely enter the same environment as their peers. Arriving with different attitudes towards adult authority, different views of educational utility, and the awkward moves of a stranger, poor and working-class students may cross class lines in school but they rarely fully arrive.

It would be misleading to claim that the great majority of children from privileged families enter into educational settings with creativity and the spirit of adventure; that they are unaffected by the narrowing effects of job and status pursuits. As a matter of fact, administrators and teachers in all the schools I visited were alarmed at the increasingly utilitarian view of education by all their students. From all backgrounds, students seemed more concerned with the learning of specific technologies that will equip them for work, college, and beyond. "There is a premature narrowing," claims a Brookline history teacher. "It reaches all the way down to the high school level. . . . The other day a freshman girl asked me 'What courses do I need to get admitted to law school?' . . . and that's eight years away!" A Milton English teacher in her late thirties talked about "an ironic reversal of roles" between adults and young people. "When I was an adolescent my parents were always blaming me for my idealism and telling me to be practical. Today, I find myself telling kids to be less practical and less conservative. I'm still the idealist." Across all social groups, then, adolescents are feeling the effects of a tight job market and making cautious and narrow choices. In this environment, there is less opportunity for teacher-student creativity and resourcefulness. But in those rare instances where intellectual adventure

thrives, privileged students are more likely to be the advantaged participants.

Intellectual play is rare but very visible. The pleasure of inspired exchange is obvious to any visitor of high school classrooms. In courses where there is intellectual adventure, discipline is rarely a problem and time does not drag. Students appear alert, engaged, and responsive. A "star" teacher at Brookline says almost innocently, "I've been here twelve years and never had a problem with discipline." A colleague listening to our conversation interprets her statement. "You see, she seduces those kids into learning and they get lost in the ideas and forget about their teenage complaints." In a United States history course for Honors seniors, students are re-enacting the First Continental Congress, role playing the prominent political figures of the time. In order to be persuasive in their roles, they must incorporate the historical and political themes that shaped the debate. Their drama is being videotaped for "Parents' Night" the following week. Although some students are more theatrical and articulate than others, everyone participates in the dialogue, either as aggressive protagonists or eager listeners. The time speeds by and there are groans when the debate must stop because it is time for them to move on to their next class.

At Kennedy, I saw intellectual play in an early morning Latin class primarily inhabited by Black and Hispanic students. The teacher, an intense and dynamic Italian with a lingering, musical accent, made the rehearsal of vocabulary and the lessons on conjugation feel like an adventure. The pace was accelerated, the praise plentiful, and the pedagogical "tricks" numerous. At 8:00 A.M., there were no yawns. Most students showed intense interest, hands were waving in the air as they clamored to speak, and smiles of satisfaction spread on their faces when the smooth and quick exchanges began to feel like a well-oiled machine.

Intellectual play can provide the spark of education for adolescents. It is a habit that requires stimulation, practice, and a safe and abundant environment. In contrast to the adventures of intellectual engagement, high school students seem to yearn for a direct and functional engagement with the real world. For many this translates into trying to find work within or outside of school. In my visits to schools, I was impressed by the large proportion of students who are working after school. None of the schools had gathered exact statistics on the number of students with after-school jobs, but faculty spoke about the noticeable change in tone that the "job exodus" has created. In Highland Park, for example, the principal observed that in the last several years jobs have sapped the psychic and physical energies of students and relegated school to a "sat-

ellite" position. Most of these students do not even claim to need the money; rather, they seem to be searching for feelings of productivity and competence as well as visible and tangible rewards. Many aspects of school seem to work against the competence and stature that students feel they gain from their jobs. A Brookline student spoke about the surge of energy that comes at 3:00 when he is about to depart for his job at the local McDonald's. "Suddenly I feel like I could take on the world . . . I'm ready."

Many of the same sentiments are expressed by students who are actively involved in producing a school play, working on the school newspaper, or practicing on the swim team. Those activities offer students the opportunity to join with others in a common goal, work on skills whose development makes a difference, and experience the rewards of applause, acclaim, or their words in print. The Carver students, whose work is often necessary for survival, can also feel the satisfaction of contributing to the welfare of their families. "When I make money, I feel big!" exclaimed a small sophomore with a large grin.

For many students, high school stands uncomfortably between intellectual play and real work, and the no man's land stretching between them tends not to be very appealing. Adolescents are inspired by the immediacy and practicality of work and the adventure and intrigue of intellectual play. One requires tenacity and responsibility; the other invites imagination, analysis and fantasy. Both reward different aspects of their being. Good high schools try to respond to the inevitable tensions that these adolescent needs produce and seek to create environments that will connect their students to the wider world and protect them from it. Said one Kennedy senior forcefully, "I like this school. It's going to prepare me for the real world, but in the meantime I can figure out who I am and what I think."

V

St. Paul's School

Certainty, Privilege, and the Imprint of History

THE AESTHETICS AND COMFORTS OF ABUNDANCE

It is a magnificent spring day. The sky is clear blue, the air crisp, and the sun golden in the sky. The landscape is lush green and the azaleas are exploding with blossoms of magenta, lavender, and deep orange. In short, it is the perfect day to visit St. Paul's School, which seems to stretch on for miles before me—aristocratic, manicured, perfect. I arrive midafternoon, the time for athletics, and see playing fields full of hockey and baseball players—lithe, graceful, and practiced bodies moving across the grass.

Everyone is helpful and welcoming. A man in a blue truck—probably one of the custodial crew—finds me lost on the road and tells me to follow him to my destination, the School House. Everyone waves greetings. A young man on a small tractor mower offers a wide, enthusiastic grin, and a tall, distinguished, slightly graying man gives a stiff and formal wave. I park behind the School House, next to a car with windows open and a young child inside. Having just arrived from the city, I wonder immediately how anyone could feel safe about leaving a precious child in the car. Fearing that I will frighten her, I smile and speak softly to the little girl. She babbles back, unafraid. The child's mother returns after

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a couple of minutes. A plainly attractive woman of about thirty-five, she is one of five females on the teaching faculty. She greets me warmly, introduces me to her daughter, and drives off quickly to play tennis. I am struck by how safe, secure, and beautiful it feels at St. Paul's. It is a place where windows and doors are left open, people exchange friendly greetings, and babies wait in cars unattended.

The land belonging to St. Paul's seems to stretch on forever. There are 1,700 acres of woods and open land surrounding over 300 acres of lakes and ponds, and over 80 buildings. A shimmering lake carves out a graceful shape in the central campus landscape. On an early evening walk from the School House to dinner in the dining room, you can cross the lake by way of a quaint stone bridge. The evening light makes the lake a mirror; the lily pads that dot the water gently sway back and forth; and all feels serene and still. The traditional and graceful architecture of New England characterizes the campus buildings—sturdy brick structures with ivy growing up the walls and white, flatfaced houses with black and green shutters.

Among these quietly majestic old buildings are three sleek modern buildings that house the programs in dance, theater, and the plastic arts. A parent of a student at St. Paul's, who was interested in supporting the development of the arts program, gave three million dollars for these new buildings. Elegantly designed and highly functional, the buildings were conceived to be adaptive to the artistic mediums that they house. The theater in the drama building is layered, movable, and sparse, allowing for myriad rearrangements of space. The stage can be dramatically transformed from one performance to the next.

Mr. Sloan, the director of dance, worked closely with the architects and builders in the design of the dance building, and it shows the wisdom and inspiration of the artist's experience. The major dance space in the building is used for both classes and performances. Bleachers and balconies surround two sides of the dance floor, with mirrors and dance bars lining the other walls. Sunlight sweeps in the high windows and casts tree shadows on the dance floor. The internal lighting is soft and effective. The most extraordinary detail can only be fully appreciated by dancers. Mr. Sloan takes me into his office and proudly shows me the miniature model of the dance floor. It is a five-layered construction that took several months to build, and it moves and ripples when it is jumped on. "It is the best in the business" says Mr. Sloan. "The American Ballet Theater has the same floor."

The arts buildings symbolize one of the major missions of St. Paul's

School. In his ten-year leadership of the school, the Rector says that the building of the arts program is one of the developments of which he feels most proud. Along with the superb physical facilities, new faculty positions have been added in the arts; students can receive academic credit for course work; and there are numerous opportunities for students to give concerts, performances, and exhibitions. In his 1979 Annual Report, William Oates, the rector, stressed the connections between art and culture, art and intellect, and art and personal growth:

> "Work in the arts provides an opportunity for participants to learn about themselves. And this opportunity is particularly valuable for students at St. Paul's School because it allows, and in some ways demands, consideration of fundamental issues through observation, and testing, and experimentation. From fourteen years old through eighteen this chance is eagerly sought and required. This is the period of questioning and exploring, of self-doubt and braggadocio, the period of developing self-confidence and of maturing personality. In the arts are found cultural contradictions and conflicts, insight, informed speculation, tradition and discipline, and a general pattern for testing achievement and apparent success. The arts afford the use of uncommitted space for thoughtful and considered growth through consolidation of experimentation. And increasing knowledge of the self promotes and supports its realization."

In stark contrast to the angular lines of the art buildings, the chapel of St. Paul and St. Peter stands as a symbol of classic beauty. The hundred year-old brick structure was the first building on the St. Paul's campus and its stained glass windows, ornate wood carving, and regal dimensions mark the history and roots of this school. It is in these modern and traditional edifices that St. Paul's reveals its connections to past and present, its commitment to sacred traditions and contemporary change.

A BINDING TOGETHER

Chapel is the most precious moment in the day. It binds the community together. The 500 students from the third through sixth forms, and 80 faculty of St. Paul's come together at 8:00 four mornings a week. There is time for peace and reflection, for beautiful music and poetic words.

ELITE PORTRAITS

Streams of sunlight filter through the magnificent stained glass windows, shining down on all inside. They seem like the enlightened people, the chosen ones. There is the connection between mind and soul, body and spirit, the sacred and the secular. The baroque organ with pure and clear sounds is "one of the best in New England." It fills the space with rich, reverberating sounds. The organ playing is impeccable.

Chapel services are an expression of unity, fellowship, and a commitment to Christian traditions at St. Paul's. As a church school, it has had a long-time association with the Episcopal church, and the rituals and structure of the Episcopal ceremony still form the basis of morning chapel services. However, the denominational ties are no longer deeply engrained. The school catalogue stresses the relationship between spiritual commitment and community life:

> "Chapel services, studies in religion, and our common life in Christian fellowship are expressions of the unity and fundamental faith of St. Paul's School. . . . The school supports the beliefs of each faith, encouraging students to recognize the strength and loyalty of the commitments of their families. The school recognizes that all its members should discover the meaning of the Christian tradition in their own lives through free inquiry, and the experience of community life in that tradition."

The beautiful and old architectural lines of the chapel are in contrast to the ruffled and contemporary people sitting in the long, carved pews. Dressed in typical adolescent garb—rustic chic—the students' faces are still and attentive. Some slump over in weariness, some eyes are half-closed, but most seem to be captured by the ritual. When their fellow students make music, they receive full attention and generous applause. The day I visit, the service is an all-musical program of Bach. The first piece is played well by a trio of flute, harpsichord, and violin. It is a slow movement that requires sustained and disciplined tones. Occasionally the violin is clumsy in technique and flat in tone, but that is the only evidence of this being an amateur performance. The second piece, which is the first movement of Bach's Third Brandenberg Concerto, begins energetically, but quickly degenerates. The students, led by a faculty conductor, barely struggle through the difficult string variations, but no one winces at the grating sounds. There is strong applause for the ambitious attempt. I am struck by the extraordinary difficulty of the music and the willingness of the students to do less than well in public. I am also impressed by the sustained elegance with which this musical disaster is carried off. This seems the ultimate in certainty and style. There is no

embarrassment, a full acceptance of the efforts made, and the expectation of applause.

The faculty sit in the upper pews, also in assigned seats. Chapel is a compulsory community event for faculty as well as students. Along with the formal evening meals, chapel is considered one of the important rituals that symbolizes community and fellowship, emphasizes discipline and ceremony, and reflects a sense of continuity between past and present. Looking down the row of faculty, the dominance of whiteness and maleness becomes immediately apparent. Most are wearing tweedy jackets and ties, and the unusual ones stick out—the blond and pregnant history teacher; the bearded, tall, Jewish head of the English department; the casually dressed dance teacher with a head full of irreverent ringlets. It is not that there is no diversity within the faculty, it is that their sameness is exaggerated in this setting as they sit lined up in the back pews of chapel.

It is also in chapel that one experiences the impressive orchestration of the school. All seems to flow so smoothly and evenly, almost effortlessly. Behind this smooth scene is the hard, disciplined work of many. "Chapel Notes" for the week tell what music will be played, what hymns sung, and what lessons will be read. A faculty member is assigned to regulate the acoustics system just in front of her chapel pew to insure the right volume for each microphone. Notes are delivered to the rector well in advance of the "Morning Reports." The rector arrives the day I am there and opens an elegant note from the senior class. The script is like calligraphy, the image above the writing shows a bird in flight, and the message inside combines poetry and allusions to scripture and prayer. The senior class has decided that this sunny day will be their senior-cut day and they are off to the beach in rented buses. Their absence is no surprise to anyone. Their actions are certainly not devious or even assertive. This is part of the anticipated ritual. The person sitting next to me whispers, "Of course the rector was informed about this well in advance." It is beautifully orchestrated—the anticipated "surprise" event, the ceremonial note to the rector, the announcement to the assembled people, and the restrained approval of everyone.

The supreme orchestration of events and people at St. Paul's reflects, I think, the abundance and privilege of the school. In order to be able to anticipate and coordinate life in this way, one must be able to foresee a future that is relatively certain. Years of experience rooted in tradition seem to guide the present. Some things seem to fall into place without conscious effort. It has always been that way. History has cast a form on

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things. In his concluding remarks on graduation day, the rector underscores the mark of tradition and history, "This ceremony has become traditional, and, therefore, mandatory." In schools where things inevitably fall apart, where patterns of the past are not clearly defined, and where futures are neither certain nor promised, one doesn't sense this feeling of an orchestrated and smooth existence.

"Morning Reports" follow chapel. All gather outside on the chapel steps as the rector announces the day's happenings. He begins by formally welcoming me into their midst. "We have the pleasure of a visit from Professor Sara Lawrence Ligthfoot, and I would like to introduce her to those who have not yet met her." Applause and smiles follow with some picture taking. Then an announcement that startles me: "Robert Brown has been off bounds for smoking marijuana and will return on Friday." This is said with the same tone and demeanor as the welcoming words of the rector. This is the first time at St. Paul's that I have heard words of public discipline or sensed the exclusion of a community member—off bounds. It is also the first time in a very long time that I have heard "pot" referred to as "marijuana," its real name. It seems a throwback to the old days and sounds more forbidding and dangerous in its three-syllable incarnation.

Four times a week, faculty and students gather at the close of day for a formal, family-style meal in the dining room. This is the second major community ritual that echoes the traditions and ceremony of St. Paul's and encourages fellowship among students and faculty. On Wednesday evenings and weekends, eating is done cafeteria-style and dress codes are relaxed.

Ms. Susan Thompson, a vivacious, middle-aged woman, has been on the St. Paul's faculty since the school became coeducational a decade ago. She leaves her office at the School House in the early evening with just enough time to freshen up and change into a slightly fancier dress. The door of her apartment on the second floor of a girls' dormitory is wide open. For me, it stands as another sign of the feelings of trust and safety at St. Paul's and as a first sign of the obscuring of public and private boundaries between faculty and students. Anyone, at any time, can walk in and talk, make requests, and seek counsel. There are two other faculty members who live in the dormitory. A young, single woman lives on the third floor, and a married woman with a husband and child has the most sumptuous accommodations on the first floor. Each is primarily responsible for supervising the dormitory on alternate evenings. Ms. Thompson speaks of all three faculty as "strong" dormitory counselors and feels pleased at the disciplined and comfortable rapport that has developed among those who live there. Among students, this dormitory has the reputation of being overly strict and inhibiting.

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In late spring, when students make room selections for the following year, most do not list this dormitory as their first choice because they want to escape the rigorous supervision. More than a few girls, however, seem to seek out the peace and security of this more disciplined setting.

Ms. Thompson's apartment has four rooms—a large living room, a study, bedroom, and tiny kitchen. It is simply, barely decorated with modest furniture. One bright, colorful canvas dominates the living room, a picture of brown people in a bustling market place. It seems strangely out of place contrasted with the severe, colorless environment that surrounds it. Home does not seem to be important to Ms. Thompson. She describes herself as a "workaholic," not much interested in homemaking. Life is not centered here, but in the school as community. Within a few minutes we are off to dinner. The campus is alive with students converging from all directions, walking briskly up the hill to the dining hall.

Students and faculty congregate in small groups in the outside hall of the great dining room, waiting for doors to open for dinner. Boys must wear jackets and girls the "comparable" attire. After the cut-off jeans, bare feet, and T-shirts of the daytime dress, the students look transformed in their formal attire. Ironically, the third-form boys appear even younger in their jackets and ties while the sixth-form girls look like mature, fully formed women in their spring dresses. The great dining room with high ceilings and stained glass windows is only used for formal evening meals. On the wooden paneling that lines the walls from floor to ceiling, names of the students in each of the school's graduating classes are carefully, aesthetically carved. A boy at my table can turn around and see his uncle's name carved in the wall behind him. It is misspelled.

Each faculty member sits with eight students at a long rectangular table with straight, high-backed chairs. Seats are assigned and rotated every three weeks, and students are chosen to create a mix of grade levels and interests. Grace is said by a man with a booming voice as everyone stands behind their chairs with bowed heads. Dinner conversation is somewhat formal and subdued. My presence may have been inhibiting, but I hear many students and some faculty complain of the forced quality of these occasions. The adults ask most of the questions, with polite responses from students. A willowy, blond girl in the fifth-form has come from upstate New York to study in the excellent dance program. A lively, bright-eyed, Black boy from Chicago is practicing for the Latin play to be given on the weekend of graduation. He tells us about an invention which he is trying to patent and seems to be knowledgeable about the legal steps that will be required to protect his idea. A sixth-form girl from New England is the most socially sophisticated and smooth. She speaks of her plans to go to the University of Colorado next year.

Dinner is swiftly consumed despite the ceremonial conversation. When the students are finished, each says dutifully, "Miss Thompson, may I be excused?" and she grants them permission. The permission granting seems almost archaic. As they seek permission to be excused, they appear suddenly childlike. Many times during my visit to St. Paul's, I am struck by the swiftly changing adolescent images. At any moment, the smooth exterior of the mature, worldly, adult-like image fades and exposes the awkward vulnerability of a child.

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ELITE PORTRAITS

THE EDGES OF REALITY AND UNREALITY

The incredible beauty, seclusion, and abundance of St. Paul's makes it seem far away from the reality most people know. It is hard to conceive of anyone growing used to this magnificence. It is easy to imagine that people might quickly forget the ugly facts of life beyond this serene place. Occasionally, rumblings are heard underneath the smooth facade of St. Paul's.

Last year, just two days before graduation, several sixth-form boys decided to steal away into the woods and drink beer. Knowing well that alcohol consumption was against the school rules, these boys—some of them school leaders—decided to tempt fate in the final hour. Slightly high from their beer party and elated with the anticipation of their graduation celebrations, they sang loud songs and walked back along the public highway towards school. When they saw a car coming their way, the rowdy group stuck out their thumbs to hitch a ride. As luck would have it, these normally good boys were picked up by a faculty member who smelled liquor on their breath and felt compelled to report them. Disciplinary measures were harsh. None of them was permitted to attend graduation even though many of their families were already enroute to the ceremony. The boys were sent home immediately.

Although this sounds like a typical adolescent prank with grave repercussions, the underside of this near-perfect place reveals more serious problems of alcoholism, plagiarism, cohabitation, and drug abuse. One suspects that these cases are few and that the surprise at their mention reflects their relative infrequency. Mostly, St. Paul's seems to proceed without severe crises. The tempestuous period of adolescence is subdued in this setting, or at least it appears that the tempests are channeled into productive energy.

Although "real-life" often feels distant from life at St. Paul's, the truths told here sometimes seem unflinchingly real. Many times I was surprised by how students and faculty confronted worldly issues that usually remain unspoken or camouflaged, particularly in the context of school life.

A Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist from the *Boston Globe* is a visiting speaker in a sixth-form class on advertising and the media. The speaker is intense, witty, and probing. This semester, he is a visiting professor at Yale and his style with the St. Paul's students bears the same dry humor and sophistication that he must use with university students and colleagues. There is no talking down, no attempt to simplify. He begins his monologue on political advertising with a high-level, penetrating discussion about the packaging of political candi-

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dates. His sentences are laced with difficult concepts and words. He speaks of metaphors, symbolism, conceptions of human nature, and the creation of images in political advertising. Uncertain about whether he is reaching his audience, from time to time he encourages questions. The students need little encouragement. Student: "Newspapers are historically known for having commitments to certain political candidates. . . . Is it true with television networks? Do they show favoritism?" Speaker: "CBS is a little to the left. ABC is to the right. NBC is asleep. . . . Mostly the networks research the prevailing attitudes of the audience and they match those fundamental biases."

Inspired by this line of thought, the speaker wants to make a more general point about ideological influences in the media. "In the media, being 'objective' does not mean being without bias or prejudice. It is a bias towards the mainstream. It means being white, middle-class, Christian, and capitalist." Even though these characteristics would seem to describe most of the students sitting in the classroom, the listeners seem unthreatened by the harsh criticisms. They listen intently, but their faces show no change of expression, no signs of emotion. The speaker's provocative words are heard, but not visibly challenged. The teacher, who has remained silent since introducing the speaker, fears the bold cynicism of the message and tries to offer balance to the discussion by referring to the democratic nature of the political process, the opportunity for people's voices to be heard through the ballot box. The teacher's comments are measured and reticent compared to the biting criticisms of the speaker, who continues to assert his pessimistic perspective. "Everyone gets to vote, so that seems to validate the democratic process. Consent implies democracy, which implies consent. . . . If the citizenry cannot make informed choices, should they be making uninformed ideological choices?" The dialogue between the teacher and the speaker grows increasingly intense and obscure. A student lost in the barrage of words interrupts with what he thinks is a straightforward question about Anderson's chances for success in the presidential race. However, the speaker responds with complicated notions, refusing to submit to facile generalizations or easy answers. "Consider the effects of not advertising. If you are not advertising, journalists will not take you seriously—the case of Anderson—because they think if Anderson doesn't advertise he will not be able to bring out votes. So journalists think he is not serious and generally disregard him."

In this discussion, I am struck by the pursuit of truth, the recognition of competing truths, and the spirit of inquiry and debate. The adults are not afraid to disagree publicly, nor do they alter the nature of their discourse in order to present a simpler, prettier picture of the world to their students. The speaker underscores the ugly undersides of the political process and attacks any remaining illusions of a fair race. The reality presented by the speaker seems very faraway from the serenity and perfections of St. Paul's. Ironically, the accounts of real-life events are far more truthful and probing than the stories normally told to students in other high school settings where ideals and illusions are more carefully guarded. The students at St. Paul's seem to greet the uncovering of truths

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with a certain detachment. When the class is abruptly over, the students rise quickly and pour out of the room. The teacher offers a few last words, "Wrestle with the issue of democracy. . . .", but the students have moved on, seemingly undisturbed by the disturbing message they have just heard.

THE INQUIRING SPIRIT

The rector's address at the Anniversary Chapel Service on graduation day points to the "developmentalist perspective" that pervades the culture of St. Paul's. It is a stark and clear essay on facing the ambiguities and uncertainties of life beyond the relatively safe and nurturant environment of St. Paul's. "Can we learn to reconcile ourselves to imperfect choices. . . . We send our sixth-form friends on to a complex world, but we do so with confidence." In negotiating the myriad commitments and pursuits of St. Paul's, the rector is confident that the graduating class has "tested and explored options," met difficult and competing challenges, struggled against temptation, and emerged from the four-year odyssey ready to face the world. The challenges confronting St. Paul's students, however, are cradled in an environment nurtured by certainty, abundance, and respect. These qualities are deeply rooted in history. "St. Paul's is the center of love and care for many generations," says the rector after warning the graduates of the possibility of growing rigid and threatened as one faces life's imperfections. The certainty of love and care allow one to take risks and ask probing questions. "The inquiring spirit turns the words of the psalm into a question."

There is a connection, it seems, between feeling safe and protected and daring to move beyond safety. There is an invincible quality about these young people that probably reflects their privileged station, but also grows out of the maturity and confidence that come with positive and productive intellectual, social, and psychological experiences. Never once at St. Paul's did I hear a teacher diminish or undermine a student in any way. Never once did I see students act disrespectfully of one another. With no fear of abuse, there is plenty of room for open inquiry, for testing limits, and for trying very hard.

In an advanced dance class, the teacher is a benign but rigorous task master. A dancer with the American Ballet Theater for over a decade, Mr. Sloan has

"retired" to teaching. He approaches it with the same seriousness and dedication that must have sustained his successful dance career. Nine students dressed in traditional ballet garb go through their practiced motions at the bar. Without much talk, the dance teacher demonstrates the next step and then walks around the floor offering individual support and criticism. Suddenly, he claps and says "No." Music and motion stop. One dancer is singled out, "Maria, get your arms down . . . in the same rhythm, open your arms and plié." Maria, a tall, angular Hispanic girl, tries the step again without embarrassment, as everyone turns silently towards her. An hour later, when the dancers are doing complicated, fast-moving combinations across the floor, the teacher singles out Michelle, a pretty, petite Black girl, whose steps have been tentative and constricted. "That's a good start, but take a chance, a risk. . . . Go for it, Michelle," he bellows. It is a tough challenge as he makes her do it over and over again. She is awkward, unbalanced, and almost falls several times, but the dance master won't let her stop. As Michelle struggles to master this complicated step in front of her classmates some watch attentively, without laughter or judgment. Others practice on their own around the edges of the floor waiting for their turn. Everyone, including Mr. Sloan, exerts great energy and tries very hard. Imperfections are identified and worked on without embarrassment.

There is a rising crescendo in the mood and tone of the class as the steps get tougher, the music gets more rigorous, and the instructor and students more charged. The exhilaration and vigor of the final moments contrasts with the serious and subdued attentiveness of the early bar work. As dancers execute the swift steps across the floor, the wide range of skill and talent is revealed. Kara is a precise and elegant dancer whose hopes of becoming a professional dancer seem realistic and promising. Even when she is tackling the most difficult step, she is smooth and graceful. Yet she doesn't escape criticism. Mr. Sloan insists on the subtle, almost invisible points. There is always room for improvement. A very tall and lean young man, who looks awkward and primitive in comparison, tries just as hard, but never produces a step that even vaguely resembles the one demonstrated by the teacher. No one laughs or grimaces as he breaks down half-way across the floor. The challenge remains: "You'll do it like that for awhile and you'll build up to doing it better. . . . It's a very difficult step."

Another example: Thirty sixth-form students sit in scattered chairs, vaguely forming a semicircle, facing Dr. Carter Woods, in their first period class on human personality. Sitting, Woods tilts his chair back with arms clasped behind his head and begins to speak thoughtfully and tentatively. As a prelude, he says, "We're all good friends in here. We know each other well." Then, without notes and looking up at the ceiling, the teacher begins to ruminate out loud. "Freud had a little help from his friends, but they started out on a really good tack. . . . They all came out of biology. . . . Free association was an amazing thing . . . totally existential, totally client-centered, a total departure from tradition. Carl Rogers wasn't even imagined in those times." The contemplative monologue soon turns into a conversation as students move in and out of the discussion. The words are often sophisticated and the thinking convoluted as Woods and his students explore together the murky waters of psychodynamic theory. The teacher encourages them to think out loud, and search for meanings by modeling that approach himself. "I am not sure what it means to get in touch with one's senses. I thought

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I'd work that out with you. Let me struggle with it for a moment." Then, in even more searching tones, Woods says, "I find myself wanting to know how I can best instruct myself in finding out what Frederick Perls means." Not everyone is with him on this exploration. Some are visibly confused, some attentively listening, others daydreaming, a few are not quite awake for the first period in the morning. Six or seven students are completely involved and challenged by the probing questions. Occasionally, a down-to-earth, concrete question is asked of Woods as some students seem to want to establish boundaries and limits to the wandering conversation. Woods resists getting pinned down. "*I* don't know, I'm asking you." When Woods approaches the board to review material covered before, most students respond to the certainty by copying the categories and lists from the board. The pedagogical message is clear: In order to understand, you must inquire and struggle to find meaning. To explore the full range of ideas, one must take risks and tolerate ambiguities. But this must be done in a nonjudgmental and accepting environment. When one of the students begins to slightly ridicule the "simplistic thinking" of the early psychologists, Woods responds immediately to her cynicism and encourages her to appreciate the slow evolution of ideas. "Science changes very slowly. We have the advantage of history. It is hard to move away from former, earlier authority." When the class is about to end, Woods says exuberantly, "The struggle—I'm happy in it."

Although the styles and substance of these two classes are very different, the themes of "love and caring" are prominent in both. The encouragement of risk-taking and moving beyond the safety zones are also stressed by both teachers. The success of the latter seems to be dependent on establishing the former.

Although it is likely that the nurturant and challenging experiences of students at St. Paul's help to build a community of trust and kinship, the careful selection of applicants is supportive of that goal as well. Choosing one out of every thirteen students who apply, the admissions committee makes a conscious effort to select young people who will thrive in the St. Paul's setting. When I ask one of the two psychologists at the school what kind of students are most successful at St. Paul's, he lists a number of characteristics: those with ego strength, a commitment to relationships and community; those who are outgoing, intelligent, and academically able. The applicants who are unlikely to survive the selection process tend to be those who are inward and withdrawn, who seem to be able to do without other human beings—the "young savants" who feel awkward socially. There are a few admitted who may at first "appear to be unresponsive" to people, but "manage to respond in more indirect ways." St. Paul's feels it can tolerate these more reticent souls if there is promise that they will make a unique contribution to the life of the community. There is some sense that diversity of backgrounds, styles, and temperaments is an integral part of a rich community experience. Learn-

ing to relate to those different from oneself is an important preparation for facing a diverse society and a critical part of articulating one's self-definition.

The best way to describe "the ethos of the St. Paul's community is that it is Eriksonian in emphasis." That is, there is a stress put on trust, industry, and autonomy. The rector, who admits to being profoundly influenced by Erikson, speaks of an evolutionary change in the school under his decade of leadership; "The school has moved towards a more developmentalist approach." From an administrative point of view, the "new approach" was visibly initiated by hiring two school psychologists who have become an integral and critical part of community life. One trained in counseling and consulting psychology, the other originally trained as a researcher in psycho-biology, these two men have carved out unusual, nontraditional roles at St. Paul's. Along with teaching half-time, they participate in all community responsibilities, including attending chapel and dining room meals, coaching sports, and living in student dormitories. Beyond these regular daily duties, they offer counsel, advice, and support to individual students and faculty. Carter Woods's office door is always open. "I had to work very hard to keep my door open. At first, everyone thought of the psychologist's work as secretive, mystical, something that happens behind closed doors." Now when students come to see him about personal dilemmas and stress there is little separation made between the intellectual and psychic spheres of life, but an attempt to see students as "whole."

The developmentalist view offers a "different view of human nature"—a view that can anticipate universal patterns of behavior and attitude formation. The psychologists seek to convey the progression of these patterns to students and faculty alike so that neither group will be surprised or upset by characteristic human dilemmas that tend to emerge as prominent at different stages of development. As one student said with enormous relief, this new knowledge of human development "helps me forecast my life," offers new interpretations, and some solace when things feel as if they are falling apart. For faculty, the developmentalist view changes their perception of students as "good or bad." Now when they have lost all patience with the antics of the thirteen year-olds, they can be gently reminded that these are anticipative and appropriate behaviors for third-form students, and that these characteristics are transitional and transforming. By fifth form, these students will appear as changed human beings and "we know some of the reasons why."

Not only do the psychologists offer individual counsel and guide the interpretations of behavior, they also give direct consultation to faculty

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who are struggling with problem students or having difficulties negotiating with one another. For a few years now, Derek James has sat in on the faculty meetings of the history department, where there are a couple of "volatile members." After their not infrequent fights and disagreements, James helps them discover the origins of their struggle and supports them through a temporary resolution. Carter Woods offers the same sort of listening and counselling role for the religion department, a department often fractionated by polarized views of the appropriate curriculum for adolescents facing contemporary realities. And every Monday at lunch time, the rector, vice-rectors, chaplains, and psychologists meet with the trainer, who runs the school infirmary, to share information on any students who seem to be having academic difficulties or physical and mental health problems. They go around the circle offering their pieces of information on individual students, encouraging other perspectives and interpretations, gauging the seriousness of the problem presented, and finally assigning one of the group to follow-up action. It is an attempt at gathering and synthesis of information, orchestration of efforts, and careful attention to detail. Says the rector, "We don't want anyone to fall through the cracks." The Monday lunch is also another indication of St. Paul's efforts to work with "the whole child." It is here that "experts" of the body, mind, and soul gather to piece together their perspectives and offer their images of health.

The academic courses taught by the psychologists provide an opportunity for students to learn important material on culture and human behavior, as well as confront and express their own feelings and attitudes on questions of personality development, sexuality, and human relationships. The psychology courses are filled with sixth-form students who, having already met the academic requirements for college entrance can now take the more freewheeling courses that might be considered less than serious by college admissions officers. Envious third- and fourth-form students, and some unconvinced faculty, continue to refer to the psychology curriculum as "breeze" courses. It is likely that the readings and written assignments are not as demanding in these courses as in others, but the intensity and seriousness of the issues raised must surprise and baffle some unsuspecting sixth-form students.

Dr. James, a thin, bearded man with a gentle and inquisitive style, teaches the seminar on human sexuality. Twenty students sit around a large, rectangular oak table, many of them draped casually on chairs, some sitting on the edge of their seats with intense animation. Several students wander in late and the atmosphere is easy. No one opens a book or takes notes. James begins by presenting

statistics on a study reported in the *New York Times* that surveyed attitudes towards homosexuality. "What would you do if your best friend said that he/she was a homosexual?" James merely recites the study's findings. He does not elicit responses from his students because he judges it to be "an invasion of their privacy," and in opposition to "the cultural norms" well established in this class-room. Almost without direction or provocation from the teacher, the discussion heats up to an animated pitch. Sometimes James makes brief comments or tenta-tive suggestions, but mostly students direct their comments to one another, offer opposing opinions, and disagree vehemently. The girls, sounding womanly and worldly-wise, dominate the conversion. One very straight, handsome young man seems to have accepted the role of "traditionalist," or worse, male chauvinist and welcomes the abuse that is hurled towards him. The discussion of homosexuality is short-lived. It quickly turns into a discussion of differences in the ways men and women express feelings of rage, sadness, joy, and love. James willingly fol-lows the shifts of direction and mood and says, "The culture comes down so hard on males being tough and hard . . . they are not supposed to be tender . . . if you're not hard and strong, you're not male." A rush of responses follow as the conversation grows increasingly autobiographical. One girl challenges, "But I've seen *both* my parents cry." The "traditionalist" stirs a response by claiming that only the weak cry, "My mother rarely cries and my father *never* cries." Another boy speaks up for the first time, with some embarrassment, "My father comes home, walks down into the basement, and hurls pyrex glasses—(he's a chem-ist)—against the wall . . . comes upstairs, takes a deep breath, and eats. . . . He takes his anger out on objects rather than people. . . . It is sort of bizarre." Family stories are revealed as most students try to make distinctions between themselves and their parents. They recognize the profound influence of parental values and behaviors, but they also stress their conscious intentions to find their own style of expression. Affect and intellect, information and expression, are fused in the stu-dent conversation. The atmosphere remains nonjudgmental. Trust is high and the discussion flows from being charged and forceful to moments of humorous re-lease. When the bell rings to mark the end of class, I am startled. For the past fifty minutes, this has not felt like school and I am shocked by the intrusions of school sounds. The students seemed undisturbed by the abrupt transition. Immediately, they are out of the room and on to the next class without apparent confusion. To them, this is part of school.

Although St. Paul's explicitly recognizes the dimensions of the whole child and the inextricable interdependence of the psyche, the soul, and the intellect, it views its mission and purpose as clearly educational. "St. Paul's does not try to be a therapeutic community," warns Carter Woods, who is constantly having to delineate the boundaries between educational and therapeutic efforts. These boundary lines are not always so easily drawn. "St. Paul's goes to every length, uses every resource to provide educational resources for a student. . . . We spend thousands of dollars a year on an individual student, trying to help him or her over an academic hurdle . . . we would rather spend it on a student than on a

building." But when problems seem to originate in families, beyond the boundaries of school, and when the response of the student is to be disruptive in a way that "infringes upon the good of the community," or the space of other individuals; then the student is asked to leave. Woods has recently returned from the West Coast, where he accompanied a troubled boy home on the airplane. After months of trying to "incorporate this boy into community life," St. Paul's felt it had no more resources or energy to offer. The boy's problems were too profound to be addressed by the faculty, and his acting out was beginning to negatively affect the lives of other students. At the other end of the flight across country, Woods had to face the sensitive task of communicating the bad news to the parents, their harsh defensiveness, and then their sense of defeat and guilt at their son's return.

On many occasions, families are included in the school's attempts to help a student who is having major problems. The parents of a girl who had serious trouble with alcohol were asked to come to St. Paul's to meet with the psychologists and members of the faculty. Attempts were made to explore the history of alcoholic problems within the family, and long-distance calls were made to a psychiatrist in the Midwest who had treated members of the family for mental distress. As parents, siblings, and outside professionals rallied together to pool information, offer support, and express their feelings, Woods orchestrated the combined effort, carefully negotiating the terrain of family and school responsibilities.

In seeking the counsel and support of parents, St. Paul's has begun to take a different view of family-school relationships. Traditionally, families were systematically and purposefully excluded from participating in school affairs. Told when they delivered their child to the campus in September that they should return at the close of school in June, parents were expected to be invisible and silent, uninvolved in their child's acculturation to St. Paul's. Never did anyone suspect that parents and teachers would disagree on the basic values and cultural perspectives that should be imbued in their young charges. Trust and partnership were assumed because there seemed to be harmony of values between home and school, an unspoken consensus. Besides, many of the fathers had themselves been students at St. Paul's and were confident and knowledgeable about what happened behind the closed gates. As the world beyond St. Paul's has become increasingly complex, as family structures grow more diverse and uncertain, and as St. Paul's adopts the developmentalist perspective, it has seemed increasingly important to welcome families as a vital resource and as an important source of information. Woods speaks of families as a critical "connection to the culture," and recognizes their

profound and prim... ...ly in the lives of students. Some families are not comfortable with th... ... nge in the school's view of them. The father of a troubled boy, who ha... ...een asked to come up to St. Paul's, felt awkward and inappropriate a... ...uy sat talking together in Wood's living room. Expressing his initial ...ness, he said, "I'm feeling uncomfortable here. When I was here a... ...dent, families were made to feel unwelcome."

...IMPEACHABLE POWER

At St. Paul's, the r... ...ields great power. Everyone describes Bill Oates as powerful—a pow... ...at is defined both by the traditions and expecta- tions of his role an... ...haracter of his person. He is energetic, uncom- promising, and foc... ...in his goals. Yet he does not wield power care- lessly. It is a res... ...ully authority, always held in check and used sparingly. Although... ...ence, his keen understanding of decision-mak- about his political... ...ghtful and balanced consultation of the people ing patterns, and his... ...re are fifteen faculty and three students on the involved. For exam... ...o work for months reading and making judg- admissions commi... ...l folders. After reaching carefully negotiated ments on over a th... ...mmendations to the rector. The final decision decisions, they ma... ...ests with the rector, "but he is wise enough to about who gets adm... ...ned decision would greatly violate a difficult recognize when an... ...process or offend an important constituency." and consuming sel... ...re are inevitably the rector's choices; students In every entering cla... ...ant donors to the school or who have connec- whose families are... ...f power that the Rector wants to tap into. tions to external sou...

Faculty rarely a... ...with the rector, or even dare to disagree strongly. No one risks being... ...meetings with him. People who normally seem strong and sturdy in... ...oles appear strangely submissive and accom- modating in his pr... ...One teacher, who challenged the rector with an opposing view in... ...all planning meeting, told of his restrained but scathing response,... ...ense of bravery and risk-taking in even raising the issue in his pre... ...nd the buzz around the faculty room when the word leaked out tha... ...had acted irreverently.

Even though his... ...minance is without question, his style is not dominating. Rather,... ...ppears supremely civilized and benign in man-

ner. He takes on the demeanor of the rectors who were his predecessors. The weight of the role, already well established and deeply forged by history, seems to shape perceptions of him just as much as his own actions. As a matter of fact, many students describe him as friendly and approachable. He knows every student's name and can speak knowledgeably about their special and unique styles, personal struggles, and important triumphs. Every Saturday night, he and his wife host an open house with punch and their famous chocolate chip cookies. Most students stop by at some point during the evening. Says one, "It's fun to go and shake his hand and chat with him. I have a friend who goes to Exeter and she says they never see their headmaster. He just disappears and never comes out." Some faculty say that with reference to student life, Bill Oates is the best rector of a preparatory school in the country.

They speak differently about the life of the faculty, who seem to be the least powerful, most disenfranchised group at St. Paul's. Faculty receive no contracts or terms of appointment. In December, they receive a letter from the rector stipulating the next year's salary. (The one I saw was a Xeroxed form letter with name and details written in hand). Occasionally there is a mild word of encouragement or support, but mostly letters are short and only explicit about the salary. Faculty do not view these letters as perfunctory. Even those faculty who feel confident about their work and contributions to St. Paul's silently worry about their fate on that December day when letters arrive in the mailbox. One young faculty member spoke of seeing an elder of the faculty, "a 'lifer' as the kids call them," who had been at St. Paul's for over forty years, anxiously awaiting his letter, trembling when he opened the envelope. "It was then that I began to think something was wrong with the system."

Although the notion of a system that works without contractual arrangements seems archaic in this day and age, all faculty do not see this as a problem. As a matter of fact, there seems to be a fairly clear line of demarcation between the old and the new faculty. The old, themselves raised in preparatory institutions, many from very privileged backgrounds, steeped in the traditions and habits of St. Paul's, see little problem in the established patterns of the faculty role. At times, they view the new faculty's demands as irreverent, whining, and threatening to the comfortable stability of the place. New faculty, who tend to come from less affluent backgrounds (without independent incomes), many of whom were not raised in exclusive schools, are more likely to view their role as a professional one and want some legalistic and contractual safeguards. Says one new faculty, "On almost every vote there is a divided faculty. It makes it impossible to make any progress on most of these issues."

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Even though there is a divided view of faculty privilege within the current system, most seem to agree that beyond the walls of St. Paul's the faculty have options open for them that are indeed extraordinary. One of the first things the rector mentions in my conversation with him is his attempts to provide support and encouragement for faculty growth and development. He has gone out and raised funds for the generous provisions of faculty leaves, travel, and study. The faculty have a full paid year of leave, travel grants for the summer that will be raised to $3,500 next year, and study and tuition grants for further graduate study. Recently, the rector arranged for the endowment of the "Dickie Fellowship Program"—a program of visiting scholars and experts in the various fields of study offered at St. Paul's. Every year, each department is able to invite to the campus for two days a nationally renowned person in their field who will offer counsel, support, and advice to the faculty. These visits offer renewal and an opportunity for reflection and self-criticism.

All of these life-giving benefits seem critical to the survival of faculty members who must give seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day to their work at St. Paul's. It is a special kind of work that demands an extraordinary level of commitment and participation. All faculty must live on campus; all must attend chapel and evening meals with students. Beyond their classroom teaching, they are required to coach sports every afternoon, counsel and advise students on a daily basis, and serve as dormitory residents with disciplinary and overseeing chores. This is a total institution that blends the realms of work and play, private and public roles, and parenting and teaching. The rector chooses faculty whom he judges will embrace the totality, not resist it. Some faculty are superb in the classroom, but are let go because they do not give totally to the community. A faculty member must be ready to offer his full and complete commitment. "It is a life with a different kind of rhythm," says the rector—a rhythm different from those that shape the work-life of most other adults. The full-time commitments of faculty are balanced by "22 days off at Christmas, 22 days for spring break, and 13 weeks of summer vacation." Despite the generous periods of time off, the demands on faculty are extreme and one wonders why faculty do not break down under the pressure or rise up in revolt. Surely some people thrive on this lifestyle. The totality of commitment feels comfortable; the inclusive quality embraces them as well. Others must find ways "to get others to nurture them . . . so they don't go dead in the process . . . unless we give to ourselves or find others who will give to us, then the demands of this life are too extreme." Returning to graduate study provides this nurturance for some. As one faculty member put it when he began to take

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courses at Harvard, "Finally I had to do something for myself." Outside study may offer intellectual stimulation, adult interaction, and a great escape from the boundaries of St. Paul's. However, most speak of their sojourns at the university as nurturance, as a time to give to themselves in a way they have had to give to others. It is what the students call "a feed," a filling up on goodies that helps sustain them through a work life that often feels selfless and other-directed.

Faculty life, therefore, is precariously balanced between giving out and taking in, with pressures that impinge from above and below. They must be willing to fulfill the multiple roles of teacher, counselor, parent, and even confidante to students, all requiring adult-like responsibilities. Yet they must be willing to leave their fate in the hands of a benign, but authoritarian rector, assuming a childlike role in relation to the supreme parent. There could be tension, then, between the demands of the mature authority they must exude in relation to the students, and the docility required to submit to an even greater authority. For some, there may be comfort in the ultimate submissiveness of their position—a comfort that allows them to respond fully to student needs and demands. For others, I would imagine, there is a basic contradiction between how they are treated and the roles they are being asked to assume in relation to students—a contradiction that forces some to leave, some to find external sources of stimulation and support, and some to become stagnant and dissatisfied, no longer in touch with their needs.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: A MINORITY PERSPECTIVE

The majority of students at St. Paul's come from families of affluence and privilege. They exude the casual certainty and demeanor of entitlement that reflects their upper middle-class status. Many already have the savoir-faire and cosmopolitan style of people much beyond their years. Their Calvin Klein T-shirts, Gloria Vanderbilt jeans, L.L. Bean jackets, and Nikon cameras dangling from their necks show restrained opulence. Their sophistication is accompanied by an open friendliness. Every student I spoke to willingly and spontaneously responded to my questions. Some approached me with generous words of welcome and eagerly told of their experiences at St. Paul's. Their stories of life at the school were uniformly positive. They praised the rector, their teachers, the academic

program, and the school's rituals and ceremonies. Mostly, they echoed the rector's words of "love and caring." There were the typical and expectable complaints about dress codes and dormitory rules, but surprising praise for the food. For most students, St. Paul's is an inspiring and demanding place where they feel challenged and rewarded.

A decade ago, St. Paul's became coeducational and now girls make up 40 percent of the student body. The theme of the graduation symposium this year focused on the first decade of coeducation at St. Paul's. Several fifth- and sixth-form students (including a boy from Central America and a Black girl from New York) and a female faculty member with the longest tenure at the school, gave short presentations about their experiences with and perceptions of coeducation. The presenters were carefully selected by department heads and the rector. Speeches were written, critiqued by faculty, and rewritten several times. One student, exasperated by the close scrutiny, complained of the "censoring" of her ideas when she tried to speak her mind. But the public stories that emerged conveyed the success and richness of coeducation at St. Paul's. Said one student enthusiastically:

> "As males and females living together, day to day, we see each other both at our strongest and at our most vulnerable moments. We encounter each other in the classroom—and at breakfast. Superficiality *cannot* survive fried eggs in the morning. Casual, regular interaction compels a better knowledge of ourselves. In my personal experience here at St. Paul's, I have seen a great change in my own ways of thinking. One that I had not been consciously aware of, but a change that I had taken for granted. In my first year, I tended to think of people in distinct male or female roles. Now I realize, by encountering people in a coeducational setting, that I must free them to be individuals, free them to develop the full spectrum of human responses and potential."

The audience of parents and alumni greeted the messages with polite, but restrained response. Even with the rector's encouragement of candor, the audience did not speak of what was on their minds: the issue of sexual norms and practices among the boys and girls.

To a visitor, the girls at St. Paul's seem fully integrated into the setting. They are serious athletes, sensitive artists, bright and inquiring students, aggressive journalists, and student leaders. In ten years, the comfortable assimilation of girls into the historically all-male environment appears to have been accomplished. There are other signs of the incorporating arms of St. Paul's. Admissions committees stress their concern for diversity among the student body. In a small history seminar that I visited, students came from all over the country and the world: Germany;

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Japan; New York City; Capetown, South Africa; Denver; Maine; and San Francisco.

Less impressive is the minority presence at St. Paul's. Black and Brown faces are few and far between. A Black student says that they are now 4 percent of the student body; a more knowledgeable source claims a 7 percent Afro-American presence. I was eager to learn about the history and experience of Blacks at St. Paul's and turned to Lester Brown, one of two Black faculty and the new assistant dean of admissions. Brown's perspective reveals an intriguing blend of historical recollections and contemporary views.

A student at St. Paul's from 1969–73, Brown graduated with an engineering degree from the University of Pennsylvania and has returned to his alma mater for his first job. Lester Brown was born and raised in West Philadelphia and calls himself a "Philadelphia boy." He went to school not in the familiar Black territory of West Philly, but in Kensington, a working-class, Irish Catholic neighborhood where he experienced open hostility and some violence towards Blacks. It was a fiery, dangerous time. He rode the elevated street cars and buses on his hour and a half trek to school. His walk from the streetcar to the school sometimes had to be protected by police and national guardsmen. Because Kensington was a magnet school with special resources and a more academic climate, Brown decided to become "a sacrificial lamb." He soon discovered that the white kids inside were friendly and good, while the white kids outside were hateful. "It was not a matter of race, but of how you behaved that counted." He and two other buddies of his from West Philadelphia were discovered and "adopted" by a generous Jewish woman—a volunteer in tne school who offered them "cultural enrichment," friendship, guidance, and support. Brown called her "my fairy Godmother." Everything she touched magically turned into something good. It would happen invisibly. "We didn't know how things happened. Suddenly, everything would come together." So it was with Brown's coming to St. Paul's. When he was about to go on to high school, this woman asked him about his plans. He had thought of going to Central High School, a Philadelphia school with a good reputation, but she said, "You know, Lester, there are other options you should consider." Without much effort, he and his two friends found themselves spread apart in fancy private schools, faraway from family.

Brown remembers the transition to St. Paul's as immediate and easy. His experience with "good whites" in the Kensington School made him not prejudge or stereotype his white peers at St. Paul's. When Brown arrived in 1969, a strong, cohesive group of Black students provided so-

lace, support, and a source of identity for individual Blacks. (Brown remembers there being forty-five Blacks in the school as compared to twenty-three eleven years later.) A strong group consciousness permitted individuals to move forcefully out into the sea of whiteness and not feel overwhelmed or confused. Brown remembers the leader of the group, a strong articulate, political figure, who gained respect and some measure of fear from faculty and students. He was not considered radical, but he was disciplined and outspoken, and everyone knew he was serious.

Blacks were a clear presence on the campus in the early seventies. "Believe it or not, we even had a Third World room—a space we could make our own, decorate the way we wanted to, a place to gather." The energy and vitality of this cohesive Black group infected the campus spirit. Aretha Franklin's and Ray Charles's sounds could be heard across the manicured lawns; poetry readings portrayed Black voices; and parties were dominated by a Black spirit. "We were so sure of ourselves, we invited the *whites* in!" The irony of their success as a strong and dynamic force on the campus is that it led to their own demise and failure. Soon there was little differentiation between Whites and Blacks. The boundaries that had helped them establish their identity and made them strong enough to reach out eroded, fading into blurred distinctions.

Now the Afro-American Coalition has become the Third World Cultural Group. The "Coalition" label was seen by faculty and students as an overly political symbol, and the "Afro-American" image was deemed as too exclusive. In its recent incarnation, the Third World Cultural Group is an integrated club, generously sprinkled with whites. With no clear identity or purpose, many say it should be disbanded. "It's not doing anything for anybody." Others say it should be expanded to include a more generalized service role. There are more than fifty people signed up for the the Third World Cultural Group—"It looks good on their college applications." However, rarely are there more than ten or twelve who show up at meetings. This year, a white girl seems to be a favorite choice in the slate of nominations for president—a far cry from the spirit and ideology of the early seventies.

All recognize that the transitions within St. Paul's are a reflection of changes beyond the walls of the school. With fewer cities bursting into flames, with a lessening in the threat of violence and force, and with a softening in the rhetoric of Black consciousness, the thrust of affirmative action has diminished. Additionally, many Blacks feel more reticent about becoming "sacrificial lambs." In the last several years, the Black applicant pool at St. Paul's has yielded fewer and fewer qualified students. Increasingly, prospective students have been turned off and in-

timidated by approaches and images that have worked well with th
more privileged and white counterparts. Since his return, one of Brow
major roles has been the recruitment of minority students. His active a
sustained efforts have produced a significantly larger applicant pool t:
will bring fifteen third-form Black students to the school next fall—
major ripple in the still waters of St. Paul's.

Even those who have worried about the invisible and weaken
status of Blacks at St. Paul's do not seem to be suggesting retrenchme
or a return to isolation and separatism. But many Black students do spe.
of the need for a swelling of numbers and an encouragement (or at lea
validation) of togetherness. Group consciousness now seems to symbc
ize weakness rather than strength. The third- and fourth-form boys, wh
play junior varsity basketball together, have found a way to withstar
these negative perceptions of their groupiness. They justify their togetl
erness by claiming that they have athletics, not necessarily race, in com
mon. According to Brown, the Black girls have no such vehicle for grou
awareness, and so they suffer more from isolation at the school.

Class also divides the group. Most Black students come from worl
ing-class, urban backgrounds in New York, Chicago, and Boston. Whe
they come to St. Paul's, they are overwhelmed by the abundance an
plenty that surrounds them. At first, nothing is taken for granted. "The
appreciate the green grass and woods; they appreciate the gym floor
they appreciate the room accommodations." It takes them almost a yea
to make the major cultural shift, cross the class/ethnic boundaries, anc
begin to feel comfortable. At the same time, they are required to make a
difficult academic leap. Courses at St. Paul's demand a kind of thinkin;
they may have never experienced in their prior schooling. "They've nev-
er had to think before." They are expected to be questioning and articu-
late, and their academic skills are not as practiced or sophisticated as thei:
peers'. The dual demands of cultural assimilation and academic compe-
tence bear down on them with great force. It is amazing that they hang
in, survive the onslaughts, and return the next year ready to face the
challenges.

But where does this lead? Most likely, a prestigious college career
will follow. Next fall, Cheryl will go to Amherst. Others have gone to
Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Williams. Stephen, the only Black boy in
the sixth form, will not go immediately on to college. He'll travel to Spain
with no clear plans, no job lined up, and no facility in Spanish. His career
plans seem to be distantly related to his travels. He hopes one day to
enter the foreign service, and he wants "to get Spanish under his belt."
He seems apologetic about his vagueness, adrift and alone in the school.

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Stephen and Cheryl will be sad when school ends and they will have to return to New York and Chicago for the summer. "We have no friends at home," they say. Away from their family and friends for four years, they are strangers at home, feel distant and awkward in their old neighborhoods, and will miss returning to the now-safe environment of St. Paul's. Their profound connection to the school, and their sense of disconnection and alienation from home, seem to be related to what Lester Brown describes as the "breeding of arrogance." He fears that successful accommodation by Blacks to St. Paul's means that they are likely to leave as "different people" with well-socialized feelings of entitlement and superiority borrowed from peers, from faculty, and from a culture that inevitably separates them from their own people and, perhaps, from themselves. The naturally smiling and open face of Lester Brown grimaces at the thought. He, too, feels implicated and guilty about his participation in this process of cultural and personal transformation.