Introduction

The title of this edited volume, *Changing American Education: Recapturing the Past or Inventing the Future?*, poses what might appear to be a simple question: In the enterprise of changing education and schooling, are we looking backward or forward? The choices are not dichotomous; however, the pursuit of an answer to the question reveals the web of issues associated with any discussion of educational change.

On one level, the question might conjure a debate between those educators who propose a Eurocentric common core curriculum and those who might envision multicultural curricula joined with the new learning technology. This volume, however, was not framed to address issues at this level of the debate; rather, it focuses on some of the more *fundamental* concerns that *might* give rise to such debates.

The chapters in this volume are organized into three major sections. Following this introductory chapter, the next six chapters explore broad themes drawn from historical and theoretical analyses of educational and school change. The second section includes four chapters that analyze recent and ongoing efforts at the school district level to reorder roles, relationships, and the social and economic structures that support them. Finally, the volume's concluding section is organized to examine reform and restructuring at the school and classroom levels.

This book has three central purposes. The first is to examine the nature of comprehensive, large scale historical and social changes that contextualize educational reform. A second and related purpose is to amplify the meaning of lessons learned by those who have assisted in particular change efforts. Many of the chapters draw upon rich case material that provides documentation of the possibilities and hazards awaiting those who undertake reform of educational practice and structures. Finally, several chapters examine how the rhetoric of educational change may fall short of the reality as translated to processes and practices at different levels of the enterprise.

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The importance of the volume resides in the extent to which it provides an understanding of current efforts at educational and school change including the effective schools movement and former President Bush's America 2000 proposals to create a "new generation of American schools" for the twenty-first century. Authors whose work is included here approach the issue of changing schools from interpretive and critical perspectives in policy studies and the anthropology, history, sociology, and psychology of education. In the remainder of this introduction, we examine major arguments put forward in each of the chapters in this volume.

PART I: HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO SCHOOL CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the first chapter, "Not All Caterpillars Become Butterflies: Reform and Restructuring as Educational Change," Nancy P. Greenman provides a conceptual framework for thinking about change and also unpacks one of the volume's salient themes: the rhetoric as contrasted with the realities of educational and school change. The chapter is a useful foray into the politically (and conceptually) murky landscape of the change literature. As Greenman shows, terms such as "reform" and, more recently, "restructuring" do not always have the same meanings in the discourse of those who use them. By articulating a number of schemes for both categorizing and interpreting different levels of change, Greenman illustrates how what can be termed "first wave" reform focuses on rearranging commonly accepted elements of schooling, such as how the school day is organized, while leaving power relations intact. The status quo is thus maintained while "reformers" fret over whether or not community members and teachers should be invited to the table. In order to more closely align the realities and the rhetoric, Greenman emphasizes, all of the players need critical awareness of their relationships to the cultural context and the process of change.

A major failure of would-be educational change-makers has resided in their focus on constructing rational models for altering forms such as teacher education while obscuring political and economic inequities. Thus, again giving attention to context and presuppositions therein, Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan in "Certification to Credentialing: Reconstituting Control Mechanisms in Teacher Education" illustrate how state-mandated credentialing requirements have equated reform with "professionalization." Legislative and governmental texts are ana-

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lyzed by the authors who show how new forms of control have been produced that both structurally organize educational practice and obscure power relations. Teachers have been reduced to the objects of a Foucaultian "clinical language," their praxis conceived as a discrete set of tasks. In addition, government at the state and federal levels has extended its control to school practice, eroding the legitimacy and direction of traditional local and democratic control. As did Greenman, Popkewitz and Brennan underline the importance of critical awareness (and perhaps deconstruction) of context to allow for the process of change; "to locate discontinuities is to open new systems of possibility."

Continuing the volume's consideration of reforms touching teacher education, teaching, and teachers, in chapter 3 Michael W. Apple addresses the question "Is Change Always Good for Teachers? Gender, Class, and Teaching in History" and concludes that it is not. Like Popekewitz and Brennan and most others in this volume, Apple argues that school is thoroughly political in nature. According to Apple, political dimensions of schools and schooling can be detected in the (1) relationship of class, race, and gender with school processes and outcomes, (2) the kinds of knowledge that are (and are not) selected to imbed in the curriculum and, (3) the work teachers do in school. Apple's historical analysis also leads the reader through an account of the changing nature of the job of teaching. As a predominantly male occupation in the 1850s, teaching was a supplementary activity—a way to augment wages earned in farming or to enhance a career in local politics since some degree of prestige was associated with the position. As a form of mobility and a haven of respectability for women, however, teaching from the late nineteenth century forward has fallen increasingly under the control of patriarchal ideologies. As teaching became feminized, Apple argues, teaching itself became increasingly subject to state and local regulations while salaries relative to earlier pay scales fell off—women received only two-thirds of the pay earned by men. Historically, as Apple shows, women have resisted the patriarchal forms and structures that have been imposed on their jobs in an attempt to regulate their behavior. The scenario continues to play itself out as women continue to mobilize against further erosion of their autonomy and ability to define parameters of their position.

Networks of college of education deans are a potentially important source of educational change-making, particularly if these networks are connected with highly visible and influential universities. This argument is put forward by Barbara Schneider and Stafford Hood in their chapter, "Pathways to Institutional Change: From the Deans' Network to the

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Holmes Group." Schneider and Hood demonstrate how initial concerns of Big 10 and Big 8 college of education deans who constituted the membership of an informal deans' network became the centerpiece of the later Holmes Group deans. Concerns of the deans included: (1) enhancing both teacher and administrator education, and (2) forming closer alliances with the field through a "multidirectional collaborative process involving scholars, practitioners, administrators, and linking agents." These two themes have continued to dominate the Holmes agenda. The authors show how both the Deans' Network and later the Holmes Group deans battled in their individual university contexts to overcome the "professional liability" in research universities associated with teacher education programs. The authors conclude that the Holmes Group continues to face major difficulties in its efforts to restructure teacher education and must address a remaining set of problems, not the least of which includes the needs and interests of both non-research oriented institutions and those with large minority enrollments.

The next chapter, "The 1989 Education Summit as a Defining Moment in the Politics of Education," by Susan R. Martin, moves the focus from teacher education reform to the broader federal agenda in the politics of education. Although the federal government's connections with business-related interests and state-level concerns are hardly recent phenomena, the summit meeting reemphasized and formalized the shift toward exclusion of other interests, particularly those of professional educators. The analysis in the chapter is organized to show how the media uncritically accepted President Bush's explanations of the U.S. educational "crisis." Bush and others, such as William Bennett linked the faltering U.S. economy with the failure of students to acquire skills making them "internationally competitive." The fact that the U.S. has undergone a structural reordering of its economy in the wake of failing productivity in manufacturing was not taken into account. The President's desire to improve the performance of U.S. schools, shaped by advisors representing the Carnegie Corporation, was symbolically shifted to the state level. This shift has continued to be played out in the emphasis on state certification policies as argued in chapter 3 by Popkewitz and Brennan and in the continuing involvement of business interests in such federal initiatives as the New American Schools Design Team Initiatives Corporation as mentioned here by Martin.

The final chapter in this section is by Erwin V. Johanningmeier. In "It Was More Than a Thirty Years' War, but Instruction Won: The Demise of Education in the Industrial Society," Johanningmeier argues that compulsory schooling, the dominance of educational psychology and a lack

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of progression from the requirements of a nineteenth century industrial state have served to create a public educational system out of touch with realities confronting U.S. post-industrial society. Johanningmeier emphasizes, as Popkewitz and Brennan also note, the strong and almost exclusive psychological orientation of education that has shaped and limited alternatives for schooling. Goals to change the school grounded in the rationales provided by these forces will not serve society well according to the author. Rather, educators at all levels must take up concerns about educating students that seriously engage the instructional goals of teaching. Training in basic skills and evaluation using standardized testing procedures are window dressing. This chapter speaks to a critical national concern to examine assumptions underlying our system of universal public education.

PART II: RHETORIC VS. REFORM AND RESTRUCTURING IN THE DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY

The four chapters included in Part II of this volume bring the analysis to the level of the school district and its surrounding community. The first chapter in this section, "Community Involvement and Staff Development in School Improvement," by William T. Pink and Kathryn M. Borman, uses two local case studies to argue that restructuring strategies must be articulated by teachers and community members, particularly parents, if change is to occur. Citizens in "North Riverside," an urbanized working class suburb in southwestern Ohio, perceived themselves to be responsive and civic-minded despite longstanding hostilities between the city's majority white and minority African-American communities. After an effort to evaluate and alter classroom and school-wide practices, the schools remained disengaged from a commitment to change. In the case of Chicago, an ambitious ongoing attempt to restructure district practices continues to be threatened both by political agendas and a lack of common purpose. The authors provide a set of operating principles that could be applied to other settings, particularly settings where participants are emotionally embroiled and conflicting agendas serve to immobilize key actors.

Continuing an analysis of the Chicago case, G. Alfred Hess, Jr. and John Q. Easton describe conditions giving rise to the radical changes in the system and present data from the first year's implementation of the reform agenda. In their chapter "Monitoring the Implementation of Radical Reform: Restructuring the Chicago Public Schools," these authors

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pay particularly close attention to the work accomplished during the first year by the Local School Advisory Council (LSAC), arguing that accountability provisions may prove to be the most important aspect of the state-mandated reforms in Chicago. The LSACs are important to the success of the enterprise because resources and important school governance decisions are in the hands of these groups. Hess and Easton present a number of useful and often surprising findings. These include the rather heartening news that LSACs actually *do* spend large portions of their meeting time discussing the school's curricular program, school safety and security, and the school budget, although a considerable amount of attention is also given at these meetings to council procedures. By continuing their longterm evaluation of the Chicago experiment, Hess, Easton, and their colleagues at the Chicago Panel will not only provide objective reports but will also inform LSACs of their findings which in turn may then modify their practices.

The Chicago case, of course, is simply one of many reform efforts being carried forward in urban school districts. In their chapter, "Educational Reform and the Urban School Superintendent: A Dilemma," Louis Castenell, Cornell Brooks, and Patricia Z. Timm examine the reform agendas currently put forward by urban school superintendents representing twenty-one large city school systems. The authors conclude that the rhetoric of school reform, embodied in such activities as "curriculum development" and "climate building" often masks another agenda, one concerned with improving students' "basic skills" and enhancing student performance on standardized tests. The authors conclude that many school superintendents are "abdicating their transformative opportunities."

While "parent involvement" in school reforms promises the opportunity to radically alter school decision-making, the term itself can be and frequently is manipulated to satisfy various interests. Marianne N. Bloch and B. Robert Tabachnick make this argument in their chapter "Improving Parent Involvement as School Reform: Rhetoric or Reality?" Parent involvement may encompass volunteer work, representation on parent councils, or school choice voucher privileges. It seldom, however, is aimed at working *with* teachers in defining, shaping, and effectively meeting professional responsibilities. Using a series of vignettes drawn from their field work at "Greendale," "Oakhill," and "Lakelawn" schools, the authors examine the extent to which the efforts of parents, teachers, and the authors were largely symbolic or, in fact, real transformations of existing school practices. Not only do Bloch and Tabachnick find that there are "real and important differences in belief, priority, def-

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inition and practice" in the area of parental involvement but they also discover the real time constraints that prevent participants from breaking down the substantial barriers to communication leading to "greater transformative involvement" of parents.

PART III: RHETORIC VS. REFORM AND RESTRUCTURING IN THE SCHOOL AND THE CLASSROOM

In the volume's concluding section, the authors of five chapters move directly into the school and classroom to address changes in curricular practices, structural arrangements and patterns of interaction leading to new ways of "doing school." Several authors have been key participants in the processes of change they set about analyzing in their texts.

Dorothy Angell, the author of "Can Multicultural Education Foster Transcultural Identities?" picks up the thread and more fully embroiders the notion of critical understanding of cultural context and the self as cultural construction noted by Greenman and others in this volume. Angell describes the concept of culturally mediated personal identity, and argues its importance as a focal point in education. Based on ethnographic work as well as her work with students in teacher education, Angell reflects on the response her students have to their culturally "different" students and makes a strong case for the value and practice of empathy in human affairs. Angell cautions, however, that a fully empathetic response, while essential in understanding "the bonds of feeling that hold people together or tear them apart," demands a response "consonant with the other's reality." In a nation so long divided in its sentiments along class and ethnic lines, empathy has never been easy to achieve. However, as Angell's analysis points out, in an increasingly "minority majority" society, we have paramount need to develop empathic orientations. Thus, in looking for alignment of "rhetoric and reality," one of the recurring themes in this volume, she identifies empathy as a possible "bridge between the rhetoric about valued cultural diversity and the reality of 'troublesome' cultural differences."

Julie Binko, in her chapter "Using the Future to Create Community and Curricular Change," suggests that one way to align rhetoric and reality is to direct curricular change through juxtaposition of observed current reality and desired projected reality. Binko focuses on the community as directing the changes, seeing the reformation of a K-12 curriculum and the direction of community change as interactive. According to Binko, the three dimensions of time (past, present, and future)

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"will direct the evolution of meaning for a reformed, procreative, proformative curriculum." The case study through which she demonstrates this process linked the current state of the community—obtained with ethnographic techniques—to citizens' desirable futures—obtained via ethnographic futures research—and produced ten recommendations based on the juxtapositions. Just as the notion of "shared vision" has been discussed elsewhere in this volume as an essential part of change, Binko notes that "common choice of a future" is the first step toward directing actual change in the community through educational change.

In order to generate shared visions in our heterogeneous society, obviously we need to allow those visions to be more inclusive than we individually may desire; we need some sense of common identity. In addition to Angell's development of empathy, and perhaps fostering development of that empathy, collaborating and working together in teams may help to create a sense of belonging and common identity. Joanne M. Arhar, in her chapter "Interdisciplinary Teaming: Can It Increase the Social Bonding of Middle-Level Students?," looks at interdisciplinary teaming as a key to middle level restructuring. According to Arhar, inherent in the "middle school philosophy and social structure" is a focus on the needs of students and the uniqueness of middle level students, and an evolution of responsive programs. These are usually interactive in nature; teaming is an integral part of the notion of middle schools. In Chapter 11, Angell noted that adolescents are especially receptive to the development of understanding difference through empathy. Arhar acknowledges the importance of personal relationships in the development of a sense of belonging and common identity—with peers, teachers, and school. She argues that social bonding, then, is both an intermediate step toward academic achievement and "an outcome worthy in and of itself." Teams have the potential to create conditions "conducive to formation of close, stable relationships between teachers and peers." Arhar's well designed study takes care to ensure that the rhetoric of teaming is a reality in the participating schools. A number of findings emerge from Arhar's study.

In the chapter entitled "Beliefs, Symbols, and Realities: A Case Study of a School in Transition," W. Wade Burley and Arthur S. Shapiro describe a case study of a southeastern school where externally facilitated change occurs in response to internally identified unmet needs. In this intervention, the authors, serving as change agents, helped elicit desired outcomes, identified barriers to change, and aligned the lived reality with rhetoric for desired change. As part of the process, this junior

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high school changed to a middle school with teaming as part of the social organization.

The final chapter of both this section and the volume has within it many of the recurring themes that have emerged throughout the book. Chester H. Laine, Lucille M. Schultz and M. Lynne Smith, in their chapter, "Interactions among School and College Teachers: Toward Recognizing and Remaking Old Patterns" offer a critical analysis of collaboration. The authors note the proliferation of failed university-school collaborations, and use a case study of six years of participation in a collaborative project involving a large urban school system and a comprehensive research university to explore the "danger inherent in the introduction of *innovations* within complex settings." This chapter provides a view of collaboration from the perspectives of various players and the agendas, usually unarticulated, motivating each. It is rich with dialogue and explication of the various cultural contexts, revealing many of the cultural constraints on collaboration. However, ultimately in collaboration, "personal agendas had to accommodate and serve the interests of the children and communities served by the urban schools." Development of understanding of the constraints and demands, of personal relationships, and of trust allowed for successful collaboration rather than individual attention to promoting individual agendas.

The volume, then, both begins and ends with an examination and possible dismantling of barriers to change that invents the future.

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