

**Book Review**

**Total Institutions, Leadership, and  
Management: Supplemental Thoughts  
on Sam Stack's *The Arthurdale  
Community School: Education and Reform  
in Depression Era Appalachia*<sup>1</sup>**

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**Introduction**

Arthurdale, West Virginia was among the first of more than 100 projects implemented by the U.S. Department of the Interior's Subsistence Homestead program. Arthurdale was an application of subsistence homesteading and the creation of a community which centered as its nucleus a community school. Elsie Ripley Clapp (1879–1965), community leader, was appointed school superintendent. Clapp applied her unique conception of progressive education paired with John Dewey's (1859–1952) philosophy of schooling in a democratic society and his thoughts on the importance and role of the school community. Clapp's education, experience, leadership, and knowledge of progressive educational ideas led her to create a school-based community laboratory for democracy, the subject of Samuel F Stack, Jr.'s *The Arthurdale Community School: Education and Reform in Depression Era Appalachia*. In the first sections of this essay I focus on Stack's description and analysis of the Arthurdale experiment and the issues facing U.S. society in the late 1930s including economic conditions, the New Deal's position on the role of government, and government projects' bureaucratic structure. Stack also documents the importance of community, place, and identity; the possibility of democratic, community-based education; and variety across progressive models. Finally, he focuses on local issues with constructing school and community, the unification of school and community, the importance of community health, and provisions for welfare, jobs, and recreation. In the last sections of this essay I expand on some of the issues Stack raises in his thorough historical accounting:

the importance of and difficulties of schools' and communities' bureaucratic social planning, the nature and importance of leadership, and the use of the school as a total institution, all of which speak to lessons Arthurdale and other progressive projects teach.

During his career, Sam Stack has amassed a comprehensive body of work surrounding *The Arthurdale School's* major themes. He has published work on the impact of individual educators on education as well as on the philosophy of John Dewey, progressive education, the rural education experience, issues in community education, the school as a social institution, and the impact of philosophy of education. He has conducted extensive research at the National Archives, the Roosevelt Library, the Center for Dewey Studies, among other collections. *The Arthurdale School* is Stack's third book, preceded by *Elsie Ripley Clapp (1879–1965): Her Life and the Community School* (2004) and *Teachers, Leaders, and Schools: Essays by John Dewey* (2010), edited with Douglas J. Simpson. With *The Arthurdale School* Stack applies his talents to the study of the Arthurdale Community School from several vantage points. He begins with an investigation of community and its importance to identity and place, later recounting efforts to use schools to improve or create place and community. Stack describes the origins of the New Deal's Homestead Subsistence programs that led to the Arthurdale project's creation and Eleanor Roosevelt's role. He explores the importance of the Arthurdale experiment and its place in the history of education, particularly progressive education. Stack acknowledges and honors the perspectives and experiences of Arthurdale project participants, governing committees, homesteaders, teachers, students, and the project's leader, Elsie Ripley Clapp.

Clapp studied at Vassar College (1899–1903) and Barnard College (1903–1908) where she earned a bachelor's degree. At Columbia University (1908) she studied philosophy and English, and served several terms as Dewey's teaching assistant and as secretary for the *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*.<sup>2</sup> She was acquainted with philosophy department professors but showed great interest in the works and teaching of Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick (1871–1965).<sup>3</sup>

Stack shows Arthurdale Schools were designed to be the community's centralizing institution. He recounts unplanned but clearly vital community participation as the school year's start approached. Without the community's labor and expertise opening the school would not have been possible. Exemplary was the Arthurdale nursery school which delivered a comprehensive set of community services for health and well-being. Community women prepared school meals and partook

of nursery school services which focused not only on infants but also on the unborn. The community's men refurbished buildings, built school furniture, organized a volunteer fire department, and participated in cultural events.

### **Community, Education, and Democracy**

Stack's greatest contribution is arguably his examination of the Arthurdale school-community project as practical application of Deweyan ideas on democracy, community, and philosophy of education. Dewey's visit to Arthurdale left him impressed by Elsie Ripley Clapp and school educators' work to regain for Arthurdale's citizens their sense of identity, community, and place through the social process of education.

John Dewey (1859–1952) warns, “rejection of the philosophy and practice of traditional education sets a new type of difficult educational problem for those who believe in the new type of education.”<sup>4</sup> To develop a philosophy of education simply to reject traditional and customary forms of education is insufficient. He suggests that:

...those who are looking ahead to a new movement in education, adapted to the existing need for a new social order, should think in terms of Education itself rather than in terms of some 'ism about education, even such an 'ism as “progressivism.” For in spite of itself any movement that thinks and acts in terms of an 'ism becomes so involved in reaction against other 'isms that it is unwittingly controlled by them.<sup>5</sup>

Elsie Ripley Clapp, a creative and experienced progressive educator, negotiated government intervention and inconsistent policies to create a homogeneous community school and school community.

### **The Great Depression and the New Deal**

Stack sets the stage for his Arthurdale study by presenting immediate historical context. The economic boom of the 1920s with its stock-market speculation, growth, and seemingly unstoppable prosperity ended in October, 1929. Fortunes acquired in the post-World War I era were quickly lost, plunging the U.S. into the Great Depression. Bank failures, widespread unemployment, and lack of appropriate governmental response led to widespread despair and hopelessness among the U.S.' people. The economic situation's destructiveness resulted in a nationwide breakdown of community life. The 1933 election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the creation of New Deal programs and policies sought to lessen the effects of the economic crisis and the concomitant breakdown of community, especially in rural towns. For Stack the “concept of community is central to Dewey's

vision of democracy, and the building of community is what he perceived to be the ultimate goal of the school.”<sup>6</sup> The development of the U.S. economy focused on “materialism and individualism” and, one might add, competition contributed to the “dissolution or loss of a sense of community.”<sup>7</sup> To assuage the problem of a decreasing sense of community it is necessary for a social group’s members to engage with others. “Shared action and common values form the basis for community,” writes Stack, requiring “some form of communication.... [And while] communication and community help form the basis of democracy, they are also crucial to the educational process.”<sup>8</sup> Stack posits the role of experience as a means to accomplish and learn all things. For Dewey the school, like the community, is experience-based. Experience is at the heart of progressive education and of progressive society. Dewey writes, “the progressive movement...seems more in accord with the democratic ideal to which our people is committed than do the procedures of the traditional school.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Varieties of Progressive Education**

As additional context, Stack provides an overview of progressive education’s complex condition, the relationship of philosophy of education to school practice, and the Depression’s dire consequences on schools. In analyzing progressive education of the mid-1930s, he finds a divided and divisive continuum of ideas situated within four schools of thought: social reconstructionists, community-school progressives, child-centered progressives, and administrative progressives. The extremists in this continuum were social reconstructionists and child-centered progressives. Stack explains, “the thrust in progressive education was [at first] a [child-centered] concern for the physical and emotional development of children.” Subsequent ideas of social reconstruction “placed much more emphasis on the school as a tool of social reform.”<sup>10</sup> Administrative progressives viewed school principals and superintendents as leaders responsible for training teachers and implementing progressive practices. Community-school progressives believed, as does Dewey, that:

...the teacher should become intimately acquainted with the conditions of the local community, physical, historical, economic, occupational, etc., in order to utilize them as educational resources. A system of education based upon the necessary connection of education with experience must, on the contrary, if faithful to its principle, take these things constantly into account.<sup>11</sup>

Designed as a microcosm of society the progressive school was meant better to serve society than traditional schools focused on academic curriculum separate from community, separate from students’ lived experience.

### **Subsistence Homesteading**

Eleanor Roosevelt's visit to Scotts Run became the origin of the Arthurdale project. Stack's analysis of the project's development illuminates many problems encountered as the project progressed. Among the rural poor it was not uncommon for farmers, especially those with small amounts of land, to work to supplement farming with cash income. In the Appalachian Mountains this often meant mining. The closing of unprofitable mines eliminated that work and its income so government intervention sought to improve opportunities and recreate community and cultural pride. The school was to be the organizing feature emphasizing lifelong community education that recognized and sustained Arthurdale's unique cultural and social heritage. The goal of the Arthurdale community was to provide homes and land for about 200 families chosen from more than 600 families. Interviewers selected participants based on what they could bring to the community. The concept of subsistence farming and part-time or seasonal work as a supplement required suitable land and a local industry, cooperatives, folk art, and handicrafts. At first children were to attend local schools but area schools were unable to accommodate the influx of students so the Arthurdale School became a reality. Recommended by the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, Elsie Ripley Clapp was engaged to lead the project.

Ultimately the success of Arthurdale was short and limited. Government planners, the unwise use or lack of funding, the patriarchal and off-site decision-making process won out over Dewey's idea of democracy arising from community. The effort to construct school-community when most important decisions were made outside the school and community was doomed by those with other agendas and fiscal interests.

What makes Arthurdale unique was the conscious design of a community with a school at its center. The concerted effort to meld the school and community into one grew from Elsie Ripley Clapp's progressive ideas and her understanding of John Dewey's educational philosophy. Clapp developed the school's focus and methods based on experience in progressive schools. She was chair of the Progressive Education Association (PEA) National Committee on Rural Education, and served on the PEA Advisory and Executive Board (1924–1936).<sup>12</sup> Through PEA she became acquainted with other progressive educators' ideas and methods. In Arthurdale she encountered the perfect opportunity to put a school-community model into practice. As a student, assistant, and disciple of Dewey and progressive education, Clapp had experience both in the progressive classroom and administration of progressive schools. Before her Arthurdale experience

Clapp served as administrator for a decade, developing and implementing her view of education at Rosemary Junior High in Greenwich, Connecticut and at Ballard School in Kentucky. Stack's biographical work on Elsie Ripley Clapp gives him extensive knowledge of her preparation for and application of her educational philosophy. Stack makes abundantly clear how Elsie Ripley Clapp developed her own take on progressive and community education in keeping with Dewey's admonition that:

It is the business of an intelligent theory of education to ascertain the causes for the conflicts that exist and then, instead of taking one side or the other, to indicate a plan of operations proceeding from a level deeper and more inclusive than is represented by the practices and ideas of the contending parties.<sup>13</sup>

Clapp developed, during her teaching and administrative career, the necessary philosophy, skills, and teacher cadre to create a community school and Arthurdale provided the opportunity to put philosophy and skills into practice. Had the overseers given the school as prominent a place in the Arthurdale project as did Clapp, the project could have accomplished even more.

### **School and Reform**

Stack documents problems existed from the beginning. Upon Clapp's arrival she found construction had not yet begun on the school buildings because of a disagreement over the school's budget. There were no teaching materials, no school furniture, and few books, but with a staff of dedicated progressive educators and a community willing to undertake the challenge the 1934 school year began in available, repurposed buildings filled with community-built furniture. If, as Stack says, "the two fundamental issues for progressive education in the 30s were the role of the school in the social order and the need for reform within the curriculum,"<sup>14</sup> health and nutrition were also key issues and Arthurdale school met those issues head-on. School began with teachers creating the curriculum using the place's and people's culture and history. Soon the nursery "became the heart of the school program."<sup>15</sup> The staff, school doctor, and nurse taught childcare, gave pre-natal and post-natal care, and operated a well-baby clinic. As the community came together, men and women organized into various service and recreational groups. Arthurdale women cooked and served meals at the school; men worked on the production of school furniture and transformation of buildings into the school. At the end of the first year, the Arthurdale music festival celebrated the community's feel and culture.

During the second year the Arthurdale community neared completion. The men finished construction of the last homes and agricultural projects began to yield. High school aid programs administered by the National Youth Administration (NYA) as part of the Works Progress Administration provided assistance that year. Stack notes, however, a persistent level of unease which took two forms. First was overall unease with the project; there was the question of home ownership: were community members' payments rent or mortgage payments? Second was concern for the school. Community members questioned the methods of progressive educators and the high school's lack of accreditation. Shortages of books and materials, departures partly caused by that shortage, and differences between the Arthurdale school and schools students' parents attended made some parents uneasy. Still, overall, students made progress. Children were in better overall physical condition to learn and the arrival of new students offered an opportunity to expand relationships.

The heart of Arthurdale school was its nursery school that provided preschool education and instructed parents and young women from the high school NYA program in child care, prenatal care, and practical nursing. An NYA project sought to provide trades training for boys and secretarial, medical, and domestic arts training for girls.

Despite its challenges, Arthurdale school largely succeeded in accomplishing a difficult task: creation of a school-based community. John Dewey served on the National Advisory Committee for Arthurdale and visited toward the end of the 1936 school year. In the introduction to Clapp's 1952 book, *The Use of Resources in Education*, he calls Arthurdale and Ballard "groundbreaking educational undertakings which are here reported by the one who was largely responsible for initiating them."<sup>16</sup>

### **Return to County Control**

Elsie Ripley Clapp's leadership of Arthurdale school ended in July 1936. She had concentrated on finding manufacturers who would build factories in Arthurdale to provide much-needed jobs for residents. Without adequate employment, grants, and funding failures the school project became untenable. With her departure in August 1936, the experiment at Arthurdale was left to its own devices. Most progressive educators working with Clapp were forced to seek other employment since only the nursery school and its programs retained funding. Thereafter the county and state took control of Arthurdale school. Government grants and Eleanor Roosevelt partly funded the 1936–1937 and 1937–1938 school years but in the summer of 1938 the National Committee recommended the school become the county's sole responsibility. Nevertheless, the school retained vestiges of the progressive experiment. The 1939 published Arthurdale school

philosophy emphasizes local needs over a lockstep curriculum and “the importance of cooperative responsibility and democratic life..., opportunities for the child to think in scientific manner..., [and] the school must be life and education and must grow out of life experiences.”<sup>17</sup> This philosophy seemingly follows Dewey who writes:

A single course of studies for all progressive schools is out of the question; it would mean abandoning the fundamental principle of connection with life-experiences.... The other alternative is systematic utilization of scientific method as the pattern and ideal of intelligent exploration and exploitation of the potentialities inherent in experience.<sup>18</sup>

Economic problems continued to plague the Arthurdale school and community. Finally, the national economic upturn resulting from World War II spending made it possible for many residents to find jobs or enter military service. The federal support that had sustained Arthurdale school and community began to wither after 1936 and eventually inhabitants bought their Arthurdale homes. The county-administrated schools reverted to traditional formats. Arthurdale became just another community in central West Virginia and another of the subsistence homestead communities across the country. Arthurdale school moved from the community-school progressive into the administrative-progressive style, retaining a stated progressive philosophy but employing a more traditional practice.

### **Bureaucracy, Leadership, Planning, and the School as Total Institution**

Stack’s penetrating analysis of the Arthurdale school-community posits the pitfalls of planned social intervention, a convoluted bureaucratic administration, disagreement about the budget and its best use, uncoordinated and unfocused policies, and the inability to provide self-sustaining economic opportunities. The success of Arthurdale ultimately was due to Elsie Ripley Clapp’s thoughtful, consistent application of progressive and democratic principles despite being forced to negotiate inconsistent bureaucratic policy while trying to build a sustainable school-community.

Throughout Stack explores several significant problems related to the application of education as a solution to social and economic woes. He identifies the variety of educational philosophies called progressive education and alludes to the nature of leadership, the application of rational planning, and the use of the school as a total institution. Arthurdale gives but one example of the perils that arise when intervening in complex social and economic processes.

### **Leadership, Power, and Authority**

First is the nature of leadership, power, and authority. Following Max Weber's "sociology of domination,"<sup>19</sup> T. T. Paterson identifies five types of authority. First is structural authority that accrues to the person who occupies a position in the organization's hierarchy; a leader who has authority derived from superior knowledge, skill, and experience has sapiential authority. Charismatic authority is authority based on personality, charm, or the ability to persuade others to follow. Moral authority derives from an individual's desire to improve the social situation based on principles and the collective good. Personal authority is a willingness to speak out, to have one's ideas and opinions heard. Æsculpien authority combines the attributes of sapiential, charismatic, moral, and personal authority to greater or lesser degrees. Structural authority may or may not be present.<sup>20</sup> Negative connotations exist within all forms of authority: those who rise to lead an outlaw organization based on ruthlessness and violence, those who rise through bureaucracies through longevity, and those who might lead political or social organizations through bullying, hectoring, and intimidation, narrowly defining the collective good can all do a disservice to an organization or society. Societies and organizations need leadership but those solely based on charismatic or sapiential leaders have difficulty surviving a leader's absence.

Often a leader emerges who has experience, training, innovative ideas, and a creative view of what can be done to improve the subject of interest, or Æsculpien authority. Elsie Ripley Clapp's leadership fits this category. Clapp's training, experience, and personal qualities ensured progressive ideas and attitudes would be foregrounded and Arthurdale would embrace fully the school-community model. She was able to attract like-minded educators to participate in the Arthurdale Schools project and, initially, to convince those with bureaucratic responsibility of the value of the school-community ideals. At the end of Clapp's tenure, the process of regression began. After a time, all that was left was the school's philosophy that alluded to Clapp's progressive values.

### **Planning and Engineering**

The second problem is the inadequacy of rational planning to meet the needs of an innovative activity. Project organizers conceived of the Arthurdale school-community as laboratory and model for building school-communities and for enacting social and political reform: a radical renovation. Such new thinking about education and its role in the community's life contrasts with the traditional, familiar school. In Dewey's view:

...for radical renovation of the school system, a revision, almost a reversal, of wording would seem to be required.

Instead of saying that we have thought so long about education—if thinking means anything intellectual—it would be closer to the realities of the situation to say we have only just begun to think about it. The school system represents not thinking but the domination of thought by the inertia of immemorial customs.<sup>21</sup>

In his view, “the science of education...only rationalizes old, customary education while improving it in minor details.”<sup>22</sup> True reform requires a new education based on the common experience of teacher, student, and community.

Constraints on planning committees led to decisions that often hindered the possibility the project could be successful. The bureaucracy had its own vision of education based on tradition, inertia, and habit, and decisions made above the community level made the project’s success impossible. Dewey calls these “new conceptions in education” but warns they “will not of themselves carry us far in modifying schools, for until the schools are modified the new conceptions will be themselves pale, remote, vague, formal.”<sup>23</sup> One sees such vagaries repeatedly in the planning of so-called educational innovation, wherein everything from vouchers to charter schools are conceptualized to remedy perceived shortcomings of public education. The educational institution has been subjected to efficiency models, business models, testing models, and technological models that, given time, revert to tradition, inertia, and habit; these models do not survive their leaders.

### **The School as Total Institution**

The third problem, school as total institution, arises from the dilemma of schooling as an institution of society and the primary institution for the creation of society, democratic or otherwise. At the continuum’s progressive end, the school serves as exemplar of what is possible when governed by democratic and egalitarian structure and content. At the continuum’s traditional end is the idea of schooling as preparation of students to take their place in the existing social structure. Both these conceptions of schools and all those in between conceptualize education as one societal institution among many. In opposition to the continuum’s traditional end is the idea of school as the primary source or clearing house of a community’s social services. Sociologist Erving Goffman describes the total institution based on work he did as a visiting member of the National Institute of Mental Health focusing on the social world of inmates, individuals sequestered for long periods of time. He defines a total institution as “a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together

lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.”<sup>24</sup> He differentiates between social establishments in which various functions of social institutions (family, government, economy, education, and religion) and total institutions provide the total environment for members. He identifies five types of total institutions: first, those that care for individuals incapable of caring for themselves but who are otherwise harmless to society; second, those who are incapable but might pose a risk to themselves or society; third, those that protect society from dangerous individuals; fourth, those that sequester individuals for particular activities; and fifth, those that provide a separate life for religious or personal lifestyle reasons.<sup>25</sup>

In the 1970s Thomas Wiggins and Michael Langenbach drew from Goffman’s characteristics of total institutions: all aspects of life are pursued in the same place and under the same authority; life is carried on in the company of a large group of others, all of whom are generally treated similarly; activities are scheduled being imposed by a system of explicit rules and officials, and; all enforced activities make up a single, rational plan to fulfill institutional goals.<sup>26</sup> They examine the idea of total institutions in an actual institution, the elementary school, that serves as a locus for at least the secular institutions of society’s “health, welfare, and recreation.” They found a “proliferation of functions or aspects of life traditionally viewed as responsibilities of the family unit or the community are being assumed by the school.”<sup>27</sup> Although Arthurdale succumbed to the lack of planners’ foresight and disregard for their decisions’ consequences, the Arthurdale school-community took on many characteristics of a total institution. The combination of functions of community plus functions of school made the school the community’s focus. The school provided much of the community’s social life.

John Dewey is skeptical of the efficacy of placing so many social burdens on the institution of education. He recognizes the variety of educational theories and practices educators called “progressive.” Noting that:

...our educational procedure is still accidental, and that all our pretensions in education will remain mere pretensions until we can analyze the products of home and school rearing, so as to assign with definiteness responsibility for the various conditions and forces which have brought about the various elements in the human product.<sup>28</sup>

He reasons the school should be a microcosm of society, and that the social structure, i.e., the pluralistic, democratic nature of society should be visible in schools. That does not mean, however, that schools should take a leadership role in defining community and society. He theorizes:

Faith in the possibilities of education is enormous. But the notion that we cannot really direct the processes which lead actual living human beings to good and bad products is equally widespread.... For everywhere there is the same absence of insight into the means by which our professed ends are to be realized.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, he surely applauded Clapp's effort to create a school-community relationship in which education could be different from the controlled content demanded by government "enlisting," "popular interest and sentiment; and the possibility of exciting and directing that interest by a judiciously selected supply of 'news.'"<sup>30</sup> He laments his is an era of:

...bunk and hokum—there is more of it in quantity, its circulation is more rapid and ceaseless, it is swallowed more eagerly and more indiscriminately than ever before. The reasons...are external rather than in any inherent deterioration of intellect and character.<sup>31</sup>

Developing transportation and communication enlarges the social world and the worldviews of its members. His view is:

...education means the creation of a discriminating mind, a mind that prefers not to dupe itself or to be the dupe of others...to cultivate the habit of suspended judgment, of scepticism, of desire for evidence, of appeal to observation rather than sentiment, discussion rather than bias, inquiry rather than conventional idealizations.<sup>32</sup>

The influence of such an education will require that "politics will have to be in fact what it now pretends to be, the intelligent management of social affairs."<sup>33</sup> Until that point chances are good the educational institution will reflect more of the same "systematic, almost deliberate, avoidance of the spirit of criticism in dealing with history, politics and economics."<sup>34</sup>

## **Conclusion**

So philosophy, leadership, control, and total institution limited the success of the Arthurdale schools and community—and these same issues remain with us today. We tinker with philosophy (usually in the form of mission), method, governance, and social role without modifying too much the overall effect of the school on society and so tradition wins out over change. The nature of leadership, the problem of rational planning without a shared vision, the school's possible role as a total institution, and progressive educational philosophy all play a role in the broader social, historical, and philosophical context.

Stack's work presents a model of how, using biographical methods, a scholar may focus on a specific period. Only necessary details from Clapp's life inform her activities in the Arthurdale Schools' context. His use of autobiographical, biographical, and archival sources highlights the problems Clapp faced in leading the Arthurdale School experiment. Above all, it is Stack's masterful integration of the biographical, historical, social, and political research that makes Arthurdale Community Schools such important work. Stack's book is an important resource for courses in the history of education, philosophy of education, sociology of education, and educational historiography.

### Endnotes

- 1 Sam F. Stack, Jr., *The Arthurdale Community School: Education and Reform in Depression Era Appalachia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2016), ISBN 978-0-813166889.
- 2 Sam F. Stack, Jr., "Constructing a Life: Pragmatism and Elsie Ripley Clapp," *Journal of Philosophy and History of Education* 52, no. 1 (2002): 147–153.
- 3 Sam F. Stack, Jr., *Elsie Ripley Clapp (1879–1965): Her Life and the Community School* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2004).
- 4 John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York, NY: Collier Books and Kappa Delta Pi, 1938/1965), 25.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 7 Stack, *The Arthurdale Community School*, 3.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 4–5.
- 10 Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 33.
- 11 Stack, *The Arthurdale Community School*, 15.
- 12 Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 40.
- 13 Stack, *The Arthurdale Community School*, 43.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 62.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 17 John Dewey, introduction to *The Use of Resources in Education*, Elsie Ripley Clapp (New York, NY: Harper & Bros., 1952), <http://www.nyu.edu/classes/gmoran/DEWEYSOURCES.pdf>
- 18 Stack, *The Arthurdale Community School*, 118.

- 19 Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 78, 86.
- 20 Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, Hans Gerth, C. Wright Mills, Ferdinand Kogegar, A. M. Henderson, Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, and Max Rheinstein (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968/1978), <https://ia800305.us.archive.org/25/items/MaxWeberEconomyAndSociety/MaxWeberEconomyAndSociety.pdf>
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- 22 John Dewey, "Education as Engineering," *The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, vol. 13, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 323.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 326.
- 24 Erving Goffman, *Asylums* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1962), xiii.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 4, 5.
- 26 Thomas Wiggins and Michael Langenbach, "The Elementary School as a Total Institution" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC, 1975), 6, <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED109817>
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 John Dewey, "Education as Religion," *The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, vol. 13, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 317.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 318, 321.
- 30 John Dewey, "Education as Politics," *The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, vol. 13, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 331.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 329.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 334.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*, 332.

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